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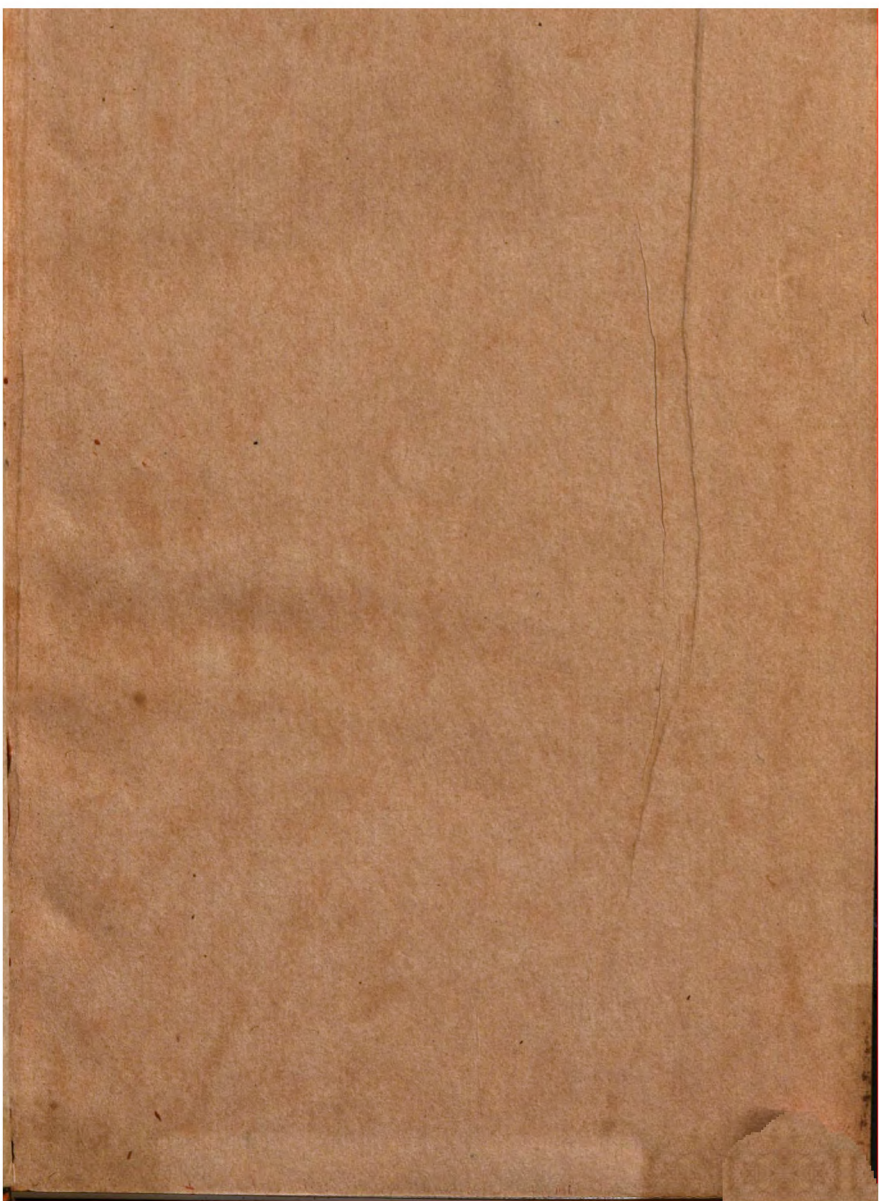
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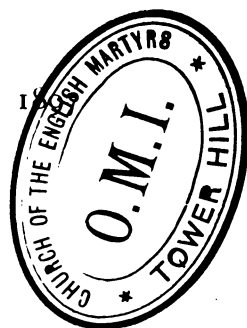
THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD



THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

VOLUME I.
JANUARY TO JUNE, 1897



Fourth Series

DUBLIN
BROWNE & NOLAN, LIMITED, NASSAU-STREET

1897

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AN IRISH DIOCESE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY¹

I HAVE taken as the subject of the lecture of this evening, 'An Irish Diocese in the Seventeenth Century.' I have made this choice, not merely because I hope that such information as I have been able to collect in spare moments of leisure may prove not altogether uninteresting to you, but also, and much more, because I think it eminently desirable that the attention of the students of this great College should be directed to the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, on every available occasion. Further, there is, to my mind, a special reason why this should be done at the present time. We are now in the swing of a great movement, extending far beyond our own country, even beyond our sea-divided race, for the revival of our Irish language and literature. Nor, unless I am greatly mistaken, is this movement the outcome of any mere passing enthusiasm. The study of Irish history will, naturally, come within the range of that movement. Indeed, there are already signs that, in the not distant future, much may be done towards the completion of that unfinished work—a creditable History of Ireland. It were not fitting that we

¹ A lecture delivered in the MacMahon Hall, Maynooth College, on December 3, 1896.

should lag behind in that department which is peculiarly ours. For, if we share, as we must, with our fellow-countrymen a deep interest in the lives and labours and sacrifices of those who, in the past, strove to roll back the tide of foreign conquest, or build up the edifice of the nation's prosperity at home, we must own to another interest higher and holier than any which even patriotism may inspire. I refer, of course, to the interest which we, beyond others, must take in the lives and labours and sacrifices of those—the confessors and martyrs and virgins, the bishops and priests—who made the name of Ireland illustrious at home and abroad, in the ages of faith; the millions of faithful people who, from the beginning, found it good to stand by their Master's side in the hour of His and their own triumph, nor abandoned Him when, persecuted and cast out, He set upon their heads, for a time, His own crown of thorns.

The Irish diocese in the seventeenth century of which I am to speak to you, is the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. Waterford City had been faithful to the English connection, in peace and in war, ever since the memorable August day of 1170, when Richard Strongbow and Raymond le Gros won it for their royal master. Long prior to the time of which I am about to speak this evening, it had been entrusted by Parliament with authority to levy war upon the degenerate English, as well as upon the natives who lived in its neighbourhood. Indeed, to use Prendergast's words in the *Cromwellian Settlement*, it appears to have been regarded as 'a kind of English oasis in a desert of Irish.' It had received, in return for its loyalty, the name of *Urbs Intacta*, and many more substantial advantages. It preserved its unsullied reputation all through the sixteenth century; and we have, at this moment, in our Town Hall, a cap of maintenance which Henry VIII. sent, in 1536, to the mayor of the year, and another gift of the same merry monarch, a state-sword, lying in amity with the sword carried by Thomas Francis Meagher before the Irish Brigade in the terrible slaughter

of Fredericksburg. We have, further, two charters given to us by Elizabeth.

But, for all their loyalty and all their gratitude, the people of Waterford never took kindly to the 'Reformed' doctrines. Indeed, their devotion to popery was, we know, a source of deep grief, and, no doubt, of disappointment also, to the God-fearing governors of the country, in such moments as these worthy gentlemen were able to devote to the subject, from the work of robbing and slaughtering the wild Irish. The Lord President, in 1577, talks bitterly of what he calls 'the proud and undutiful inhabiters' of this town. 'They are cankered in popery,' he feelingly complains, 'undutiful to her Majesty, slandering the Gospel publicly. They fear neither God nor man,' he says; and, by way of proof of their unredeemed wickedness, he adds, 'They have altars, painted images, and candlesticks, in derision of the Gospel every day in their synagogues;' and what was a great deal worse, 'Masses infinite they have in their several churches every morning without any fear.' He spied them himself, he tells the Government, 'for I chanced to arrive last Sunday, at five of the clock in the morning, and saw them resort out of their churches by heaps.' He finally unburdens his soul by moralizing: 'This is shameful in a Reformed City.' The worthy President's indignation was, however, as it would appear, thrown away upon the Waterfordians; for twenty years after, in 1596, we have the Protestant Bishop of Cork, William Lyon, 'that prelate of an active and liberal spirit,' as Cotton calls him, writing to the Lord Chamberlain:—

The Mayor of Waterford, which is a great lawyer, one Wadding, carrieth the sword and rod (as I think he should do) for her Majesty, but he nor his Sheriffs never came to the Church sithence he was Mayor, nor sithence this reign, nor none of the citizens, men nor women, nor in any other town or city throughout this province, which is lamentable to hear, but most lamentable to see. The Lord in His mercy [so prays the good Bishop] amend it, when it shall please His gracious goodness to look on them.

But the Bishop's prayers were as unavailing as the Lord President's indignation, and the last days of the

sixteenth century are amongst those reckoned glorious for ever to Ireland by the heroism of the men who died at the scaffold for their faith.

The seventeenth century opened auspiciously for the oppressed Catholics of the south of Ireland. In 1603 two events occurred which appeared to promise a profound change in their condition. Elizabeth, their arch-enemy—she who had murdered their bishops and priests, who had plundered their chiefs, and reduced the people of Munster to such a condition that, in the poet Spencer's appalling language, 'they ate the dead carrion, and one another, soon after; and the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of the graves'—she was dead. In her place reigned the son of the martyred Queen of Scots, the lineal descendant of their own Milesian chiefs: he who had helped them in their fight with Elizabeth, and had sought and obtained the favour of the Sovereign Pontiff to secure the English throne, on this condition, as we learn from no less an authority than Cardinal Bellarmine, that he would not persecute the Catholics.

The hopes of the Catholics rose high, nowhere more than in Waterford. What took place there on the occasion is described in a long report, full of interest from beginning to end, written by James White, Vicar-Apostolic of Waterford, to Clement VIII., and published by Dr. Kelly at the end of the third volume of his edition of *Cambrensis Eversus*. The people, Father White tells us, determined to profess their faith openly and boldly in the face of the world, and they prayed him, as the Vicar of the Apostolic See, to consecrate for them their churches, which had been desecrated by heretical worship. He, on his part, whilst complying with their wishes, cautioned them against tumult or disorder, and strictly prohibited them from carrying arms, or injuring, insulting, or assailing in any way those who professed a different faith. He then purified the Church of St. Patrick, and the Cathedral at Waterford, as well as the churches of Clonmel. The people protested that, in all this, their principal object was to intimate to their new sovereign that they *were* nothing, and *wished* to be nothing, but members

of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. They affixed a declaration to this effect to the doors of the Cathedral, and sent a sealed copy to Mountjoy, the Lord President. The reply was an order directing that the churches be closed, that all religious rites be suspended, and the priests arrested and imprisoned on a charge of high treason. The magistrates and prefects boldly answered that the priests had done nothing unworthy of their office, or warranting any suspicion of their allegiance; and they added that, as to suppressing Catholic worship, and arresting and imprisoning the priests, *that* they could not do, because the faith and religion of the priests were theirs also. Their efforts were successful, but only for a time.

The Catholics of Ireland had been robbed of much of their strength by persecution. The Puritans, on the other hand, were growing into power, and James, like all the Stuarts, to use Plowden's words, 'ever forward in sacrificing his friend to the fear of his enemy,' in little more than two years from his accession, entered on the work of persecuting the Church for which his mother had suffered and died. He began by formally promulgating Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, which declared all religious worship except the Protestant, illegal, and imposed fines on all who absented themselves from Protestant services. He commanded 'all priests, Jesuit priests, seminary priests, or others ordained by authority from Rome, to leave the kingdom.' Magistrates and other prominent men in Dublin were thrown into prison for not attending Protestant service: and when the Catholics of the Pale protested against the flagrant illegality of such a course, their leaders were locked up in Dublin Castle, and their principal agent, Sir Patrick Barnwall, was carried over to London and flung into the Tower.

James approved of all this. It was not only just, but necessary, he thinks. He is in hopes, too, he writes to the Lord-Deputy and Council of Ireland, that 'many more will be, by this means, brought to conformity who, perhaps, hereafter will find cause to give thanks to God and you for being drawn by so gentle [!] a constraint unto their own

good.' The law against clergy was not allowed to remain a dead letter. By May, of 1607, there were already in prison a bishop, a vicar-general, very many priests, and an immense number of the laity of every class and condition. The result of all was to destroy churches, monasteries, and schools, but to root the faith more deeply and firmly in the hearts of the people.

When Father Mooney, the Provincial of the Franciscans, visited Clonmel, in 1615, he found the buildings of the convent, with the exception of the cloister, entirely dilapidated; yet Sir John Davys tells us that, when the Lord President visited the 'same town, a short time before, ' though he did gently offer to the principal inhabitants that he would spare to proceed against them then, if they would yield to conference for a time, and become bound in the meantime not to receive any Jesuit or priest into their house, they peremptorily refused.' Father Mooney was in Waterford the same year (1615). The Franciscans were then living clandestinely in a house which they had rented; but the Catholics, he says, 'were true to them, and sustained them generously, even at their own peril.' Those same sturdy Catholics of Waterford refused to bring up their children in ignorance, even though the law said, 'No Papist shall dare to exercise the office of schoolmaster in the kingdom.' They employed a schoolmaster, and a public schoolmaster, too:—

There is [reported a body of King's Visitors, in 1615] in the City of Waterford, kept by the citizens a publike schoolmaster in the City of Waterford, flahy, who hath a great number of schollers resorting to his schoole. Upon our coming to Waterford we first sent for him, but could not get him to appear before us. We then required the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City to bring him before us w^{ch} they answered they could not doe, by reason the said flahy did fly out of the City a little before our coming. Whereupon we left a L^{re}. [Letter] with the Lord President of that province under o' [our] hands, praying and requiring him, in his Ma^{ties}. [Majesty's] name to take order to suppress him from the exercise of teaching and instruccion of youth, for he traynes up schollers to become seminaries [seminarists] beyond the seas and ill affected members, w^{ch} the L^d. President did undertake to perform.

But neither laws nor King's Visitors, nor Lord Presidents

could weaken the attachment of the citizens to their faith; and accordingly, in 1617, a decisive step was taken, and the City was deprived of its charters, liberties, rent rolls, ensigns of authority, and public revenues. The laws against the clergy proved just as unavailing. The Earl of Thomond wrote in 1607:—

The most of the d——h priests and seminaries are relieved in the county of Tipperary, in Waterford, Clonmel, Cashel, and some few in Cork and Limerick. It is impossible for any officer to lay hands upon them, for the officers are no sooner known to come into the county but the priests are presently conveyed away.

Philip O'Sullivan Beare wrote his *Historiæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ Compendium*, in 1618. He says of the Irish clergy of the period:—

Numerus clericorum magnus est atque florens. Omnes Ecclesiastici quot sint, mihi quidem non constat; imo ne Anglis quidem diligentissimis Sacerdotum indagatoribus. Illud non ignoro, mille centum et sexaginta Sacerdotum, Religiosorum, et Clericorum nomina, cognomina, ab Anglis inquirendo comperta fuisse.

Few who are acquainted with the contemporary history of Ireland would, I think, be prepared for such a condition of things. The number of ecclesiastics of all grades to-day must be well under five thousand; but the Catholic population is at least three times as great now as it was in 1618. We thus come to find—and the discovery is to me a surprising one—that, after seventy-five years of fierce persecution carried on by a mighty empire, this Ireland of ours could, in proportion to its population, count for its sanctuaries three clerics for every four serving there at the present hour.

The accession of Charles II. made little change in the condition of the unfortunate Catholics of Ireland. Charles, it is said, was personally opposed to religious persecution; but he was driven forward on the path of his predecessors by forces which he was unable to control.

The Protestants and Puritans had combined against the Church. It was in vain that the Catholics loudly protested their loyalty, and proved the sincerity of their protest by large pecuniary sacrifices. The Protestant Archbishop of Armagh,

the celebrated Ussher, and twelve Protestant bishops, were not ashamed to attach their signatures to a document which stated that 'to give them [the Papists] a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrine, was a grievous sin.' The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin was not ashamed to perform in person the work of persecution, when, in 1629, on St. Stephen's Day, he and the Mayor of the city broke into the Franciscan Chapel, Cook Street, 'and there defaced the altar and oratory, and were leading away two friars which they took.' They were, however, scarcely prepared for the opposition which they encountered. For 'the devout women which were in the oratory, together with young men that came to the city, did so play on the Mayor and Archbishop and their men, with stones and clubs, that they were forced to take horse, and some persons were hurt.'

In the same year (1629), an event of considerable importance for the diocese with which we are just now more particularly concerned took place. Waterford had been without a bishop since Patrick Walsh died, in 1558. It was part of the settled policy of the Holy See at this period (O'Sullivan Beare tells us), to abstain from appointing bishops in Ireland; for the revenue of the sees had been given over to the Protestants, and it therefore became impossible to support the episcopal dignity and honour. The archbishops had delegated faculties to appoint vicars-general or vicars apostolic, with large powers, to govern the dioceses. At last, after fifty years of interregnum, Waterford obtained a supreme pastor in the person of Patrick Comerford, a prelate who played a distinguished part in the government of the people immediately committed to his care, and a no less distinguished part in shaping the destinies of the entire country, at one of the most interesting and most memorable epochs in its history.

Patrick Comerford was born in Waterford about the year 1586. His father was Robert Comerford, a merchant of that city, and his mother Anastasia White, of Clonmel. Both families—the Comerfords and the Whites—were old, wealthy, and influential, and both were Catholic of the Catholic.

The Comerfords gave sixteen fathers to the Society of Jesus alone, between 1590 and 1640 ; and we have the testimony of the author of *Cambrensis Eversus* and the *Alinothologia* for the fact that no other single family in all Ireland, not even his own Galway Lynches, gave so many priests to the Irish Church, as the Whites.

This is not the time to narrate the history of the Whites ; but there is at least one member of that family whose name should never be passed over in silence in any assembly of Irish ecclesiastics, when the history of the Irish Church, and more especially the history of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore in the seventeenth century, is being told. I refer to Thomas White. Born at Clonmel, in the year 1556 or 1558, he went to the Peninsula while he was yet young, and there spent the remainder of his days, until his death, in 1622. But, though an exile for life from Ireland, his heart was as true to *her* and her ancient Church as if his steps had never wandered from the banks of the Suir. For them he taught, spoke, and wrote without ceasing ; all his great influence at the court of Spain was wielded for them ; and I believe it is no exaggeration to say that no other man—and God raised up many powerful friends in many lands for the Irish Church in the hour of her need—contributed as largely to preserve the faith, or contributed with so child-like a love, as this Jesuit from Clonmel. He gathered together, with admirable devotion, Irish youths, and prepared them for the Irish Mission at Valladolid and Seville ; but his great claim to the undying gratitude of Irish Catholics rests on the fact that he was the founder of the first Irish college on the Continent—the College of Salamanca. Let me quote one sentence from Father Hogan's *Distinguished Irishmen of the Seventeenth Century*, to show what this Irish College of Salamanca did. In the first fifty years of its existence, under the directions of Father White and his successors—

The Irish College at Salamanca educated three hundred and seventy students, of whom were one Primate of All Ireland, four archbishops, five bishops, nine provincials of religious orders,

thirty martyrs [whose lives were cut short by the sword or the halter, by imprisonment, exile, and other calamities suffered for the faith], one hundred and thirty religious, twelve distinguished writers, and forty doctors of divinity and professors thereof, many of whom [says Nieremberg] filled the first chairs in the most celebrated universities of Europe.

Just one extract more given, in Father Hogan's interesting book, from an article by Dr. M'Donald, Rector of the Irish College, Salamanca, in the I. E. RECORD of 1873-74:—

He [Father White] did more for the preservation of the faith in his native land than any other Irishman ever did, during the terrible ordeal through which the Church of Ireland passed in two or three centuries of persecution. To him is due the idea of establishing Irish colleges in foreign lands, in order to educate priests for the trying and dangerous Irish Mission. Clonmel may well be proud of having been the birthplace of this saviour of the faith in Ireland. Such a man is in every way worthy of a national monument; and I hope to see the day when the Irish Church will, in gratitude to his memory, raise one in the capital of the kingdom, and another in his native town.

May I add that I am in hearty sympathy with the wish expressed in the eloquent words which close the extract.

I return to Dr. Comerford. He received his early education in the school of Dr. Peter White, who is well known in the south of Ireland by the title of 'The Lucky Schoolmaster of Munster.' Peter White is an interesting figure in contemporary history. He was, there is reason to think, nephew of the founder of Salamanca College. He was born in Waterford, and educated at Oxford, in Dr. Newman's College of Oriel. When he had completed his studies there, he returned to Ireland, and set up a school, where a great part of the youth of Waterford and the county of Dublin were educated. He was appointed to the Deanery of Waterford, for his learning and virtue, at the request of the Bishop, Dr. Patrick Walsh; but he did not hold the office long. He refused to conform to the newly-established Church, and was set aside. He returned to his old work of teaching, 'which was then accounted a most excellent employment in Ireland by the Catholics, especially for this reason, that the sons of noblemen and gentlemen might be trained up in their religion, and so, consequently, keep out

Protestancy.' He had at least three pupils who afterwards rose to eminence: Peter Lombard—not the Archbishop of Armagh, though both were Waterford men and contemporaries; Patrick Comerford, afterwards Bishop of Waterford; and Richard Stanihurst, uncle of Archbishop Ussher, the author of many books well known in that time; called by Camden 'eruditissimus ille nobilis Ricardus Stanihurst,' by Southey 'the common sewer of the language, as Chaucer has been called the well of English undefiled,' and of whom Keating says, referring to the bitter tone of his *De Rebus Hiberniae Gestis*, that 'hatred of everything Irish was the first nourishment he ate.' We next find Comerford at Bordeaux, a priest of the Augustinian Order. There is in the Calendar of Irish State Papers (1615-1625), extracted from a 'Book discovering the number of Priests made in the College of Bordeaux,' an interesting list of two hundred and eight Irish ecclesiastics, who are described as 'being lodged and educated in the Regular Congregation, established by Cardinal de Sourdis.' Of these, some thirty are marked as 'Vaterfordien,' of whom one is set down as 'Rev. Patrice Comerford, du Diocese de Vaterford, Augustin. reformè,' and another as 'P. Geoffrey Keating, Docteur en Theologie, Vaterfordien.' The former is the future bishop, the latter the greatest of Irish historians, who was, later on, to serve in the diocese of Waterford, under the jurisdiction of his old college companion, as parish priest of Tubrid, where he now lies buried. Comerford afterwards taught theology at Terceiro and Brussels, and became distinguished as a poet and an orator, as well as a theologian. He subsequently served for some time as prior of his order in Callan, and afterwards as a missionary in Waterford, and finally was, at the request of the priests of that diocese, appointed to fill the long vacant see of Waterford and Lismore, and consecrated at Rome, in the Oratory of St. Silvester, at the Quirinal, on the 18th of March, in the year 1629.

It was not a mere idle fancy that suggested the beautiful description, in which the historian of the Irish hierarchy in the seventeenth century celebrates the event

that took place on the Quirinal that day. No Irishman could regard it with indifference. They were raising up, with the Church's most stately rite, in the great Rome of the Apostles, a bishop for the *Parva Roma* in Ireland. The consecrating prelate was a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and before him, as he raised his hands in blessing, knelt a band of Irish exiles. Some were young levites of the sanctuary, who were, at no distant day, to leave their sweet haunts of peace, and face the horrors of persecution, the rack and the gibbet, for their own old mother Church of Ireland. Some were tottering, grey-haired old men, who had already, on the battle-field, fought and bled for their country—the last survivors from 'The Flight of the Earls.' Their thoughts would easily have gone back to that other day, one and twenty years before, when they mounted that same Quirinal Hill for the first time, weary with travelling by land and sea, and afterwards knelt, behind O'Neill and O'Donnell, to receive the Holy Father's blessing, and hear his warm words of welcome to their new home in the Eternal City. But there was one more distinguished by far than any other, and no tongue may easily tell the flood of mingled thoughts, of hopes and memories, that burst upon his mind, as he realized the full meaning of the scene upon which his eyes were fixed. It was Luke Wadding, *clarum ac venerabile nomen*. To him this was much more than an ordinary ceremony of the consecration of a bishop, though there were few in or out of Rome that day who, whatever were the circumstances, would be more profoundly impressed by the solemnity of such a function. But for Wadding, at that moment, it was the consecration of one who had been the companion of his early childhood, his schoolmate, and the faithful friend of his later years; and more, it was the giving to this friend of a commission that was to bear him back to the City by the Suir, which both claimed for their own, and loved with so fond an affection, that he might there rule and teach, might take his stand boldly there against the oppressors of his people; and if so, as was not unlikely, it was God's holy will, he might face the martyr's death, and, winning the martyr's crown, pass to join the ranks of that ever-increasing

band who in those days took their place with Patrick and Columbkille, and Laurence, round the Great White Throne.

Comerford returned to Ireland without delay. He found the country in a deplorable condition. She was oppressed and steeped in poverty, without trade or commerce of any sort, the land of ire. Besides the English governors she had other enemies, 'a universal sickness and oppression by soldiers at home, and abroad her merchants could not put to sea for ten days without being taken by a Hollander, or a Dunker, or a French pirate, or a hungry Briscanor.' The very elements seemed to be in league with these enemies for her discomfiture. 'The weather is so rainie and drousie continually,' so he writes to his friend Luke Wadding, 'that it doth imprint and indent in a man's heart a certain saturn qualitie of heaviness, sloughiness, laziness, and perpetual sloute.' But the condition of his diocese afflicted him most of all. He found that it was everywhere suffering from the effects of the long and bitter trial through which it had passed. He was not the man, however, to sit idly and shed useless tears, as long as there was any possibility of ending the evils he had so much reason to deplore. He entered immediately on the work of the visitation of the diocese. He penetrated into every corner of it, encouraging the clergy, now sadly reduced in numbers, as far at least as the rural districts went, by word and example, and administering the Sacrament of Confirmation to all who needed it; and amongst them he had to number not merely the young, but often the very old people of sixty or seventy years of age, as he tells us. His next care was to convene a synod of the priests of the diocese, where he enacted such laws as the times and the state of the Church demanded. He appointed in the City of Waterford five parish priests. This was the work of the first nine months he spent in the diocese. His second great work had for its purpose the establishment of more harmonious relations between the secular and regular clergy, not only in his own diocese, but through the entire country.

In the very first letter which he addressed to the Holy See after his arrival in Ireland, we find him referring to

certain dissensions between both bodies, which he deeply as justly deplored. He proposed the remedy, too. It was adopted by the Holy See, and we have the authority of the Irish agent in Rome for the statement that, since the first commencement of the Anglican schism, no greater boon had been conferred on the Irish Church. It was with the utmost joy he was able to assure the Holy See that Waterford, though sorely tried, remained faithful to its old Catholic traditions: '*Haec nostra civitas Waterfordiensis, quamvis saepius concussa, illibata tamen et fidelis, per misericordiam Dei, perstat.*' To such a people did Comerford devote all his zeal and energy, all his great powers of body and mind, for nine years. He had his trials and his difficulties, plenty of them, as we will easily understand. Some came from within, from false brethren, and from clergy, strangers who had up to this done little or no service in the Church, in an undue attempt to exclude from the enjoyment of parochial revenues their seniors, who had borne the burden and heat of the day. Some came from without, and particularly from the persistent efforts of the Protestant party in the diocese, led by two successive bishops, to pervert the youth by forcing them into Protestant schools, and to drag the old into seeming conformity with heresy, by putting into operation the worst laws that had been passed against recusants. From beginning to end the Bishop never wanted for the confidence and devoted attachment of the people; and in that confidence and attachment he found the source of unfailing consolation, and with it and through it he was able to defy all the malice of his enemies.

But times even more troublous than any they had yet known were at hand for himself and his people. Men who were able to read the signs had long discerned the approach of a storm. The sufferings of the Catholics, harassed by an ever-increasing code of penal legislation, had now grown great almost beyond endurance. The bitter sense of injury which rankled in the minds of their chiefs, robbed as they had been of all their earthly possessions, had grown into a very madness; and, if behind them—people and leaders—

there was nothing but the memories of cruel wrong, before them there was no hope but only the certain prospect of still greater wrong, of more iniquitous laws, of the final extirpation of the religion, which, as Mr. Lecky well puts it, was fast becoming the passion as well as the consolation of their lives, and afterwards of exile and, it may be, of death for themselves and their children. They would try the supreme arbitrament of the sword. If they *won*—then they would have their happy homes, their free altars once more; if they *lost*—*una spes victis nullam sperare salutem*. The great Irish Rebellion, as it is called, began in Ulster, on the 22nd of October, 1641. This is not the place to trace its history. That it was darkened by great crimes no Irishman need deny; that these crimes were redeemed over and over again by heroism, sacrifice, and a noble forgetfulness and forgiveness of injuries, every man who has studied the facts, and who is not hidebound with prejudice, will admit. This much, too, should be said, that the Catholic party always disclaimed the name of rebels; that they unequivocally and persistently proclaimed their allegiance to the king, and their readiness to lay down arms when the two things for which they contended were secured to them—restitution of their property, and freedom for their religion.

The rebellion quickly spread to the south. Waterford was taken, in December, by Edmund Butler, son of Lord Mountgarrett, and Dungarvan and Clonmel within the same month by Richard Butler, of Kilcash, brother of the Marquis of Ormond. By the end of December, the entire country, except Dublin, Athlone, Kildare, and some strongly fortified seaports, was in their hands. Comerford watched with eager interest the progress of the rebel cause, but he abstained from identifying himself publicly with it until late in the following year. In the meantime events occurred which drew him from the place of the mere sympathetic spectator, and converted him into its open and vehement supporter. The Anglo-Irish of the Pale—and he was an Anglo-Irishman—for the first time in their history threw in their lot with the native Irish, and entered heart and soul into the fight. The Royalist troops swept with fire and sword the country

from Lismore to Dungarvan, and, more than all, the Ulster bishops had come to recognise that the cause for which the rebels contended was just and holy, and solemnly called on their flocks to take up arms 'for their religion, their country, and their king.' Comerford hesitated no longer. He threw himself into the struggle with all the ardour of his nature. He was one of the principal promoters of the historic National Synod held at Kilkenny on the 10th of May, 1642, and he had a large share in framing the oath of association which, from that day, formed the bond of union between the Confederated Catholics of Ireland. He was one of the eleven spiritual peers who represented the Church at the still more historic gathering held in the same place, the month of October following, when the Confederation of Kilkenny was inaugurated, in the last and by far the greatest meeting of an Irish Parliament. He was one of the first to welcome Rinuccini on his arrival in Munster, and he stood by him to the very last, through all the vicissitudes of his most chequered of careers. He rejoiced with him in his triumphs, the more because the most brilliant were won by the skill and valour of his friend, Owen Roe O'Neill; and when the artifices of Ormond and dissensions among his own followers had blighted the Legate's hopes, he could always count on the sympathy and support of the Bishop and people of Waterford. Rinuccini was not unmindful of such devotion, nor ungrateful for it. In his reports to the Holy See, he described the Bishop of Waterford in terms of strong praise, both for his public policy and for his official administration of his diocese. Comerford, he said, was a bishop whom all his colleagues might copy with advantage. He was deeply impressed with the splendour of public worship in Waterford; nowhere outside of Rome had he seen the ceremonies of the Church performed with more reverence and more stateliness than in the cathedral there.

But Waterford and its Bishop proved again and again, during these eventful days, that their devotion to the Church was as true as it was outspoken. On the 1st of August, 1646, Ormond's peace was proclaimed in Dublin. It was received with strong manifestations of approval by a section of the

Confederate party; but to the vast majority, as to Rinuccini, it contained no sufficient guarantee that the grievances which drove them to risk their lives and fortunes in rebellion would be redressed, and they rejected it with scorn. When the state heralds arrived in Waterford to announce it, they were treated with every mark of indignity. No one would lead them to the Mayor's house, and they were forced to bribe a little boy to discover it. Having at length found it, the Mayor kept them waiting four hours for an audience. When they asked His Worship if he would not proclaim the peace, he replied *more Hibernico*, by asking them 'why they had not gone first to Kilkenny.' They answered him that it was because Waterford was, next to Dublin, one of the most ancient and considerable cities of the Kingdom. They delayed three days in hopes of obtaining a more satisfactory reply; but they received none. They then left under a threat from the people, that 'unless they made haste away, they would be sent packing with withes [willow twigs] about their necks.' Eight days afterwards the bishops, twelve in number, and the representatives of the clergy, secular and regular, assembled at Waterford, under the presidency of the Legate, and decreed, with one voice, that 'all and singular, the Confederate Catholics who shall adhere or consent to such peace or to the fautors thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, shall be held absolutely perjured.' The decree was received with joy by the people, and soon after the friends of Ormond came to regret that they had consented to accept his terms.

It may, however, be doubted if the Nuncio had not now seen the happiest days of his embassy. But the faithful Bishop and people of Waterford were yet to see one, the happiest, perhaps, of all. It was a March day in 1648. The Confederation had fallen upon evil times. Its treasury was empty, its energies paralyzed by dissensions in the Council Chamber. The Council itself was in treaty with Inchiquin—Murrough of the Burnings—for surrender and peace. Worse still, the one man who had all along been the tower of its strength, whose genius and devotion had gained for it whatever military distinction it could

claim—the stainless, dauntless Owen Roe—was thwarted on every side by the mean jealousy of the Confederate leaders. The spirits of the whole Irish party were at their very lowest, when on that 23rd March, the sentry guarding the ramparts of Duncannon Fort saw a ship flying the papal colours enter Waterford harbour. She brought noble gifts for poor Ireland—money for her soldiers and for their general, a Father's blessing, and a sword which that Father had blessed, too. It was the sword of Tyrone, which Luke Wadding had taken from the dying Earl's hands, and preserved in reverence for the day when another O'Neill should arise greater still than the great Hugh, more powerful to strike a deadly blow for the land both loved so well.

Within two months, the Council surrendered to Inchiquin, the Nuncio's power was departed, and his mission practically at an end. He fled from Kilkenny to Maryborough; and there he pronounced a sentence of excommunication and interdict against all who accepted the treaty with Inchiquin. Comerford's loyalty was never more bravely displayed than in the hour of the Nuncio's fall. He closed the churches in Waterford immediately, and ordered that the celebration of the Holy Mass and all the ministrations which an interdict forbids, should cease. It was in vain that the excommunicated Council called on him to disregard the censures, and threatened him with deprivation of his temporalities, in the event of a refusal. We have his fearless reply in the first volume of the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. When he received the Nuncio's command, he answers the Council, he assembled the most learned of the clergy, secular and regular; and he and they, without a single dissentient, agreed that all were in conscience bound to obey that command. He laughed at their threats to deprive him of his temporalities, for he had none to lose. The greater part had already been seized by the common enemy; the remainder, by some members of the Council, as the Council had already been informed. He concludes in words well worthy of an Irish bishop and confessor of the faith: 'But although I were to be stripped justly or unjustly, of all the world could give, for my submission to the decrees of Holy Church, I will, nevertheless

persevere in obedience; nor will I cease to pray God that you may well and faithfully guide the Councils of the Confederates of this kingdom.'

Comerford's connection with the Confederation ended with these words. He had done one man's share to strike off the chains that bound the Church and the country; and if he and those who shared his honoured toil failed in their efforts, history will adjudge the blame to the honest but most mistaken members of the party who put their trust in men that had already proved themselves, some hollow friends, others the cruellest of enemies. There is no use in lamenting now what cannot be undone; but perhaps it may not be amiss to emphasize for ourselves this one fact, that right across the history of the Confederation's dismal failure, there is written in letters that none but the blindest can fail to read, as none but the most senseless should fail to remember, the legend, Disunion and in Disunion Disaster.

The Bishop now devoted himself altogether to the care of his flock. Towards the close of 1649, he and they found themselves face to face with an enemy far more powerful and, if possible, more cruel than even Inchiquin. Cromwell appeared before the walls of Waterford on 24th November, his sword still reeking with the blood of Drogheda and Wexford. He called on the garrison to surrender, promising the civic privileges of London and freedom of religion for the citizens. But they remembered Ross, and the brave Governor Ferral gave back in person the answer to the trumpeter: 'Go,' he said, 'and tell your master, that I have two thousand Ulstermen with me'—they were Owen Roe's—'and as long as there is one of them alive, I will not surrender the town.' The siege went on; but on the early morning of the 3rd of December, this very day, 246 years ago, Cromwell withdrew his troops to Dungarvan. Ireton began a second siege early in June of the following year, and the city fell on the 10th of August, but not until three awful scourges—war, famine, and pestilence—had deprived it of five thousand fighting men, and converted it into a solitude. During all this time, Comerford

never ceased, by day or by night, labouring with and for his people. He administered the Sacraments with his own hands to the wounded, the famine-stricken and the plague-stricken. He gave from his slender purse everything he had, for the needy and the sick; he was ready to give his life, but God willed it otherwise. The annalist tells us of the few who were left in Waterford, when the siege was over. '*In varias mundi partes gloriosi Christi Confessores emigraverunt.*' The father went into exile, too, with his children, assuredly not the least of that noble band, first to St. Malo and thence to Nantes, where he ended his wanderings on earth, and gave up his pure soul to God on the 10th of March, 1652. His grave was made by strangers' hands; but *it* was not 'lonely,' nor were *they* 'heedless.' In your College library yonder, there is a manuscript containing an interesting reference to Comerford's funeral. '*Splendidissimo funere ad Cathedrallem Ecclesiam delatus fuit, singulis Parochiarum et Religiosorum Ordinum coetibus Exequias prosequentibus, et aliis ei tantum cultum deferentibus uti corporis ejus attactu Rosaria sacrari contenderint.*' They buried him in the Cathedral in the episcopal vault, close by the high altar. When seven years afterwards they opened the vault to receive the remains of another exiled Irish bishop and confessor, Robert Barry of Cork, Comerford's 'comrade in arms' of the old Confederation days, the body was found quite incorrupt. The Irishman who visits Nantes now will seek that vault in vain, as I sought it five years ago; but it will be long, very long, before the name of him who lay there once is forgotten. Whilst we pray, for the confessors of our land, as we do every morning at the altar, in the eternal memory that hallows by God's own appointment the names of the just, may it be given to us in our own day and sphere, and for their needs, to walk not altogether unworthy of the bishops and priests and clerics and people who kept in honour the faith of 'an Irish Diocese in the Seventeenth Century.'

R. A. SHEEHAN.

JAMES DOYLE, BISHOP OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN

(BORN, 1786 ; BISHOP, 1819 ; DIED, 1834.)

IT has been almost the rule at all times, and in all nations, that the memory of their greatest men and benefactors has had to await the resurrection. This is especially the fate of those who have won their way by conflict. In such cases it is almost inevitable that the wounded who survive will take revenge upon the dead ; and it may be without moral fault, from a supposed duty of self-defence. Thus it was with Edmund Burke, and with his countryman, the great Bishop of Kildare. Both Burke and Bishop Doyle, were men who seemed so completely under the influence of their moral convictions and feelings, that inferior minds who suspect truth when coming at once from heart and head, distrusted them ; and, unfortunately, inferior minds are the chief constituents of majorities. In the case of Burke, it is now acknowledged that the light which bewildered so many of his contemporaries was only sunshine on the deep of truth.

It is an extraordinary fact, growing more manifest every day, that Burke was in his time at once the greatest defender of authority and liberty. In another arena, and under more difficult circumstances, the same may be said of the Bishop of Kildare, and without exaggeration, we may apply to him the words which Burke used of himself : 'I have struggled to the best of my power against two great Public Evils, growing out of the most sacred of all things, Liberty and Authority. . . . I have struggled against the Tyranny of Freedom, and the Licentiousness of Power.'¹ Now, neither power nor freedom are submissive

¹ Prior's *Life of Burke*, ii. 243.

subjects: it is only stern experience and stern punishment which can subdue their pride. The two-fold conflict in which Burke engaged, for America, and against the French Revolution, with an interval of a quarter of a century, was fought out by Bishop Doyle in one country, and at the same time; and as it seems clear that if Burke's counsels had prevailed, England might have preserved America, checked the French Revolution, and been spared the National Debt; so it may be that Ireland would be happier now, were it not that the fiery spirit of O'Connell prevailed over the more moderate political wisdom of Bishop Doyle.

It is no crime to say that the great Tribune as well as the great Bishop made mistakes: the question is, whose mistakes were the most serious? It would also be unfair to judge them by the same standard. O'Connell was primarily a politician, professor of what, I think, Cardinal Newman calls 'a science of expediency;' whereas the Bishop, was first of all, the representative of those eternal laws of justice and charity, which are superior to all circumstances. Moreover, although the foremost man amongst the bishops of Ireland, it was only by his genius. Like a general of division on the battle-field, he had to keep pace with his fellows, and above all to keep his eye on that Supreme Chief of Christianity on whom every bishop depends.

Knowing how Catholic ecclesiastics differ on the application of principles, it is not likely that all his venerable brethren felt quite secure when the fiery young bishop of thirty-three put lance in rest, and charged, now at tyrants, and now at rebels, and with equal success. Had he once gone off the lines of the theology or practice of the Church, and fallen under the ban of the Vicar of Christ, as was asserted,¹ he would have sunk as rapidly as he rose; for in Ireland, at least, no one out of favour with the Vicar

¹ As late as 1861, it was thought necessary to set this question at rest. The Bishop of Sandhurst, received a formal letter from the Sacred Congregation of the Index, containing a categorical refutation of the calumny. (*Fitzpatrick's Life of Bishop Doyle*, vol. ii., New Ed., App., p. 533.)

of Christ has ever yet preserved power over the people. Even so learned and clear-minded a critic as Brownson was misled, and has given us his cordial and generous retraction:—

We had imbibed [he says] a prejudice against Dr. Doyle, and had no wish to make his acquaintance. . . . But the work before us [*Life* by Fitzpatrick] has disabused us, and made it clear that our prejudices were unjust—that he was a man of eminent ability, a wise and zealous pastor, a brave and true patriot, a profound and clear-sighted statesman—and a man to whom Ireland is more indebted than to any other Irishman we have ever heard of! . . . As far as his views are given by Mr. Fitzpatrick, we find in them nothing that we, who claim to be a staunch Ultramontanist, cannot accept.¹

If to this we join the words of Cardinal Wiseman, the contemporary of Bishop Doyle, I think enough will have been said about the orthodoxy of the Bishop of Kildare. The Cardinal refers in glowing language, to the effect of the Bishop's writings on his own mind, 'writings which might be said to be the first trumpet-note of that outspoken Catholicity, and bold avowal of faith which had since become the general tone of the country;' and he links his name with that of the great English leader, Bishop Milner, 'another great man, closely connected with him in feelings and views.'²

When a priest indulges in unlimited language about his order in general, or in particular, his words are often supposed to be tainted with self-assertion. It is, as if people thought that Christianity was in some way a private interest of the priest. It certainly is our private interest, but not more so than to the laity, unless our souls are supposed to be more valuable than theirs. We are specially objects of suspicion when we touch upon social and political questions, in which the world assumes equal, or even greater authority; which, in fact, it has; and so much the worse for the world. If we claim the first place in all that is highest and

¹ *Ibid.* *Life* by Fitzpatrick, vol. ii., New Ed., 1880. App. 7. I think I am safe in assuming, that the 'we' of the review, means Dr. Brownson.

² Cardinal Wiseman's *Tour in Ireland* in 1858, p. 309. Duffy, 1859.

most sacred in human life, it is because to take the second, would be to acknowledge that human reason is wiser without Christ. Whether people can conceive a world subsisting without religion, I cannot tell ; but certainly there has been no such experience on this orb of ours. Amongst religions none has brought in its train so many blessings, material and moral, as the religion of Christ. If priests are particularly urgent on this point, it is because, as a rule, they know its history best, and have had the best opportunities of studying its influence on human life. Moreover, all priests have once been laymen, so they know both sides, and to them above all men are given the opportunity of following the ways of the human heart from the cradle to the grave, and sounding the depths from whence come peace and joy, which are as much elements of success in the struggle for life here below, as for the life above.

If these principles are granted, the reader will understand why I am inclined to agree with Brownson, that Bishop Doyle, as leader in the religious revival of his country, was 'a man to whom Ireland is more indebted than to any other Irishman.' We cannot compare Ireland with any nation, past or present, except perhaps with the people of God of the Old Testament. Since her conquest by St. Patrick, few things have prospered in Ireland, save those which were inspired and guided by religion. This was the conclusion of that truly philosophic writer, Gustave de Beaumont, who, in 1835, and again in 1837, came to Ireland, and studied her social and political life with a mind and a heart free from the prejudices from which friends and enemies, involved in her trials, find it so hard to divest themselves ; and the questions suggested, 'grave as they are for England, are not a matter of indifference to any nation.' The conclusion to which he came was that, 'in the midst of the agitations of which his country and his soul have been the theatre, the Irishman who has seen the consummation of so many ruins within and without him, has no belief in the stability and certainty of anything in this world save his religion. . .

For the Irishman there is nothing sovereignly true but his religion.' ¹

Have things altered in the sixty years which have elapsed since these words were written? Has anything in Ireland, merely political or social, stood the test of even a decade of years? Whereas, her religious triumphs and expansion, measured even by the material evidence of the churches, convents, and charitable institutions of the country is one of the greatest wonders of the nineteenth century. Even as regards material advantages, is it not true that her religion has been her best friend? Can we compare the very moderate Government grants here and there, for fishing stations and light railways with the twenty, or perhaps thirty millions which has been spent in building houses for God, and homes for the poor, at the same time giving employment to the labourer, and keeping capital in the country? The amount of money in a country is not the evidence of its prosperity; it is money spent that fructifies. When Cobbett was told that it was impossible that people could starve in Ireland as there was plenty of money in the country; 'Money!' he replied, 'men do not eat money.'

It is true that great edifices do not always fructify to the poor. The palace of the millionaire, surrounded by immense preserves, and seldom occupied, is of very little use to the poor, or indeed to anyone. But the case is very different as regards edifices consecrated to Christ, for the simple reason that they are inhabited by the poor man's servants: servants in his temporal as well as his spiritual wants. In the past, so tranquil and readable in the distance, Mr. Lecky has discovered that 'monastic institutions were the only refuges of a pacific civilisation; the only libraries, the only schools, the only centres of art, the only refuges for gentle and intellectual natures; the chief barrier against violence and rapine; the chief promoters of agriculture and of industry.' ² Why should the past not return?

¹ *L'Irlande Sociale Politique et Religieuse*, ii., p. 37, ed. 1881.

² *The Political Value of History*, p. 14. London, 1892.

I think it is clear that in the years preceding and subsequent to Emancipation, Bishop Doyle held that the making of Ireland was primarily to be the work of religion : that he wished religion to rule, whereas O'Connell only wanted her assistance ; and that this was the secret of their calamitous division. As well as I can understand the mind of Bishop Doyle, as contrasted with that of O'Connell, it seems to me that the Bishop thought more of the training of what may be called the newborn nation than of those particular measures with which O'Connell so passionately and fitfully identified himself. We are justly indignant when haughty and supercilious strangers speak contemptuously of the ignorance, lawlessness, and superstition of our immediate forefathers. It is true that they had not the same opportunities for multifarious information as the shoemakers, tailors, and errand boys of Paris and London ; but I doubt much whether these latter personages would be capable of equally appreciating the sublime religious and social discourses by which Bishop Doyle subjugated the colliers and peasants of the diocese of Kildare. As to superstition, it is an easy word to use. Voltaire flung it at Dr. Johnson ; but those amongst us who were in familiar intercourse with Irish servants of the olden times, will, I believe, agree with me that they were quite as intelligent people, as regards their religious opinions, as they are at the present day.¹

The charge of lawlessness is more serious ; but how could it be otherwise, when for centuries there had been no law for Catholics ? Had they been less courageous they would either have given up their religion, or sunk into unresisting apathy, and then things would have gone on quietly ; but as neither happened, resistance to the law by force or stratagem, had become the animating principle of the life of the nation. It was a bold venture when Bishop Doyle set himself to prove that the British Constitution, under the shadow of which this mockery of justice lived and reigned

¹ For my own part, I can testify, that while in London, I have had sad troubles with the superstitious insanities of educated people of other nations, I have never met it amongst the Irish poor.

in Ireland, was, under the circumstances, and perhaps under any circumstances, the best instrument for the political salvation of Ireland. I am not aware that anyone in Ireland before Bishop Doyle had clearly taught this doctrine, although it was the opinion of Edmund Burke. In the eyes, not only of the people, but of most educated Catholics, the British Constitution was identified with Henry and Elizabeth, Cromwell and William of Orange, and with representatives of justice like Lord Clare, Lord Norbury, and Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald. To Ireland, then, the Constitution was only known as the agent of the religion which Macaulay stigmatizes as 'sprung from brutal passion, nurtured by selfish policy.' It is easy therefore to understand how it needed all the genius, the undoubted patriotism, and the popularity of the Bishop of Kildare to obtain a hearing when he declared his belief 'that a special Providence watched over this Empire, and that there is a sort of redeeming spirit in our Constitution.'¹ He does not stop to explain how or why it was that while so many nations had lost the very idea of liberty, under the protection of law, England had preserved so much of the spirit of the laws of the 'good King Edward;' laws which had been advancing to maturity for centuries before the Confessor, in days when Irish bishops, missionaries, and monks, coming down from Iona and Lindisfarne, were amongst the chief makers of England; and when her sons, 'numerous as bees,' as St. Aldhelm tells, went over the water to the 'University of the West,' to learn wisdom in Ireland.

Burke attributes the preservation of the British Constitution at the time when French insanity appeared in England, under the patronage of Tom Paine, Mrs. Macaulay, Fox, and Sheridan, partly to what he calls 'our sullen resistance to innovation.' But he himself, and the men who strangled the hydra, were influenced by higher motives than mere dread of change. Cardinal Newman has characterized the British Constitution as 'one of the greatest of human works . . . as admirable in its own line, to take the

¹ Fitzpatrick's *Life of Bishop Doyle*, ii. 372.

productions of genius in its various departments, as the Pyramids, or the plays of Shakespere, or the Newtonian theory.'¹

I cannot recall any other instance in which this great lover of his country shows pure delight in his reflections on her national life and institutions. Even as a young Protestant, he mourned and feared for her whom he styles,

Tyre of the West, and glorying in the name
More than in Faith's pure fame!

.

Dread thine own power! Since haughty Babel's prime,
High towers have been man's crime.

The work from which I have quoted above is a terrible indictment, directed indeed against the religion of England, but in his mind religion was ever the measure of all things. Outside the pages of Holy Writ is there anything more piercing than the voice of his lamentations over his native land?—

Look around [he says] and answer for yourselves. Contemplate the objects of this people's praise. Survey their standards. . . . Their god is Mammon. I do not mean to say that all seek to be wealthy, but all bow down before wealth. . . . They measure happiness by wealth, and by wealth they measure respectability. . . . At the sight of wealth they feel an involuntary reverence and awe, just as if a rich man must be a good man. . . . Alas! alas! this great and noble people, born to aspire, born for reverence.²

I cannot perceive that either Burke or Bishop Doyle were really bent on having anything from England, except her Constitution; and if it can be proved that Bishop Doyle did more than any other Irishman to bring about this consummation he will have strong claims to pre-eminence. O'Connell fought, as no man ever fought,

¹ *Present Position of Catholic*, p. 25, 4th Ed.

² 'Saintliness, the Standard of Christian Principle.' *Mixed Disc.* v.

with the sword of the Constitution; but it was the Bishop who had put it into an Irish scabbard. I do not think it is possible to deny that O'Connell was again and again on the point of rebellion, and that were he not held back by the conviction that the Church would not support him, he would have anticipated 'Young Ireland,' its 'barricades and its god of battles,' and probably with far more disastrous results.

When Bishop Doyle, by his sermons, and those wonderful manifestos, which year after year went forth from his little room in Carlow, told the people, that as they had got much already, by patience and passive resistance, so they might get everything, his promises would have had little influence were it not for his periodical invasions of England, and his returns in triumph, when it was well known, even from the acknowledgments of his opponents, that he had fought and conquered both Lords and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled: proving that 'even-handed justice' was the animating principle of the Constitution, and that with it he could turn the sword of the Assyrian against himself.

It is hard to invest any mere Irish question with that classic dignity and splendour with which eloquence adorns things that are far away; but I doubt whether either Cicero defending Sicily; Tacitus, Africa; or Burke assailing Warren Hastings, were greater in their day than the Bishop of Kildare at Westminster, standing or sitting at the end of the horse-shoe table, around which were assembled the greatest men of the British Empire, and that in an age of great men. Those 'Examinations,' as they were called, in the years preceding Catholic Emancipation, of witnesses from Ireland before the chief representatives of both Houses of Parliament, were State Trials, in the highest sense of the word; and it was principally owing to the commanding genius of the Bishop of Kildare, that, in the end, the witnesses changed places with the judges. 'When O'Connell, Dr. Doyle, and others,' says Bishop Ullathorne, 'were examined on the question of Emancipation, one distinguished peer said to another after the Bishop's

examination, that Dr. Doyle as far surpassed O'Connell, as O'Connell surpassed other men ;'¹ and no one who studies the writings of these great men can fail to see the justice of the verdict. It is hard to say who deserves most honour ; the witness who conquered, or the judges who surrendered. Of all the laurels of Wellington, none are more glorious than the noble acknowledgment of those well-known words, when during the examination of the Bishop of Kildare, meeting a brother peer who said : ' Well, Duke, are you examining Dr. Doyle ? ' ' No,' was the reply, ' but Doyle is examining us.'"² The history of these examinations would fill many volumes. On one occasion the Bishop's answer to one question occupied four days. It was the first opportunity that the collective wisdom of England had of hearing the truth about Catholic doctrines, and Catholic priests, and their relations with their flocks, and for a time the effect was prodigious. When we study the letters of Lord Darnley, Lord Plunkett, Sir Henry Parnell, and others of the same stamp, given by Fitzpatrick : the writings of Sydney Smith, and the debates in Parliament at the period of Catholic Emancipation, and compare these writers and speakers with their successors, it is plain that the darkness of bigotry again fell on the Protestant brain. It was a time when Parliament was called on to try the noblest cause which could come before a human tribunal, and the minds of those who were on the right side were ennobled and enlightened by the truth which they were called on to set free.

When the work was done, and Protestant statesmen found that Catholic liberty, because it was incomplete, in many ways increased their troubles, then came a half century characterized by that vague and ignorant hostility and distrust of the Catholic clergy of which Palmerston and Lord John Russell were representatives. The process of again disabusing the English mind, and vindicating Irish priests and their religion, has been a slow one, for instead of a fair trial before the first and most enlightened tribunal

¹ *Life of Bishop Doyle*. Fitzpatrick, i., p. 409.

² *Ibid.*, p. 407.

of the Empire; it has had to be fought out by reviewers, novelists, and special correspondents—good, bad, and indifferent. For all that, the Irish priests have won the day. Mr. MacDonagh's article in the *Contemporary Review*, of April, 1896, on 'The Irish Priesthood,' is a very fair specimen of the now common judgment of dispassionate people in England. It is plain that he has taken trouble to find out what sort of being is the Irish priest, and that he has got that immunity from national and sectarian bitterness without which such an investigation is ever a mockery. The following are some of his conclusions:—

Perhaps no better pastors in the world, from a spiritual point of view . . . simple-minded, unworldly . . . self-sacrificing, lives, seeking no reward, as far as this world is concerned, but the esteem and love of their flocks, . . . ; as a body, they are really in Ireland, as in other countries, a great conservative force . . . they have controlled and checked, rather than inflamed, the excesses of popular agitation . . . two attempts at rebellion against English rule in Ireland, in 1848 and 1869. The leaders of both those revolutionary movements attribute their failure to the hostile influence of the priests.¹

Why is it that this information has still to be given to our friends in England? Has it been otherwise in those eighty years since Bishop Doyle began his war against Secret Societies in the collieries and villages of Leinster? We old people, who can remember the bishops and priests who were his associates, and the people whom he taught, know right well that the only difference is, that the clergy are more conservative now, for the simple reason that they have something to conserve; for their principles have never, and can never change: of all men in the world they are most under the dominion of principle, that servitude to Him of whom St. Paul writes, *Cui servire regnare est*.

If the adversaries of the Church have not observed this, it is because they would not observe it, and yet they have acted upon it. If the principles of the Catholic clergy had been as easily adapted to rebellion, as those of Presbyterian

¹ Pages 541, 542.

ministers, or the chaplains of Orange Lodges, they would have got all that they wanted long ago. Moreover, statesmen who reflected at all, must have observed that of all religions, the Catholic is that which at once, when it has liberty, tends to make a stake for itself in the country. Never was bigotry more ungoverned by reason, and therefore more criminal, than when it assumed that priests who were straining every energy, spending all they possessed, and borrowing and begging in their own and other lands to build churches, monasteries, convents, schools, and hospitals, were at the same time longing for civil war, that all these things might be set on fire. What are the vested interests, and immovable investments created by the Protestant clergy in Ireland, or even in England, compared with those great religious edifices, which since Emancipation have risen in town and country through the length and breadth of Ireland, and chiefly through the labour of her priests? And within those walls were their own flesh and blood, the gentle ministers of the mercy and love of God, trained indeed for conquests, but only for those of Christ. Unless Bishop Doyle was a prophet, of which there are no signs, he could not know all that we know now. But it is his glory that he stands out as the chief representative of the policy of the consolidation of Ireland by religion, in the days when the sun of Emancipation rose, and her new life began.

Whatever may be thought of this claim, here preferred for Bishop Doyle's equality, at least, with that wonderful man to whom Catholics have decreed the sublime title of 'Liberator,' anyhow it cannot be denied that his life was both romantic and heroic. Born, 1786, at New Ross, Wexford, the son of a peasant, who should have been a proprietor were it not for the loyalty of his ancestors to God, our Lady, and the Stuart King; in '98, in the midst of the Rebellion; 1806, an Augustinian, and student at Coimbra, 1808; a Volunteer against the French invaders and the Revolution, same year; returns to Ireland, ordained and teaches Rhetoric and Theology at New Ross and Carlow, 1819; consecrated Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Aet. 33; 'a very young prelate, sir,' as Milner said; but he had seen

much of life, and he had the gift of measuring it. His youth gives a colour of humour to his successes. We can imagine the amazement and bewilderment of aged senators, ministers, and judges, when this young Irishman, with his bright complexion, dark eyes, and deep sonorous voice, whose episcopal character was little respected, entered the lists of the Imperial Senate, and threw down the gauntlet, with manifest signs in word and bearing that he was prepared to face anyone amongst them, or every-one, as they pleased. The chiefs amongst those who listened to him were men who had been acquainted with great characters, and had learned how to measure them. They knew that what is mere impudence and effrontery in the ignorant, is the majesty and victory of truth in the wise; and because Wellington, Lord Darnley, Lord Anglesey, and such men had understanding, they admired their great antagonist, even as they went down before his lance, and they were not ashamed to surrender.¹

After the Bishop's death, Lord Anglesey related, how during the Examination some peer put an absurd question, and that, with a commanding gesture, the Bishop said: 'I did not think there was a British peer so ignorant as to ask such a question.'²

The narrative of these examinations in Fitzpatrick's *Life of Bishop Doyle* reminds us of St. Basil before the Prefect Modestus, as told by St. Gregory:—

Modestus. 'For whom do you take me?'

Basil. 'For a thing of naught, while such are your commands.'

Modestus. 'No one ever yet spoke to Modestus with such freedom.'

Basil. 'Peradventure Modestus never yet fell in with a bishop: or, surely, in a like trial you would have heard like language. . . Where God's honour is at stake we think of nothing else, looking simply on Him.'

Modestus parted, with the respect which firmness necessarily inspires in those who witness it.³

¹ Probably it was Bishop Doyle who taught Wellington his laconic and memorable defence of his inconsistency; 'I have changed my opinion, I have changed my opinion.'

² Fitzpatrick's *Life of Bishop Doyle*, i. 408.

³ *Hist. Sketches*, Cardinal Newman, ii. 10.

Many of those who listened to Bishop Doyle were men who could stand comparison even with Romans of an earlier and nobler period. It is remarkable that his battles at Westminster were fought and won at a time when England was under martial law in its best sense; when Waterloo was still on the brain, and Wellington dictator, Lord Anglesey, Viceroy of Ireland, and a Sailor Prince on the steps of the throne was hurling defiance in the House of Lords at the bigotry and folly of his ancestors.¹ To such men the fearless bearing of the Bishop of Kildare must have had singular attractions. Moreover, of all rulers of men, military and naval commanders are most likely to be practical in their politics as far as subordinates are concerned; for success, and even life itself, are continually dependent on the cordial support of the least of their subjects. We cannot imagine an army or a fleet governed by that jobbery and chicanery and underhand dealing, which so often in politics, 'by dividing rules.'

It needed neither great knowledge of history, nor deep reflection, to understand Bishop Doyle when he declared that the laws in Ireland were so perverted that 'they had not educated the people on principles agreeable to reason or the law of God: hence, human nature has either been perverted by them, or revolted against them.' In the words of the Chancellor, Lord Redesdale, 'there was one law for the rich, and another for the poor.'² These were the facts, then came his conclusions:—

The Irish will become reformers. Aye, to a certainty they will, if you continue to treat them unjustly, and reformers of the very worst description; they will ally themselves with any enemy that political corruption may have. The man who is in pursuit of a robber, and seeking to recover his goods, does not inquire of the person who joins him in the pursuit, whence he came, or what his character or object is. . . . Just so the Irish. Reject them, insult them, continue to deprive them of hope, and they will league with Beelzebub against you.³

¹ Duke of Clarence. Hansard, Feb. 23, 1820. The disgust and horror of 'the law' in Ireland, expressed by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and Sir John Moore, were probably remembered by their military friends.

² *Letters on the State of Ireland*, by J. K. L. (Bp. Doyle), 88. Dublin, 1825.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

As I have said, extremes met, and were harmonized in the politics of the Bishop of Kildare; and this, which will be his glory in ages that are coming, was in his own time the secret of his bitterest disappointments. Thoughtful men, at a distance, with the cool waters of the Irish Sea between them and the chronic volcanoes of Ireland, could calmly exercise their 'large discourse, looking before and after;' but perhaps it was too much, at the time, to expect this in Ireland itself. Anyhow it came to pass, that even O'Connell could not understand the œcumenical wisdom of the man who saw all things in God, and measured all things by the measurements of God. Here was a man who, apparently without any attempt to measure his words, was one day flooding Ireland with letters and manifestos against the existing laws and government as fierce as Edmund Burke's assaults on the 'Cannibal Republic of France,' and the next issuing a Pastoral if possible still fiercer, against illegal associations and secret societies, on which the Government sprung, not to suppress, but to propagate, printing at their own expense, and distributing 300,000 copies throughout the length and breadth of Ireland.

In the world of nature, as well as of grace, 'the end is the trial.' It may be too much to say that the last days of Bishop Doyle came up to the level of heroic sanctity; but certainly in many ways they approached it. Few dying men have ever fought harder, and longer for others; *greater love than this no man hath*; and the struggle that killed him while still in the prime of life, was with those Secret Societies which for more than a century have been the worst enemies of Ireland in every sense of the word.

To critics who seek for fame by lecturing the mighty dead, we leave the task of deciding whether or no he was too severe in his anathemas and punishments: too much given to imitate the antique spirit of better times, when St. Ambrose condemned a submissive Emperor to eight months' exclusion from the Church and the Sacraments, for barbarity to his subjects. Whether too severe or not, one thing is certain that neither before nor since has anyone done so much to stamp with infamy all secret speculators in

rebellion, whether designing or merely reckless. Of all the triumphs of the Catholic religion in Ireland, her victories over Secret Societies have been the most astounding. On every side she was girt by Secret Societies—Freemason, Orange, and United Irish, fostered by the state, and blessed as far as she could bless, by the state religion; while murder, their agent, in the shape of duelling, was legalized amongst those governing classes, not excepting the judges, whom the people were expected to revere and imitate. Whatever the deficiencies of the Irishman may be, no one ever said that he was wanting in logic; and this logic taught him that before God he had just as good a right to shoot his enemy as the venerable Duke of Wellington to go out in the cool quiet morning, to shoot, or be shot, by his *friend* Lord Winchelsea, even though, as it happened, it was for the sake of Catholic Ireland.

The prevalence of the hideous plague of duelling in Ireland in the first half of this century was something almost incredible. It was not confined to Protestants; for, unfortunately, there were many Catholics who were such only in name under the influence of mixed Protestant and French education, as well as of French refugees in Ireland. Freemasonry also deceived many: O'Connell was a Freemason until he discovered its atheistic spirit. If Mr. Lecky before he wrote his *History of Ireland*, had come out of his library and condescended to interrogate some of us as to our family traditions, he would have been better able to discover the well-springs of social disorder in Ireland: even Lever might have enlightened him, for the manners of the Irish gentry are fairly described by this novelist, who in other respects is so obnoxious. Sir J. Barrington, himself an Irish judge, gives a record of two hundred and twenty-seven 'memorable and official duels,' as he styles them, fought in his time, the combatants including a Lord Chancellor, six Judges, of whom three were Chief Justices, and observes: 'I think I may challenge any country in Europe to show such an assemblage of gallant *judicial* and *official* antagonists at fire and sword.'¹

¹ *Personal Sketches of his own Times*, ii., p. 3.

Such were the men who were given to the Irish people, as the representatives and dispensers of the justice of God and man; and the reckless and murderous spirit which reigned in the Courts, found pupils and emulators in every rank of society. Into this 'moral chaos,' as the Bishop styles it, with every power—political, legal, and social—leagued against her, the Church had to infuse order. Who can deny that she has succeeded beyond all human expectation? The citadels of God and the shrines of the Madonna are her witnesses. Aye, and we may ask, who is it that has given to the empire those soldiers and sailors who have carried, and are carrying, the British standard round the world? Who is it that has taught them 'the unbought grace of life,' that 'subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom'? Certainly it was not the Established Church, nor the Freemasons, nor Orange Societies, nor even Trinity College. Again, is it not true that English masters and mistresses, entice, almost kidnap, Irish servants, and carry them off to England, because they know that money and jewels, the honour of their families, and their own throats are safest with such domestics?

And now if I have made good my point, that the Hero of Kildare was the leader in the work of the religious and moral regeneration of emancipated Ireland, it is plain that he is one to whom many of the inhabitants of the globe are debtors, and will remain so until Christ comes to judge. If they neglect his memory, and turn instead to the heroic ideals of Thomas Carlyle, or George Eliot, so much the worse for them. The only real heroic ideals are those which are proved by their fruits, consecrated by time, and by the rule and measure of unchanging truth. The Bishop of Kildare was only one amongst many whose heroic lives would have been recorded in any other country. In Ireland, writes Mr. S. C. Hall, heroic charity is so common that it attracts no attention: 'There are no village annals for village virtues.'¹ Who is there in Ireland whose memory

¹ *Ireland*, i., p. 268.

goes back even for half a century, who from personal or family recollections cannot summon up images of bishops and priests whose very names sounds like the trumpet of an angel in his soul? The first priest I remember was Father Sheahan of Glandore (1838), one of the heroes of the famine and the fever years. Who here below has recorded his deeds? I have before me one of his letters to my mother (April 25, 1847), written when we were far away. 'I nearly fell a victim,' he writes, 'to our labour in consequence of the prevailing distress.' This is all he says of himself; but across the Atlantic other voices came telling how, while doing a giant's work, he was at the same time living on the 'yellow meal,' with his starving flock. The lesson then that the life of Bishop Doyle teaches us is to love, and to exult in the remembrance of our forefathers to whom we owe *the liberty with which Christ has set us free*, and those examples of heroic self-sacrifice which have ever been the life of nations worthy of the name.

W. B. MORRIS.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF 'THE IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

I.

AS we know that the Holy Scripture came from God, Fontenelle did not outstep the truth when he designated *The Imitation of Christ* as the most beautiful book that ever came from the hand of man. Beyond doubt it most perfectly reflects the light which Jesus Christ brought down from heaven to earth, and truthfully portrays the highest Christian philosophy. When our Divine Saviour preached the Sermon on the Mount, He held up as the characteristics of His followers—perfect humility, poverty of spirit, purity of heart, meekness, sorrow for sin, forgiveness of injuries, and peace and joy in the midst of tribulation and persecution. Where else do we find these doctrines so incisively and persuasively taught as in *The Imitation*? In this one book, as Dean Milman says, 'was gathered and concentrated all that was elevating, passionate, profoundly pious, in all the older mystics,' and no one ever could resist its power, 'its short quivering sentences, which went at once to the heart.'

How, and why, it may be asked, was the author able to compass within the covers of this slender volume, so much wisdom, such vast spiritual experience, poetry, and profound philosophy? Such is the question put by the late Brother Azarias, in his essay on 'Culture of the Spiritual Sense,' wherein he gives us the most perfect and beautiful analysis of *The Imitation* ever written. Let me quote his reply:—

Here is the secret of the magic influence wielded by the *Imitation*. Pick it up when or where we may, open it at any page we will, we always find something to suit our frame of mind. The author's genius has such complete control of the subject, and handles it with so firm a grasp, that in every sentence we find condensed the experience of ages. It is humanity, finding in this simple man an adequate mouthpiece for the utterance of its spiritual wants and soul-yearnings. And his expression is so full

and adequate, because he regarded things in the white light of God's truth, and saw their nature and their worth clearly and distinctly, as divested of the hues and tints flung around them by passion and illusion.

Apart from the countless effects which the study of this wondrous volume is certain to produce, none is more natural than a longing to know something of its author. Just half a century ago I began to ask myself the question:—Who wrote this book, and what manner of man was he? Thenceforth I commenced to study the subject, and in 1887 I published the result of my researches.¹ I can well understand that many feel as I did, especially those who, having spiritual charge of others, advise them to read *The Imitation*. In the hope of giving to such, in very brief and simple fashion, the information which cost me long and laborious research, I shall now endeavour to condense all essentials into the smallest possible space.

Those who wish to study the subject deeply, will, I think, find in my essay quoted all they need. I believe it is impossible for any unprejudiced reader to master the evidence I have there produced, without arriving at the conclusion that the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* must be assigned to Thomas à Kempis, Canon Regular of St. Augustine, who lived and died in the monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, in Holland. When I use the term authorship, I should explain the exact limits within which I believe it applies to à Kempis. It seems evident that he was not the sole or original author in the ordinary sense of the word. On the other hand, it is equally manifest that he was the skilled collector, compiler, and arranger of the book, which, when studied to the bottom, proves to be an epitome or hand-book, embodying especially the teaching of the Holy Scripture, St. Bernard, and the writers and inspirers of the school of Windesheim, to which latter we shall allude presently.

Before proceeding to consider and analyze the strange

¹ *Thomas à Kempis*. By F. R. Cruise, M.D. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. London, 1887.

controversy which formerly existed as to the authorship of *The Imitation*, it will be desirable to give a brief outline of the life and surroundings of Thomas à Kempis, the man towards whom all existing evidence points. In fact this course is necessary, because it opens up the history of the school of Windesheim, the cradle of the book in question, and of which à Kempis was pre-eminently the literary exponent. I may observe that I think it better to omit, as far as possible, in this essay, references to the various authorities from whom I quote. They may be found *in extenso* in my former work, and all interested in the subject can satisfy themselves, as I have done, of their accuracy and fulness. So far as I am aware, not a single one has been challenged or found erroneous.

Let us now look back into the years preceding the fifteenth century. Strange and troubled were those times, and fraught with scandal and confusion. Human ambition and the curses of wealth and worldliness had eaten their way, so far as God permitted, into the very fold of Christ. Prosperity had done its worst. What persecution had failed to do luxury bade fair to accomplish. To a considerable extent the morals of the people, and even of the clergy, from the highest to the lowest, were deeply corrupted, and the Church appeared in urgent danger. The Council of Lyons, summoned by Pope Gregory X., A.D. 1274, succeeded in adjusting for the time the schism of the Greeks, and peace reigned until the death of Michael Palaeologus, Emperor of Constantinople. Then the heresy broke forth again, and has never since been extinguished.

Amidst the confusion and disorder thus inaugurated, a still more scandalous revolt arose to harass and lay waste the Church of God—the Papal schism—the great schism of the West. An internal convulsion now shook the house of God. Rival popes struggled for the Chair of Peter. Christendom was bewildered, nations doubted whom they should obey, and the unity of faith seemed in peril. Never since the days of Julian the Apostate uprose a crisis so terrible or so dangerous. Still, above all came the promise

of God, that He would be with His Church all days, even to the consummation of the world. Hence neither persecution, heresy, nor laxity ever shook the faith, because as St. Bernard tells us: 'The generation of Christians can never come to an end; neither can faith perish from the earth, nor charity from within the Church.'

Just about this time a great religious movement commenced in Germany and the adjacent Low Countries. Holy men, gifted mystics of earnest faith and saintly lives began to teach, and so impressively to inculcate their doctrines, that the people, hitherto steeped in worldliness, and neglectful of all religious obligations, turned a willing ear, and came back in vast crowds to their spiritual allegiance. Pre-eminent amongst these great leaders I may point out John Tauler, of Strasburg, Suso, Ruysbroeck, and Henry de Kalcar.

The mention of the last name leads us directly to his illustrious convert, a most remarkable man, the model of a true reformer, some account of whose career and work must necessarily preface our study of à Kempis and *The Imitation*. This man was Gerard Groot, often surnamed The Great. The most reliable account we have of his life is from the pen of Thomas à Kempis. From this memoir, from his *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes*, and from John Busch's *Chronicle of Windesheim*, I shall extract an outline.

The venerable Gerard Groot, was born in Deventer, in Holland, about the year of our Lord 1340. His parents were people of wealth and good position, much honoured and distinguished in their country; and they watched with tender solicitude over the education of their son. While still a youth, but fifteen years old, Gerard was sent for the completion of his education to the schools of Paris. Whilst there, if he surpassed his comrades in luxury and extravagance, he steadily kept in view the motive which led him thither; namely, to make rapid progress in his studies. As yet the glory of God was not the main object of his thoughts: he pursued the shadow of a great name, and sought to gain renown amongst men. Very early, while but

in his eighteenth year, after the ordinary course of study, genius helping the aspirations of his ambition, Gerard took his degree of Master. Raised to this position, and combining brilliant intellectual powers with a taste for the pomps and vanities of the world, rich benefices were heaped upon him, amongst others a Canonry at Aix-la-Chapelle, another at Utrecht.

Behold him now fairly set forth on the broad path of life, his heart as yet untouched by Heaven's voice. But a great and merciful change awaited this gifted man—the call to an exalted sanctity and heavenly mission. This call and conversion came to pass through the instrumentality of Henry de Kalcar, already named, a saintly Carthusian, who lived in the Monastery of Monichuisen, near Arnheim. De Kalcar had known Gerard as a student, and hearing of his absorption in worldliness, determined to seek him out and reason with him. All this is told in à Kempis's *Life of Groot*, together with his submission, and long retreat at Monichuisen, where he gave himself up to prayer, and the study of the Scriptures, and of the fathers of the Church, especially St. Augustine and St. Bernard.

Later it was thought well that Gerard Groot should go forth to preach the Gospel, which he did with extraordinary eloquence and success, making converts by thousands. After a time, owing to some misunderstanding with the authorities, through no fault of his, he was interdicted from preaching, and, yielding without a murmur, returned to Deventer.

Out of evil good will often come. Debarred from preaching in public, Gerard occupied himself in consoling and exhorting communities and individuals, and devoted special care to superintending the work of scholars engaged in transcribing the Holy Scriptures and books of theology and piety, an employment of great importance and emolument in those days before the invention of the art of printing. Being settled once more in his native city of Deventer, he drew around him a number of exemplary men, both of the priesthood and laity, many of whom had been converted by his eloquent preaching. Living together in

a species of community, they were soon joined by others, of various rank and education—persons of ample means, scholars, copyists, and even artisans of skill in different handicrafts, all willingly renouncing the world and its attractions to embrace a life of mortification and sanctity. In order that holy women, aspiring to perfection, might not be excluded from participation in the good work, Gerard founded a convent adjoining his own house, where those who entered followed a similar life, and carried out various industries suited to their sex and capabilities.

It would appear that Florentius Radewyn, an illustrious and beloved disciple of Gerard Groot, took a very active part in the formation of this community, and was entrusted from the beginning with its care and organization. In fact, Busch tells us that it was Florentius who proposed to Gerard the idea of forming into a community the clerics and aspirants by whom they were surrounded. Groot was at first averse to the project, fearing the opposition of the mendicant orders; but he finally yielded to the solicitations of his disciple.

Under the direction of these two holy men, Gerard and Florentius, was thus originated the society subsequently known as 'The Congregation of Common Life,' and at that time called 'The Modern Devotion.' The leading idea which bound together these earnest seekers for holiness, was an endeavour to return to the Christian life of the apostolic age. All lived in community, in poverty, chastity, and perfect obedience to their superiors; all worked for the common good, and contributed their earnings to the general fund, spending any vacant time in prayer, pious reading, works of charity, and almsgiving. 'And the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul. For neither was there any one needy among them, for as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things they had sold, and laid it down before the feet of the Apostles.'

This 'Congregation of Common Life,' grew apace; but still one important detail remained to be accomplished. Gerard knew that to make the institution a lasting success

it would be necessary to place it under some definite spiritual guidance. About this time he was led, mainly by a visit he made to the celebrated mystic John Ruysbroeck, at the Convent of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, at Groenendaal in Brabant, to select that Order for the spiritual direction of the new community. Returning to Deventer he resumed his labours, in the intervals of which he matured his plans concerning the new undertaking. Many difficulties had to be overcome, many details to be arranged and perfected, amidst all of which Florentius was the ever-faithful helper and confidant.

Meanwhile God had ordained that the holy Master should not see the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but that he should be called to his reward in the midst of his work. In those days the plague raged in Holland, and Gerard was stricken, catching the fatal infection from a friend whom he attended. He called around him his faithful disciples, spoke words of consolation and advice, confiding them and the 'New Devotion' to Florentius Radewyn. He then quietly sank, and died on the 20th of August, 1384, the feast day of his favourite St. Bernard.

Of Florentius Radewyn, his successor, it may be truly said that he realized the words which our Divine Lord addressed to His disciples, when He bade them follow Him in the lowly path which leads to the eternal kingdom, 'Take up My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, because I am meek and humble of heart; and you shall find rest to your souls.' This holy man was born in the year 1350, at Leyderdam, near Utrecht. His father was a man of high reputation and independent means, and sent his son, while quite a youth, to Prague, the seat of a far-famed university. Gifted with rare intelligence, Florentius made rapid progress, and soon became distinguished in every branch of science. Having completed his studies, and taken his degree as Master, he returned to his native city. Pure of heart, and irreproachable in his life, he entered the Church and became a Canon of St. Peter's, at Utrecht. Ere long, however, God mercifully withdrew him from the temptations to which he was exposed, and inspiring him with an

ardent longing for holiness, led him to enter the ways of perfection.

Gerard Groot preached constantly in the Church of our Blessed Lady at Deventer, and Florentius often went to hear him. The inspired words of the great apostle sank deeply into his heart; a burning desire to renounce the world and devote himself entirely to God took possession of his mind. From a Master of Science he became a follower of Christ, saying with the Psalmist, 'O how great is the multitude of Thy sweetness, O Lord, which Thou hast hidden for them that fear Thee!' 'My sheep hear My voice; and I know them, and they follow Me.' Florentius had been Canon of St. Peter's, at Utrecht. After a time he resigned this prebend to become a simple curate at Deventer, in order that he might be near to Gerard, in whose work he was enlisted, and by whose teaching and example he desired to profit.

It is impossible just now to follow in detail the career of Florentius Radewyn. I must not, however, omit a brief sketch of the crowning work of his life—the foundation of the monastery of Windesheim. It will be remembered that Gerard Groot, when on his death-bed, exhorted his disciples to put their trust in God, to persevere in their good work, to submit themselves entirely to the guidance of Florentius, to place the newly-formed congregation under the spiritual guidance of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and to build a monastery for its accommodation. For some time this project was in contemplation, preliminary steps were taken, various localities visited and inspected; but it was not until the year of our Lord 1386, two years after the death of Gerard, that a commencement was actually made. Meanwhile the approval of Florentius Wevelichoven, Bishop of Utrecht, had been sought and gained. The spot ultimately chosen was a fertile tract, hitherto uncultivated, situated some twenty miles north of Deventer, and about four miles to the south-east of Zwolle. This valuable estate was the property of Berthold ten Have, a rich youth of Zwolle, converted by Gerard Groot; who generously offered it as a site for the new institution. To

supplement his munificence Henry Wilsen, of Kampen, and his brother James, men of wealth and position, added a large endowment.

In 1386, under the direction of Florentius Radewyn, a chosen band of six intrepid holy men set forth from Deventer to take possession, to commence the clearing of the woods, and the building of the new monastery, which was destined ere long to work such marvels in the vineyard of Christ, and to extend so salutary an influence over Holland, Belgium, and Germany. The locality, called Windesem (now Windesheim), was held in great reverence, and believed to have been sanctified by the visits of angels. Within a marvellously short time the grand design of Gerard may be said to have been accomplished. Windesheim had fairly set forth upon its magnificent career, and commenced to spread around its beneficial influence. Fascinating though the task would be, the needful brevity of this sketch obliges me to omit the history of the rapid and stupendous growth of the new monastery, likewise all details of the sanctity and devotedness of its inhabitants, the speed with which it absorbed, as the mother house, all the Augustinian monasteries of the adjacent countries, until it numbered as its affiliated children between seventy and eighty religious houses of men and women. Anyone who desires to study the subject will find ample details in Busch's *Chronicle of Windesheim*, Book I., from chapter xii. to xlvii. I shall only touch upon one feature of this glorious institution—namely, the character of the teaching of its spiritual school. I deplore my incompetency for this task, which I attempt solely because it is indispensable for the full comprehension of much which I shall have to bring orward later.

Let us recall, for a few moments, the thoughts which filled the minds of Gerard Groot and Florentius Radewyn when they inaugurated the Congregation of Common Life. In the first place, it was designed that its members should endeavour, from their hearts, to return to the life of the early Christians; to such a life as the Apostles led when following our Lord Jesus Christ on earth, and which they and their

companions carried out after His ascent into heaven. All were to live in common, to work for the general good, to hold their worldly possessions in community, and to spend their leisure hours in prayer and works of charity. This grand idea of returning to the apostolic life constituted the tie which held together the earliest members of the little band of scholars congregated under the guidance of Gerard and Florentius. The necessities of those times, before the invention of the art of printing, rendered the work of transcribing books a leading occupation, and one both needful and profitable. From it, moreover, arose a class of scholars whose minds became saturated with the teaching of those whose works they copied, and leavened with their sanctity.

Keeping this in mind, a little study enables us to understand the tone of the spiritual school of Windesheim, and to trace its source and development. Groot was a man of exceptional sanctity, ability, and erudition. Before he commenced his missionary life he had devoted himself, especially during his retreat at Monichuisen, to the study of the Holy Scriptures and of the fathers of the Church. In his famous protest against the edict which suspended him from the right to preach in public he tells us the sources of the doctrine he taught. Not alone had he mastered the Sacred Word of God, but he had also familiarized himself with the interpretations of all the great teachers of the Church—Ambrose, Gregory, Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Dionysius, Bernard, Bede, Isidore, Hugo, and Richard. Their works, as he tells us, were his chosen riches on earth.

Such was the inheritance of the school of Windesheim. It is certain that it never strove to promulgate its teaching beyond its own circle, which was natural enough for those whose motto lay in the words of St. Augustine, '*Ama nesciri*,' 'Love to be unknown;' nevertheless it is impossible to study the works it has left without observing that *The Imitation* is largely drawn, word for word, and sentence for sentence, from its writers, and that in truth the book found its cradle in Windesheim. That it did so is the inevitable conviction

of all who have studied the subject profoundly without bias or prejudice.

In my next communication I will give an outline of the career of Thomas à Kempis, the Windesheimer towards whom all existing evidence points clearly as the author of *The Imitation*.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

ANGLICANISM AS IT IS

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, like the Irish family itself, is too generous to confine its attention to matters that more immediately concern itself at home. Its Catholic spirit has sympathies with all that interests the Church wherever she is to be found. I have, accordingly, been asked to say something about our own special work here in England in regard to what is popularly known as Anglicanism. Ireland has not, so far, been much troubled with this particular product of the heretical spirit: but there are signs that the difficulties with which we have to contend here in the world of controversy, may yet emerge even in that land of faith. The more naked forms of Protestantism can hardly content those who are brought into contact with the more cultured shapes of that Protean spirit; and Irish Catholics may yet have to deal with the curious claims to Catholicity which have fascinated so many on this side of the Channel.

The particular controversy of which I speak has its advantages; for perhaps we in England are led to lay more stress on the dogmas connected with the Petrine prerogatives, and on the notes of the Church, than would otherwise be natural; and it is a gain to the Catholic mind to be driven to survey our treasures, and note the glories of the Bride of Christ, which are but the reflection of His own. At the same time, one must not forget, that to Ireland we owe the very best treatise on this subject that we possess from an English-speaking divine, in the great work of

Dr. Murray, *De Ecclesiâ*. What I propose, then, in one or two articles, is to give such plain and simple thoughts as occur to one in considering the most recent phases of our controversy, with those whom we will call High Anglicans.

The subject that occupied the attention of religious men in England sixty years ago, was the 'Church.' After more than half a century of debate and teaching of various kinds on this subject, what is the upshot at this present time? It will be enough in this article to answer this question.

In republishing his celebrated essay on the 'Catholicity of the Anglican Church,' written when a Protestant, Cardinal Newman prefixed a few foot-notes, and a long invaluable note at the end. Amongst these foot-notes occurs one which the present writer noticed only after having written on the same subject, as the result of many years of anxious thought.¹ Newman is speaking of the Anglican contention, that all that is necessary for the unity of the Church is that hidden oneness which is secured by the union of believers with the one Lord of all through the use of sacraments. Barrow, whom he quotes, does not disallow the *duty* of what he calls 'political union' amongst Churches, but he disavows its necessity. Newman, writing as an Anglican, suggests, that 'brotherly' union would be a fitter expression than 'political;' but, as a Catholic, he adds these words in a note: 'Is not "visible" a better word still? and is not the proposition maintained in the text simply this, "The unity of the Church is an invisible unity?" But if that is allowed, will it be possible long to deny the proposition, "The Church is invisible"?'²

Cardinal Newman has here laid his finger on the real blot in the High Anglican theory. He is not alone in this; for Dr. Murray, of Maynooth, in his invaluable treatise, to which I have alluded, pointed out, that Dr. Pusey's theory of the Church amounts to a denial of her visibility just as

¹ *Anglican Fallacies*, p. 100. Catholic Truth Society, 21, Westminster Bridge-road, London, S.E. (1896). 8d.

² *Essays Critical and Theological*, vol. ii., p. 34.

certainly as does the theory of the Calvinists in Germany, and the Methodists amongst ourselves. It is, in a word, radically Protestant. It escapes the appearance of Protestantism by its insistence on visibility as a property of the Church, but it is in appearance only, that it differs from other non-Catholic theories.

In fact, Anglicanism, as such, never does rise to the full conception of an actually visible Church. The Church, to be a Church at all, must bear some sort of authority. But as long as she is divided (as in the Anglican conception) into at least three separate conflicting portions, she not only cannot speak with authority, but she cannot speak at all. Now this might be, conceivably, the case for some short period. But the Anglican argument contemplates such a persistent dumbness as covers three centuries and a-half, and an indefinite future. The Church, on this supposition, has simply ceased to be visible. For, of course, we are speaking here not of her material visibility, which consists in her being composed of visible men, and having visible sacraments, but of her formal visibility. Being one society, according to the Catholic hypothesis, instituted for the purposes of religion, she must be able to fulfil those purposes; one main purpose being that of teaching. We must be able to see where she is, to hear her voice, to learn her decrees. This, on the highest Anglican presupposition, is impossible. And it has been rendered ten-fold more inconceivable, that she should ever be able to do this, on the Anglican hypothesis, since the recent Bull on Anglican Orders.

The darling idea of the High Anglican has always been that some day there will be a General Council comprised of Roman, Greek, and Anglican bishops, in which many matters of present disagreement will be finally settled. Although this may not be a prominent feature of Anglican teaching, it is a fundamental one, kept in reserve for the inquirer who contemplates the idea of perpetual separation with horror. In July last, the *Church Quarterly Review*, an Anglican organ of the highest importance, said :—

It seems to us within the range of possibility that the Pope may recognise Anglican Orders, as the orders of the Greek Church

have always been recognised as good. Though they have never been acknowledged by Rome, yet they have never been formally condemned. If ever any such ratification [*sic*] of the English Ordinal should be achieved, it would be a gracious act, and worthy of the large-mindedness of Leo XIII., to invite the patriarchs of the East and the prelates of the English Church to an amicable discussion on the present state of the divisions of Christendom, and the best means of affecting their remedy.¹

One cannot help pausing a moment to notice how little our Anglican friends are in the habit of confronting facts. Imagine the present Archbishop of York and the late amiable prelate of Canterbury, meeting as bishops, with the patriarchs of the East and the Holy Father. The Archbishop of York would come to the meeting with the unfortunate stigma of having contracted a second marriage after he was made bishop, an offence that could hardly be condoned by patriarchs of the East, who disallow all marriage after receiving Holy Orders ; the late Archbishop of Canterbury would have appeared with the Lincoln judgment on his shoulders, in which he had ruled that breaking the bread *before* consecration (a thing not done in the ancient liturgies, nor anywhere in the Catholic Church) must be done in sight of the people, as being an essential part of the original institution. And they would represent each of them prelates who include the Bishops of Liverpool and Lincoln. A very earnest young man, looking forward to the ministry of the Church of England, said to us the other day: 'If we had a really Catholic Archbishop, he would begin by excommunicating all the bishops.' And such is the feeling of many a young man in the same position at this hour. But on the theory we are considering the archbishops would have to represent all these bishops. Next imagine the legitimacy of the invocation of the saints coming on to the *tapis*, and the Eastern patriarchs discovering that no *single* bishop in England *allows* to be taught here what every one of themselves holds to be absolutely a matter of faith.

But to return. No one can now reasonably suppose that any Anglican bishop will ever sit in council at Rome *as* a bishop. The dream of the future Council could only now

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1896, p. 476.

be entertained by a mind incapable of grasping facts. The Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* has so far changed the situation.

But this means that, on the high Anglican theory, the Church can never speak—in other words, the Church is not visible. She herself can never appear in action. She is nowhere to be found. The ‘Roman’ Church is to be found, the Greek Church is to be found, and (we will suppose) the English Church is to be found; but where is *the* Church to be found? In what sense is there an actual Church in existence? Is it in the sense that there is something *underlying* these three portions which puts itself forth in their various and conflicting voices? No Anglican seems willing to face this question. Or, if he does, it is by stating substantially the latter theory. But this is simply the doctrine of an invisible Church.

The difficulty pursues an Anglican into his answer to the question, Where is the Church of England herself to be found? We know, of course, that there is a religious body recognised by the law, as the Church of England; we know that, in some sense or other, the Sovereign of England, as represented by the judicial Committee of the Privy Council, is its final Court of Appeal; and that the Sovereign, as represented by the Prime Minister for the time being, fills the legal sees, and so far determines the character of her teaching; and that every bishop in his oath of homage, professes to receive his spiritualities as well as his temporalities from the Sovereign. We know that every clergyman of the Church of England promises to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, and gives his assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. All this we know; but then, if the whole episcopate teaches that such and such a doctrine is enshrined in the *Book of Common Prayer*, our high Anglican friends tell us that that is not necessarily the teaching of the Church of England. If we ask, where then shall we find the Church of England? we shall obtain no intelligible answer. So that, in some sense, the Church of England herself is not visible. She cannot be apprehended. She is yet to come. That which has been taught in her name, for more than three hundred years, is not hers: it is not she

that taught : she is *in futuro*. She is not represented by convocation ; for convocation is apt to go wrong. She is not represented by the bishops ; for they would all be excommunicated by a Catholic archbishop. She is not represented by the majority of the clergymen ; for they do not profess to offer the Holy Sacrifice, do not administer the Sacrament of Penance, and are lamentable failures, so we are told, in theology. Then, where is she ?

It is, indeed, a serious question that we are asking ; for only one answer can be given by anyone who cares to face the facts of the case. So far as she exists at all, she is on the down-grade. But in this sense : *she*, as one living *spiritual* entity, can hardly be said to exist ; but if we take the trend of the majority of her prominent and teaching members, it is steadily undermining all belief in dogma. It could not, indeed, be otherwise, if we consider the developments that have been taking place within her which may be described thus :—In the awakening of religious activity which marked the early part of this century, the supernatural recovery of man's estate before God absorbed the souls of a number of English Christians ; but in one point only, viz., the Atonement wrought on the Cross. It was something that hearts should be warmed at all with a responsive love in gratitude for that act of infinite love. But the character of these good men's faith was deficient in its form. It relied on 'the Bible, and the Bible only.' The religious movement at Oxford added something to the material of faith in the shape of 'tradition.' They saw the necessity of belonging to a visible Church, and of the existence of a traditional teaching within that Church. The logical sequence of this advance in the way of belief would have been the apprehension of a perpetual guardian of Holy Scripture and tradition. But to apprehend this was to hover on the borders of the Catholic and Roman Church. There came, therefore, a parting of the ways, with the result that some entered the Catholic Church, and others went on 'as best they could.' It is with these latter and their successors that we have to do at this moment.

It is, of course, evident to a Catholic that neither the

Scriptures nor tradition could be safe apart from their guardianship by the Church. It is an oft-told tale how the Scriptures have fared in the hands of those who succeeded the 'Tractarians' at Oxford. It is not so often considered how their attitude towards tradition has followed a natural law of development downwards. This is the peculiar feature of High Anglicanism at this hour, and it deserves more than a passing notice.

Having let the formal visibility of the Church slip from their minds, content with a merely material visibility—that is to say, having subsided into acquiescing in the idea of the Church as a body characterized by an external organization consisting of separate fragments of supposed similar make, with a visible side to the ordinances of religion, an episcopate, or rather not so much 'an episcopate' as a crowd of bishops (to use the expression of the Holy Father on this subject) who are not 'one episcopate, of which a part is held by each so as to unite into one solid whole,' to use St. Cyprian's words¹—having thus allowed the idea of the Church's visibility to be depraved, as something that cannot be *seen in action*, it was natural that our friends should go on to depreciate, and deprave, and disfigure tradition itself. This is seen in such writings as those of Canon Bright, the Rev. F. W. Puller, Canon Gore, and others who stand out just now as champions of Anglicanism in England. We will give instances from each.

Father Sydney Smith has lately reminded Canon Bright, that, considering the admission, which in deference to history must perforce be made by Anglicans, that the Petrine episcopate has been the tradition of the Church from at least the middle of the third century, it rests with Anglicans to prove that it was not coeval with the actual beginnings of Christianity. So many centuries of prescription in its favour throw the *onus probandi* on the side of those who deny the primeval existence of the tradition, even from a merely natural point of view. But if we regard the Church

¹ For this interpretation of St. Cyprian's words—*Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*, see Franzelin, *De Ecclesia*, p. 156.

as a supernatural entity—if we realize her continuous existence as the home of the Spirit of Truth and the appointed Teacher of the nations from generation to generation, the position taken up by Father Sydney Smith would seem to be absolutely impregnable. To say that we will not believe in the Petrine episcopate, although it has been the traditional teaching of so many centuries, *unless* it can be shown to be plainly written in the comparatively scanty records of the first two centuries—still more, to require such demonstration as would be sufficient apart from the known tradition of century after century since those first two—what is this but to fail to appreciate the logical consequences of saying, ‘I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church.’ All that ought to be asked for in the way of proof, is that there should be nothing distinctly and decisively contradicting the tradition of ages. Expressions and phrases in the earliest centuries are to be explained, where they can be explained, by the subsequent age-long tradition. But to this Canon Bright objects, and thus furnishes an instance of how little value is set on tradition by those who do not believe in the formal visibility of the Church.

Next, Mr. Puller has to his own satisfaction accounted for the growth of the idea of a Petrine episcopate. It sprang from the Clementine Romance, which in some earlier form, that has to be presupposed, reached Rome, which also has to be supposed, in time to influence the orthodox Church of Rome, and induced her to take up with a pleasant tale in her own honour, which she effectually palmed off on the whole Christian world, saints and doctors of the Church, and opponents from the anti-christian camp as well. What can be the conception of the Church in the mind of one who could argue thus? What value can be set on the ascertained tradition of ages? It must not, however, be forgotten by a writer of the I. E. RECORD, that the chief promoter of this queer solution of the difficulty as it must ever be to an Anglican, of the continuous tradition of the Petrine episcopate, from the third century onwards, hails from Trinity College, Dublin.

We turn now to Canon Gore. In his work called *Dissertations on subjects connected with the Incarnation*, he quite frankly sets aside the stream of fathers which makes against his heresy. 'Any writer who cares for Catholic sentiment and traditional reverence . . . must approach this subject with great unwillingness.' As Dr. Gildea observes: 'Canon Gore approaches the subject without the least sign of unwillingness. But then, he certainly does not care for Catholic sentiment. Whether he cares for 'traditional reverence' or not we are not prepared to say; that he does not care for the reverence due to tradition, his dissertation only too clearly proves.'¹ Canon Gore calmly admits further on that 'the great bulk of the language of ecclesiastical writers is, it is true, against us.'² But this does not much trouble Canon Gore, for 'in the special subject of this inquiry we do not see them [the fathers] at their best.'³

Nor does Canon Gore stand alone. Those who know Oxford well are aware that he has succeeded in imparting his tone of thought to quite a number of the rising generation. He has a disciple in his successor in the principalship of Pusey House, at Oxford, in Mr. Ottley, who has recently written two volumes on the Incarnation, which may be fairly described as a defiance of tradition. He revises saints and doctors, such as Athanasius, Cyril, and Leo.

Now what this all means, is that those who in the person of their forerunners began with higher views of the Church, who were therefore called High Churchmen, are ending in a perpetual depreciation of tradition, which was precisely the element annexed to their faith by the early Tractarians. The theory has run its way, and has led those who followed it to its logical conclusion into the Catholic Church, whilst it has precipitated those who refused its logical consequence into the most unbridled exercise of private judgment. Beginning with grasping the idea of the sacraments, as the extension of the Incarnation, they are ending with the most serious

¹ *Dublin Review*, April, 1896, by W. Gildea, D.D., p. 348.

² *Diss.* p. 202.

³ Page 214.

assaults on the Incarnation itself. Writing under no apprehension of a living authority to guide and control their idiosyncrasies, they may end anywhere. The Church is not, to them, seriously visible. She cannot come down upon them, nor speak to them.

To be continued.

LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

THE relations of the Catholic Church and the Republic of the United States are not unfrequently misunderstood or misinterpreted, as well by Americans themselves as by Europeans. Not a few still retain the opinion that Rome, to quote the words of Scott, 'damns each free-born deed and thought,' that the doctrines of the Catholic Church are utterly irreconcilable with the theories of civil and religious liberty so ardently advocated by Americans to-day; while others appear to think that the liberty which American Catholics enjoy has a pernicious effect upon their faith, making them indocile to Church authority and indifferent in religious matters. The Catholic bishops of this country ought surely to be competent to speak on the question: no body of men in the country can be more competent. In the pastoral letter addressed to the clergy and laity of their charge by the American bishops assembled in the third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), we find the following:—

We think we can claim to be acquainted both with the laws, institutions, and spirit of the Catholic Church, and with the laws, institutions, and spirit of our country; and we emphatically declare that there is no antagonism between them. A Catholic finds himself at home in the United States, for the influence of his Church has constantly been exercised in behalf of individual rights and popular liberties. And the right-minded American nowhere finds himself more at home than in the Catholic Church, for nowhere else can he breathe more freely that atmosphere of Divine truth which alone can make him free.

We repudiate with equal earnestness the assertion that we

need to lay aside any of our devotedness to our Church to be true Americans, and the insinuation that we need to abate any of our love for our country's principles and institutions, to be faithful Catholics. To argue that the Catholic Church is hostile to our great Republic, because she teaches that 'there is no power but from God;' because, therefore, back of the events which led to the formation of the Republic, she sees the Providence of God leading to that issue, and back of our country's laws the authority of God as their sanction—this is evidently so illogical and contradictory an accusation, that we are astonished to hear it advanced by persons of ordinary intelligence.

No less illogical would be the notion that there is aught in the free spirit of our American institutions incompatible with perfect docility to the Church of Christ. The spirit of American freedom is not one of anarchy and license. It essentially involves love of order, respect for rightful authority, and obedience to just laws. There is nothing in the character of the most liberty-loving American which could hinder his reverential submission to the Divine authority of our Lord, or to the like authority delegated by Him to His Apostles and His Church. Nor is there in the world more devoted adherents of the Catholic Church, the See of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ than the Catholics of the United States.

A brief examination of the leading principles of the American constitution will clearly show that no conflict exists between them and the teachings of the Catholic Church. The American Republic has declared itself incompetent to enact laws controlling matters purely religious, and has pledged itself to protect the Church in the exercise of her spiritual freedom. The rights of the Church here are not concessions from the State, but are recognised by the State as rights prior to and above itself, which it is bound to respect and protect. This is different from the red republicanism of Europe, which advocates separation of Church and State through indifference to or hatred of all religion.

If we attentively consider [says Balmes¹] the points of difference between the revolution of the United States and that of France, we shall find that one of the principal points of difference consists in this, that the American revolution was essentially democratic, that of France essentially impious. In the manifestos

¹ *European Civilization*, p. 389.

by which the former was inaugurated, the name of God, of Providence is everywhere seen ; the men engaged in the perilous enterprise of shaking off the yoke of Great Britain, far from blaspheming the Almighty, invoke His assistance, convinced that the cause of independence was the cause of reason and of justice. The French began by deifying the leaders of irreligion, overthrowing altars, watering with the blood of priests the temples, the streets, and the scaffolds.

This is not an irreligious nation. The fact that our political charter presupposes God and Christianity ; that our Government makes Sunday a legal day of rest ; that sessions of state legislature and congress are opened with prayer, and chaplains appointed at public expense for congress, the army, the navy and state institutions ; that our presidents and governors of states in official documents recognise the dependence of the nation on God and the duty of gratitude to Him ; that our courts decide questions of Church discipline and property that come before them according to the charter and constitution of the Church in litigation ; that Church property is exempt from taxation ; is sufficient proof that, though Church and State are separate in this country, they are not unfriendly or antagonistic to each other.

We do not believe, of course, that the separation of the Church and State is the ideal to be aimed at in modern society, and that the policy, to use the common phrase, of 'a Free Church in a Free State,' is one deserving of application in all countries. That the union of Church and State in past ages resulted in injury to both, especially to the former, we are ready to admit ; but that it necessarily has such an effect, we must deny. The best things may be abused, and that which is good remains good in spite of abuse. Moreover, we must not forget that if some evils arose out of the union of Church and State in the past, incalculable benefits have also resulted from that union, and that it has been mainly instrumental in producing the peace, the prosperity, and the civilization which made the Christendom whereof we are heirs. At any rate, it is, as a principle, indisputable that the two powers in an ideal State should work in harmony and mutually assist each other, and that an organic and mutual understanding should exist

between them. We are so apt to forget this principle in the United States, that Leo XIII. deems it necessary to remind us of it. In his encyclical letter to the bishops of this country (January, 1895), his Holiness, after speaking of the wonderful progress of the Church here and of the freedom which she enjoys, says:—

Sed quamquam haec vera sunt, tamen error tollendus, ne quis hinc sequi existimet, petendum ab America exemplum optimi Ecclesiae Status: aut universe licere vel expedire, rei civilis reiue sacrae distractas esse dissociatasque, more americano, rationes. Quod enim incolumis apud vos res est catholica, quod prosperis etiam auctibus crescit, id omnino tribuendum fecunditati, qua divinitus pollet Ecclesia, quaeque si nullus adversetur, si nulla res impedimento sit, se sponte effert atque effundit; longe tamen uberiores editura fructus, si, praeter libertatem, gratia legum fruatur patricinioque publicae potestatis.

Church and State, no doubt, are distinct organisms, having different ends and separate functions; but it by no means follows that they cannot be mutually helpful to each other, or that God intended that they should be separate. When all the citizens of the State are of the same religious persuasion, the union of Church and State can be complete; but when the people of a country differ in religious belief, and there are many different denominations, as with us in the United States, the relations of Church and State are necessarily limited, and a complete union between them is impossible. The best that can be done, perhaps, in such circumstances is what has been done in the United States. The founders of this republic had to unify into a nation independent communities having established churches, and that unification would have been impossible if the Government recognised any one Church. The necessities of the situation compelled the Government to acknowledge the equality of all the Churches before the law, to abolish all religious tests as a qualification to office, and to guarantee to all denominations the fullest liberty. Moreover, the principle underlying the separation of Church and State here, namely, the incompetency of the State in religious matters, is a principle which the Catholic Church has in all ages maintained. The system, then, of almost total separation

of Church and State which we have in this country is a necessary consequence of the condition of our people, and is in no way opposed to the principles of Catholic theology ; and to say that Catholics here are striving to bring about such a union of Church and State as existed in the middle ages, is a calumny. But, the anti-Catholic fanatics say, it is possible that the civil and ecclesiastical powers may sometimes clash; the line of demarcation between secular and religious matters is not so definitely drawn as to preclude the possibility of a collision; and in such an emergency Catholics maintain that the Church is supreme, and that it is her right to decide what comes under her jurisdiction, and what does not. This, they pretend to believe, is a menace to free institutions. That the Church has the exclusive right of deciding what things come under her jurisdiction, is unquestionable. She and she alone has the authority to teach what is the extent of the spiritual rights divinely committed to her ; and, consequently, if she decides that a political measure encroaches on the domain of religion, she is to be obeyed rather than the political powers. The principle involved in this teaching no Christian, at least, can deny, for every Christian must believe that duty to conscience and to God is the supreme rule of judgment and of action. Nor is it so difficult to draw the line of demarcation between the two powers as some of our anti-Catholic friends pretend to believe. The rights of either power can be deduced from the end to which either tends and from the ordinations of divine positive law. ‘ Whatsoever in human things,’ says Leo XIII. in his encyclical *Immortale Dei*, is in any manner sacred, whatsoever belongs to the salvation of souls and the worship of God, is under the authority and rule of the Church. But all things else, being included within the civil and political order, are rightly subject to the civil authority.’ *Sacred things*, therefore, belong to the authority of the Church ; *v.g.*, the preaching and teaching of the Christian faith, the administration and reception of the sacraments, the direction of public devotions, the preparation and discipline of the clergy, the administration of church funds, the erection of church

edifices, &c. Temporal affairs, such as commerce, agriculture, taxation, form of government, &c., are subject to civil authority.

There are some matters, however, pertaining in part to the civil authority and in part to the ecclesiastical authority, such as education and matrimony, about which there may be danger of conflict between the two powers. Take the education question. The Catholic Church does not deny to the State the right of providing for instruction and of directing schools, as required by its own legitimate end and the welfare of society; but she also claims for herself the right of directing schools, as far as her end demands, and therefore the right of watching over the faith and morals of Catholic youth, and of seeing that their faith or morals be not corrupted by the teaching given. The State may erect schools, appoint teachers, prescribe methods, but it must exercise these rights in due subordination to the prior and higher rights of family and Church. Catholics believe that the educational system of a Christian State ought to be Christian; that it is a great grievance to have to support schools to which they cannot conscientiously send their children; and that the rights of parents, of Church, and of State, would be best safeguarded by a denominational system of education. They believe that such a system would best harmonize with the spirit of our American constitution, which forbids all unnecessary meddling with private and parental rights; and they know, moreover, that it is the only means by which our people can be made good Christians and good citizens. In advocating it, therefore, they believe that they are acting for the best interests of this republic, and not a few non-Catholics share the same view.

Another question about which there may be some danger of clashing between Church and State in America is the question of matrimony. Catholic teaching grants to the State, as the guardian of public decency, the right to forbid such marriages as are opposed to the natural law, and also the right to control certain external forms or accessories, in order to insure the protection of individual rights; but the

Catholic Church denies to the State jurisdiction over the substantial features of marriage. When the State, therefore, enacts divorce laws annulling the marriage contract so that each of the contracting parties may marry again during the lifetime of the other, it usurps an authority which does not belong to it. The divorce laws existing in this country are a disgrace to a civilized people ; and the Catholic Church in combating them and in endeavouring to uphold the indissolubility of the marriage contract deserves well of every lover of this nation. The position which Catholics take with regard to these two questions, education and matrimony, commends itself to all religious, serious-minded men, and far from being indicative of disloyalty to the country, is the strongest proof of their love for the republic and their desire to perpetuate its free institutions.

That Catholic teaching also harmonizes with the American idea of political and civil liberty, no one who is acquainted with the one and the other can for a moment doubt. The fundamental articles of the American political creed, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, are these :— ‘All men are created equal ; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.’ These are Catholic principles, proclaimed in all ages by the Catholic Church. Man by the fall of Adam did not lose his original faculties. He did not lose his reason or his free will, and consequently he did not lose the natural rights which flow from these gifts—the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. All men are equal in regard to these rights, and therefore no man has the natural right to govern another man. The authority to govern comes, under God, from the consent of the governed. The Protestant doctrine of the total depravity of human nature and the loss of free will, as a result of Adam’s fall, is a denial of these principles, and naturally enough led the early Reformers to exclude unregenerate man from all part in the organization of the State and all share in the rights and privileges of citizenship.

'The proclamation of man's natural rights,' says Father Hecker, 'involved the overthrow of the whole theological structure built by the reform theologians upon the cornerstone of man's total depravity. The Puritans in signing the Declaration of Independence signed their own death warrant.'¹

There can be little doubt but the tyranny and intolerance which disgraced our colonial period, was in great measure due to the tenets of Puritanism; while, on the other hand, the civil and religious liberty which prevailed in the Catholic colony of Maryland was a natural outgrowth of Catholic teaching. This is only the history of European nations repeating itself in the New World. True liberty goes hand in hand with Catholicism. 'The Catholic Church,' says Lecky, 'laid the very foundations of modern civilization. In the transition from slavery to serfdom, and in the transition from serfdom to liberty, she was the most zealous, the most unwearied, and the most efficient agent.'² The Catholic Church to-day is as ardent in advocating popular rights and civil and political liberty as she has been in the ages gone by. And why should it not be so? The subjection of the Church and the decline of her influence has been at all times in direct proportion to the progress of despotism.

I proclaim, without fear of contradiction [says Montalembert] that it is to liberty that we are indebted for the wonderful and unexpected success of Catholic interests. Yes, the struggle has everywhere been profitable to the Church, everywhere from the tribune of Westminster, of the Palais-Bourbon, and of the Luxemburg, unto the prison of the Archbishops of Cologne and Turin; and liberty alone renders contention possible. Yes, political liberty has been the safeguard and the instrument of Catholic regeneration in Europe. This regeneration has nowhere been witnessed, except where it has been provoked or preceded by political liberty.³

Popular forms of government have not been less beneficial to the Church in the New World than they have proved in the Old; and for this reason, if for no other, Catholics are

¹ *The Church and the Age*, p. 74.

² *History of Rationalism*, vol. ii., p. 209.

³ *Catholic Interests* (1852), p. 46.

the most ardent advocates and strongest supporters of the free institutions of this country.

But, we are asked, how can we reconcile the teaching of the Catholic Church with that freedom of conscience which is the great boast of Americans, and for which our Protestant friends in this country profess so much admiration. To answer the question, we must know what is meant by freedom of conscience :—

When men advocate the rights of conscience [says Cardinal Newman] they in no sense mean the rights of the Creator, nor the duty to Him, in thought and deed, of the creature, but the right of thinking, speaking, writing, and acting according to their judgment or their humour, without any thought of God at all . . . In this age, with a large portion of the public, it is the very right and freedom of conscience to dispense with conscience, to ignore a Lawgiver and Judge, to be independent of unseen obligations. It becomes a license to take up any or no religion, to take up this or that, and let it go again ; to go to church, to go to chapel, to boast of being above all religions, and to be an impartial critic of each of them. Conscience is a stern monitor ; but in this century it has been superseded by a counterfeit which the eighteen centuries prior to it never heard of, and could not have mistaken for it if they had. It is the right of self-will.¹

If by freedom of conscience is understood ‘ the right of self-will,’ the right ‘ to think, speak, write, and act according to one’s judgment or humour, without any thought of God,’ we do not attempt to reconcile the teachings of the Church with such a theory. But if by freedom of conscience is meant, not this counterfeit, so well described by the Cardinal, but the freedom to obey that voice of God, in the nature and heart of man, which speaks in the soul as an eternal witness both of the existence and of the law of God, then, indeed, there are no more sincere advocates of freedom of conscience than Catholics. It is the teaching of the Church that conscience is the voice of God, and is, therefore, supreme, and that it is never lawful to act against one’s conscience.

As a consequence of this, Catholics must believe in toleration in religious matters. It seems impossible, how-

¹ Reply to Gladstone’s *Vaticanism*, p. 76.

ever, for some non-Catholic writers to grasp the obvious distinction between religious or theological toleration and civil or political toleration, and to understand how it is that Catholics, while religiously intolerant, can be, at the same time, politically tolerant. Civil or political toleration is the permission conceded by the State to its subjects to profess the religion of their choice; religious or theological toleration, presupposing that all religions are equally acceptable to God, is the permission granted by Almighty God to all men to profess any religion they please, or none at all. Catholics are, and must be, theologically intolerant. There is a strong tendency in this country to what is called Liberalism or Indifferentism; that is, to maintain that a man has the same facility of salvation in any of the Churches, a tendency to deny the objective certainty of truth, to make religion a matter of opinion. Now, Catholics hold the existence of the objective truth of religion; they believe that God has prescribed a supernatural religion, and has promulgated it with sufficient motives of credibility; and that all are bound, under pain of deadly sin, to accept it when it is made clearly manifest to their minds and hearts. To be indifferent, or religiously 'tolerant,' is to believe that all religions are true; in other words, to believe that contradictory things are true at the same time.

Nor is it impossible to hold the real or objective truth of religion and, at the same time, to be politically tolerant. The teaching of the Church is, that as man by his own free will fell from grace, so by his own free will must he return to grace :—

Faith [says Cardinal Manning] is an act of the will; and to force men to profess what they do not believe is contrary to the law of God, and to generate faith by force is morally impossible. We cannot, indeed, co-operate by any direct action to uphold what we believe to be erroneous, and we would that all men fully believed the truth; but a forced faith is a hypocrisy hateful to God and man. Moreover, in our shattered state of religious belief and worship, there is no way of solid civil peace but in leaving all men free in the amplest liberty of faith.

No doubt the civil power in the middle ages punished, and justly punished, open infidelity, heresy, and schism,

because then they were not only crimes against God, but also crimes against society, forbidden by the public law; but now, when that political order has passed away, and these sins are no longer violations of a public law, or crimes against society, the civil government has no right to punish them. That the action of the civil government in these ages was justifiable, no one who studies the history of the period, will deny:—

In the barbaric ages [says Brownson] which followed the destruction of the Western Roman Empire, the Church had a double mission to perform, and was obliged to add to her spiritual functions the greater part of the functions of civil society itself. . . . The lay society was dissolved by the ruin of the empire and of the civilized populations, and was no longer adequate to the management of secular affairs in accordance with civilized order. The Church was obliged to add to her mission of evangelizer, which is her mission of all times and places, the temporary and accidental mission of civilizer of the nations . . . Having the chief part of the work of civil society to perform, it became absolutely necessary that she should have a civil and political existence and authority—that she should be incorporated into the State as an integral element of the civil constitution, and have her worship, without which she could have as little social as religious influence recognised as the law of the land as well as the law of God . . . Infidelity, heresy, and schism, which were as directly in opposition to her mission of civilizing the nations as to her mission of evangelizing them, were then directly and proximately crimes against society, and as such were justly punishable by the public authorities.

These times have passed, and the circumstances that made necessary the incorporation of the Church with the State, no longer exist; and, consequently, infidelity, heresy, and schism, though sins against God, are no longer considered crimes against society; and, therefore, so long as their adherents demean themselves peaceably, and discharge their ordinary social obligations, Catholic teaching says that they ought to be tolerated by the civil government, and left to God to answer for their sin.

We believe then that we may reasonably conclude that the declaration of the American bishops in the pastoral

¹ Brownson, *Works*, vol. x., p. 224.

referred to at the beginning—that perfect harmony exists between the laws, institutions, and spirit of the Catholic Church, and the laws, institutions, and spirit of the United States—is founded upon fact, and patent to all who impartially examine both organizations.

The further declaration of the bishops—that there is nothing in the free spirit of our American institutions to injure our Catholicity—is equally evident. When this republic was founded, one hundred and twenty years ago, no one could discover any sign which would lead him to believe that the Catholic Church was to have any future in the country. Catholics were few and scattered, constituting only one in a hundred of the population, for the most part poor, hated, and despised by their Protestant neighbours. Other denominations had a far better start in this free country: they had greater wealth, superior education; every natural advantage was on their side. Yet, what do we find to-day? The religious outlook of a century ago has entirely changed. Protestantism has ceased to have any hold on the masses of the American people. ‘Let us look at England, Europe, and America,’ says Mr. Mallock, ‘and consider the condition of the entire Protestant world. Religion, it is true, we shall still find in it; but it is religion from which not only the supernatural element is disappearing, but in which the natural element is fast becoming nebulous.’ Such a substitute for the religion of Christ can never satisfy the cravings of the human heart for God and truth.

Poor wanderers, ye are sore distressed
To find the path which Christ has blest,
Tracked by His saintly throng;
Each claims to trust his own weak will,
Blind idol! so ye languish still.
All wranglers, and all wrong.

Reason has condemned Protestantism, because religion is not a system of opinions resting upon man's private judgment, but is a body of revealed truths, adapted and necessary to the full development and perfection of man's intelligence and heart, and depending upon an unerring and divine authority. Protestantism never has and never will

make any headway in America. Here, as in Europe, it is fast leading men into Agnosticism and infidelity. A practical and independent people like the Americans will not retain a purely speculative religion—a religion without faith, without sacrifice, without sacraments, without authority, without a single bond of unity. On the other hand, the Catholic Church has progressed in spite of many difficulties—the inadequate supply of priests and churches for the demands of an overwhelming immigration, the want of Catholic education, the contempt for illiterate Catholics and their creed, the poverty of our people. That progress is a proof not only of the inherent strength and vitality of the Church, but also of the fact that wherever she finds a fair field and no favour, she can prosper and grow strong, and that there is nothing in the spirit of free institutions incompatible with perfect docility to the Church of Christ.

But, some people are heard to say, the faith, the generosity, the docility of the people who made the Catholic Church what it is in America to-day, are mostly traditional race-traits inherent in those people who came to us from holy Ireland—from Germany, from France, from Italy, and cannot be expected to last for more than one or two generations. Will the American Catholics of the next generation, or the next century be as good, as generous, as faithful, as their Irish, German, and French forefathers? There is good reason to believe that they will. The descendants of the Irish may not retain that spirit of loyalty and fidelity which is characteristic of the Irish at home; the children of the French may not retain that *perfundum ingenium Gallorum*, that enthusiastic zeal, which is the leading trait of the good French Catholic in his own land; the Germans of the next generation may not have that steadfastness to what they believe to be true, as the German of to-day has. It would be unreasonable to expect that, when these people become thoroughly American, they will retain these characteristics. They will get their quasi-religious environment at home; and if those who have the spiritual guidance of those people are true to their sacred trust, there is no reason

why the American Catholics of the next generation, or the next century will not be as good as their ancestors were.

No doubt there are dangers menacing the faith of our people, some peculiar to this country, some common to all nations. The godless schools in which many of our Catholic children are instructed; the worship of the 'almighty dollar,' which, they tell us, is fast becoming the only religion of the American; the crowding together of our Catholic people in large cities where the atmosphere they breathe is poison to body and soul; the religious indifference, not to say downright materialism, which is around us, are serious dangers which those charged with the care of souls must avert if the faith is to be perpetuated here. That the Catholic Church will prove equal to the undertaking, no one who studies her past history, and is acquainted with the abundant means of sanctification which she employs, can for a moment doubt. Now the Church is well organized in the country. We are well supplied with priests; we have churches, and hospitals, and orphanages; our parochial schools are increasing in number, and becoming more efficient every year; we have an ample equipment of Catholic colleges; and, to crown all, we have a Catholic university in the national capital. This organization, of course, is not all-sufficient. It is only a means to an end. The end of religion is the union of men's hearts with God—personal sanctification. The Kingdom of God is within. Without personal sanctification our numbers, or wealth, or stately edifices are of little avail. Still organization is indispensable; the lack of it in years gone by was the cause of many losses to the Church; its existence to-day is the surest guarantee of the Church's prosperity in the future.

We are not among the sanguine few who look for the conversion of the United States, as a nation, to the Catholic Church; still, we believe with that distinguished convert, Father Hecker, that the affirmation of any one truth, logically followed out, leads to the knowledge and the affirmation of all truth:—

The American republic [he says] began afresh in the last century by the declaration of certain evident truths of reason.

The law of its progression consists in tracing these truths out to their logical connection with all other truths, and finally coming to the knowledge of all truth, both in the natural and supernatural order, ending in the affirmation of universal truth, and the union with the source of all truth—God. The dominant tendency of the American people is towards the law of the positive sequence of truth. The course of Europe was that of negation; the course of the United States was that of affirmation. The first was destructive, the second was constructive. The one was degrading, the other was elevating. That bred dissension, this created union. Europe, under the lead of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, turned its back to Catholicity, and entered upon the downward road that ends in death; the republic of the United States, in affirming man's natural rights, started in the eighteenth century with its face to Catholicity, and is in the ascending way of life to God.¹

Some of the ablest men and women from every station in life, and from every profession in this country, have become converts to the Church, and have found that she alone affords them an opportunity of becoming Christians without violating the laws of their reason, and without stifling the dictates of their conscience. The number of such conversions may be comparatively small, but it is increasing, surely and steadily. If the increase is to continue, if the Catholic Church is to succeed in Christianizing the American people as she has Christianized all European countries, it will be through the agency of an enlightened and zealous clergy. If those who are entrusted with the spiritual guidance of the people in this country, where the struggle between the Church and her enemies is mostly intellectual, have that broad education which will give them the right to speak and to teach with authority; if they are truly zealous, in sympathy with the people and with their surroundings, taking an active and intelligent interest in all movements for the social as well as the spiritual advancement of the people, the future of Catholicity in the United States will be a glorious one.

The prosperity of the Catholic Church, in this republic is also the surest guarantee for the preservation of its

¹ *The Church and the Age*, p. 97.

liberty, and its advancement along the lines of the highest and purest civilization. A republic can stand only as it rests upon the virtues of the people; and the Catholic Church in this country to-day is the only force mighty enough to stem the tide of moral corruption which threatens to inundate the land.

Here is our answer [says Dr. Brownson] to those who tell us Catholicity is incompatible with free institutions. We tell them that they cannot maintain free institutions without it. It is not a free government that makes a free people, but a free people that makes a free government; and we know no freedom but that wherewith the Son makes free.¹

P. GRIFFY.

¹ Brownson's *Works*, vol. x., p. 35.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENT OF FEAR—IS FEAR AN IMPEDIMENT OF THE NATURAL LAW—CIVIL DIRIMENT IMPEDIMENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the wilds of Australia one man approaches another, and declares he will blow out his brains with a pistol, if he does not deliver up his money at once. The other replies : ‘Do not do that, and I will marry your daughter.’ Is the marriage valid ?

P. P.

This marriage is invalid. We do not know what particular difficulty presents itself to our correspondent’s mind. If we did, it may have been possible to dispose of it briefly. But the indefiniteness of the difficulty proposed, makes it necessary to devote our available space to the more obvious points that may be raised in such a case.

The solution of this question under its various aspects involves the discussion of several questions which have divided the theologians. We cannot settle what they have left undecided. But, at the request of our correspondent, we give our opinion, for what it is worth.

In the case made, it is assumed that matrimonial consent is given (*non ficte*) under the influence of fear, which in the technical knowledge of the theologians, is *grave* and *unjust*, but which does not take away the use of reason.

Now, abstracting for the moment from other difficulties, it may appear that one of the conditions necessary to constitute fear, a diriment impediment, is wanting. For, we find, that to invalidate marriage, fear must be—(1) *gravis* ; (2) *injuste incussus* ; (3) *incussus in ordine ad matrimonium extorquendum*. The last condition may seem to be absent : the threat of violence was used to extort money, not a consent of marriage.

Again, has fear coming from a third person, as in this case, the effect of invalidating marriage, just as if it came from one of the contracting parties?

And finally, as our correspondent travelled so far for his hypothesis, he may seem desirous of raising the much-disputed question, *quo jure matrimonium irritat aut irritare potest metus*. If the natural law itself makes fear a diriment impediment, then, of course, this marriage, *ceteris ponendis*, should be pronounced invalid, even though its validity is untouched by any positive law, civil or ecclesiastical. If the impediment arises from human positive law only, then the further question presents itself, Can this impediment be set up, in the case of unbaptized persons, by the State, so that the impediment may exist even in the case of those not subject to the Church; or can the impediment arise from ecclesiastical law only?

The first point raised is easily disposed of. It is, indeed, the generally accepted teaching of theologians, that fear does not invalidate marriage, unless it be used with a view to extorting matrimonial consent. It is not, however, necessary that this end should have been intended *ab initio*. Fear, originally used, from some other motive—to extort money, *v.g.*—may be afterwards continued so as to force a consent to marriage. This is what Lehmkühl means when he says: ‘*Metus injuste debet esse incussus aut saltem protractus in ordine ad extorquendum matrimonium.*’¹ This is precisely what happens in the case proposed. At first, a threat is used to extort money; then, when the promise of marriage with the highwayman’s daughter is made, and accepted, the threat is still continued, in order to secure the fulfilment of that promise. The threat now takes the form, ‘marry my daughter, else I must have your money or your life.’ Such a threat, from the moment the promise of marriage with the daughter is accepted, is *in ordine matrimonium extorquendum*. So far, therefore, there is no reason to think that the conditions requisite for the diriment impediment of fear are not verified.

¹ ii. 736.

As regards the second point, it will be sufficient to quote Feije, to prove that fear, coming from a third party, has the same effect as if it came from one of the parties to the marriage:—

Invalidum est matrimonium . . . sive metus incussus ab ipso contrahente *sive a tertio*, aut absque aut ex mandato ejus illius; sive demum tertius ille utilitatem ex eo matrimonio referat sive non referat.¹

Thirdly, we inquired, does the impediment of fear arise from the natural law? If the answer be in the affirmative, the marriage in question is invalid independently of all positive legislation, civil and ecclesiastical.

Theologians are much divided on this subject. Sanchez, Lugo, Laymann, and Feije, may be quoted for the negative opinion; on the other hand, St. Alphonsus, Scotus, Molina, Diana, Gobat, Marc, Aertnys, Konings, and Ballerini, contend that the impediment (certainly, or more probably) comes from the natural law.

We are disposed to adopt this second opinion as more probable. For the natural law will not invest with irrevocable efficacy a consent extorted by grave unjust fear. Regarding contracts generally, theologians, therefore, teach that a contract entered into through grave unjust fear, is either void *ab initio* or voidable *ad nutum metum patientis*. But matrimony once validly contracted is indissoluble. Therefore, the natural law will not invest with efficacy a matrimonial consent extorted by grave fear; in other words, such a consent is *jure naturae* invalid *ab initio*.

Feije endeavours to evade the force of this argument by saying, that if this reasoning were sound, marriage contracted *ex dolo* would be invalid *jure naturae*. For, he contends, there is a perfect parity between fear and fraud in the case, and the necessity for invalidating the marriage is the same in both cases—*ad injuriam reparandam*. But he seems to overlook the fact, that the Church herself, on his own theory, makes the very distinction that he is at pains to ignore. For the Church, if not the natural law, has

¹ N. 135. Conf. Lugo, *De Jus et Jure*, xxii., sec. vii., n. 172.

made *fear* a diriment impediment; she has not constituted *fraud* an impediment. Surely, the Church has not made this distinction where she discovered no disparity. Feije, further, contends that there is no necessity for any remedy—invalidity or any other—for injury inflicted. For the person who suffers fear is not bound to give a *true* consent. It would seem to us that this argument overturns the common teaching of theologians—Feije himself among them—that bilateral contracts made *ex metu* may be rescinded. If his argument prove that marriage contracted *ex metu* is not *invalid* because, as he urges, a person might have given a fictitious consent, it should prove that a contract of sale entered into *ex metu* cannot be rescinded because the same remedy was available. We are, therefore, inclined to the opinion that fear is an impediment *jure naturae*, and that persons are, consequently, affected by it independently of all positive legislation.

We now come to the last point raised above. Can the State set up diriment impediments? The State can, of course, legislate regarding the *civil effects* of marriage. But can the civil law touch the *validity* of the marriage contract? The State has no power to make impediments affecting the validity of marriage between baptized persons. That power belongs to the Church alone. Has the State, however, a right to constitute civil impediments affecting the validity of marriage between unbaptized persons? If we believe, with Feije, for example, that fear is not an impediment of the natural law, can the civil authority make it an impediment to the valid marriage of unbaptized persons? According to English law, a marriage is, we believe, invalid, if force has been used in obtaining the marriage. Is this civil impediment capable of invalidating the marriage of two unbaptized persons—two Quakers—not merely before the civil law, but before God? In the case our correspondent makes, the marriage in question may be a non-christian marriage, and unaffected by the ecclesiastical impediment of fear. Then, if there be no impediment *jure naturae*, it remains to ask, whether the marriage may be invalidated in

virtue of a provision of civil law—if such there be—binding in the case contemplated.

Here, again, the theologians are divided. Sanchez, and the vast majority of the older theologians, and with them many recent writers—among them, Marc, Ballerini, Palmieri, Hammerstein—concede this power to the State. Many, especially among the moderns, with Perrone, Feije, Haine, Aertnys, deny the State the right to make diriment impediments.

Apart altogether from the authority of theologians, and the practice of the Church in this matter, it would appear clear to us that the State has jurisdiction over the marriage contracts of those not subject to the Church by baptism. For, it seems evident, in the first place, that *jure naturae* there should be some public authority having jurisdiction over the marriage contract—some authority to determine and define the limits and conditions of the impediments of the natural law, and, where the circumstances require it, to create new impediments. Therefore, antecedently to the establishment of the Church, and the promulgation of the Gospel, the State, being (for all those who had not, with the Jews, received a special revelation) the only existing public authority, must have had jurisdiction over the marriage contract. To say, with some theologians, that marriage, even of infidels, is a *res sacra*, and, therefore, is outside the jurisdiction of the civil power, is to misinterpret the functions of the State. In the natural order, would the State not be bound to provide for, and regulate external public worship? Before the promulgation of the Gospel, the head of the State not merely had the right, but, *per se*, he was bound to promote external public worship. And surely public worship is *res sacra*.

Now, however, the Gospel is everywhere promulgated; the Church is everywhere the divinely constituted guardian of the matrimonial contract. Has the State, therefore, lost *all* matrimonial jurisdiction? It has lost all jurisdiction over *Christian* marriages; this is certain. But the State still retains, we think, jurisdiction over *non-Christian* marriage—the marriage of the unbaptized, namely. For the

State is the only public authority to which the unbaptized are subject. Nor is there any sufficient reason for thinking that the promulgation of the Gospel has limited the civil power in relation to them. Even in regard to the marriages of the faithful, the sole reason why they are no longer subject to the State is, that in this case the marriage contract is elevated to the dignity of a sacrament; and the Church is by divine appointment, the sole custodian of the sacraments. This is evidently the mind of Pius VI., when he writes :—

Dogma est fidei ut matrimonium quod ante adventum Christi nihil aliud erat, nisi indissolubilis quidam contractus, illud post Christi adventum evaserit unum ex septem legis evangelicæ sacramentis . . . *Hinc fit*, ut ad solam Ecclesiam, cui tota de sacramentis est cura concredita, jus omne ac potestas pertineat, suam assignandi formam huic contractui, ad sublimiorem sacramenti naturam evecto . . .¹

In the mind of the Pontiff, the fact that marriage among the faithful, is a sacrament, is *the* reason why Christian marriage, though a contract, is removed from the category of mere contracts, where it would be subject to the civil power, and is placed under the sole jurisdiction of the Church; obviously, this reason does not touch non-christian marriages. They, therefore, remain subject to the civil authority.

But, whatever may be thought of these arguments, we can, fortunately, appeal to the authority of Propaganda and of the Holy Office in support of our view. Many of our readers will have seen it denied that there is any warrant for saying that the Roman Congregations have ever sanctioned or acted on the opinion allowing the State matrimonial jurisdiction.² But the rather recent publication of the *Collectanea Congr. de Prop. Fide* seems to settle this point. We find there the clearest evidence that the validity of civil diriment impediments has been more than once allowed by the Roman Congregations: In view of the statements and opinions of many recent writers, it will be

¹ Vid apud Palmieri *De Matrim.*, p. 245. Romæ, 1880.

² See Feije, n. 69.

interesting to print the following questions with the replies of the Congregations :—

S. C. de Prop. Fid.—C. P. pro Sin. 24 Junii, 1820—Vic. Ap. Tunk. Occid.—Vir infidelis qui cum muliere infideli matrimonium inierat, ommissa quadam caerimonia, cujus ommissio juxta Tunkini regestas censetur matrimonii impedimentum dirimens, ab ea muliere discessit et aliam uxorem christianam duxit; christianam ipse fidem amplectens, baptismum petit. Tenetne primam ab eo derelictam conjugem interpellare, an et ipsa Christi fidem profiteri et cum eo redire velit, an saltem pacifice cum eo, absque Creatoris contumelia cohabitare consentiat? Si Christiana fieri, aut saltem cum praefato viro pacifice cohabitare consentiat illa mulier, tenetur ne ad illam vedire? Si cum priore hac conjugē, facta christiana, reconcilietur, et stet inter ambos verum ac legitimum matrimonium, debetne ab iis renovari consensus? Uno verbo, impedimentum dirimens a Principe infidele sancitum, aut apud gentem infidelem antiqua et communi invecum consuetudine, redditne irrita et invalida matrimonia inter viros et mulieres infideles cum tali impedimento contracta?

R. esse *nullum primum* et secundum matrimonium; non esse hinc locum interpellationi, sed esse locum novo matrimonio, servatis, servandis, et detur instructio.

The Congregation clearly declares this marriage invalidated by the civil diriment impediment. At the request of the Congregation, an instruction on this case was prepared by Rev. D. A. (afterwards Cardinal) Frezza, from which we extract the following, as bearing out what we have above laid down regarding the nature and extent of the civil power :—

Ex quo enim Christus Dominus matrimonium, . . . ad sacramenti dignitatem erexit, saeculares Principes *nullam amplius* in illud ejusque vinculum potestatem *retinent* . . . Sed cum res sit de infidelium conjugio ratio Sacramenti, quae christianorum matrimonium Ecclesiae ordinationi subjecit, plane cessat . . . Sequitur hinc Principes saeculares, sive fideles, sive infideles, plenissimam potestatem retinere in matrimonia subditorum infidelium, ut scilicet, apposisis impedimentis, quae juri naturali ac divino adversa non sint, eadem non solum quod ad civiles effectus sed etiam quod ad conjugale vinculum penitus rescindant.

We stated that the force of civil diriment impediments had been more than once admitted by the Roman Congre-

gations. We venture to add here, therefore, a reply of the Holy Office to bear out our assertion :—

S. C. S. officii 20 Sept. 1854, Vic. Ap. Jun-Nan. In istis missionibus saepe evenit ut minor fratris sui majoris defuncti uxorem ducat et postea convertatur. Difficillime separari possunt propter prolem jam susceptam vel periculum ne avertantur a fide. Ipsorum matrimoniorum invalidum esse videtur, utpote omnino a lege civile prohibitum, etiam sub poena mortis. Verum post baptismum ad convalidandum eorum matrimonium satis ne est ut tantummodo suum remonent consensum?

R. Praevia dispensatione disparitatis cultus et *primi affinitatis gradus* per facultates quibus missionarii gaudent, consensus esse renovandum. Quod si superventura mala deprehendantur, relinquendos in bona fide.

There was question of a marriage between two infidels—the marriage of a man with his deceased brother's wife. They were not subject to the ecclesiastical law, regarding affinity. Affinity *in gradu collateralis* is not an impediment of the natural law. The only question, therefore, was whether the civil law, which declared this affinity a diriment impediment, thereby invalidated the marriage. The reply is in effect, that the marriage was invalid, owing to the civil impediment of affinity; that dispensations in *disparitas cultus*, and in affinity having been granted, matrimonial consent was to be renewed.

In view of these authentic documents, we adhere, then, to the opinion of those, who grant the State jurisdiction over the marriages of infidels. This opinion is in harmony with the teaching and practice of the Roman authorities.

And to recapitulate, we say—(1st) that fear, originally used for another motive, but afterwards *ad matrimonium extorquendum*, invalidates marriage; (2nd) that *positis ponendis*, fear excited by a third party, invalidates marriage, as well as if it were to come from a contracting party; (3rd) that, in our opinion, fear, is an impediment *juris naturalis*; (4th) that the State has power to set up diriment impediments to the marriage of infidels—the impediment of fear, for instance, if it be not an impediment *juris naturalis*.

We can now reply very briefly to our correspondent's question. In the case he makes, the marriage is certainly invalid, *jure ecclesiastico*, if there be a question of Christians; if there be question of marriage *inter infideles* it is, we think, invalid if contracted with a *civil diriment* impediment; finally, if the case is covered by no positive law, civil or ecclesiastical, the marriage is still invalidated, in our opinion, by the natural law itself.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART ON THE FIRST FRIDAY OF THE MONTH

THE WASHING OF PURIFICATORS, CORPORALS, &c.

REV. DEAR SIR,—An answer to the two following questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD will much oblige :—

1. The feast of the Sacred Heart was raised by our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII., by Brief dated 28th June, 1889, from the rite of a greater double to that of a double of the first class. By the same Brief his Holiness granted the following privileges, which do not appear to be generally known; viz.—‘In those churches and oratories where on the first Friday of each month, in the morning, a special exercise of piety is practised in honour of the Sacred Heart, with the approbation of the Ordinary, the Holy Father has granted that to these exercises may be joined the celebration of the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart, provided that a feast of our Lord, a double of the first class, or a privileged feria, vigil, or octave, does not fall on the same day.’ I have not read the Latin text of the Brief, but the above quotation is taken from an English version. Now the question I wish to ask is this :—Does this privilege of saying a Votive Mass apply to only one Mass, or when several priests celebrate in the same church, may each one say the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the first Friday of the month, provided ‘a special exercise of piety is practised in honour of the Sacred Heart’ in that church?

2. How many times should purificators, corporals, and palls be washed, in the first instance by a priest? In some churches this washing is given twice, in others three times. May this be done by either a deacon or sub-deacon?

SACERDOS.

1. To our correspondent's first question we might reply, in the form consecrated by the usage of the Roman Congregations, *Affirmative ad primam partem; Negative ad secundam*. In other words, only one Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart can be celebrated, in the circumstances contemplated by our correspondent, on any day that excludes the celebration of an ordinary Votive or Requiem Mass. The terms on which the privilege was conceded make this sufficiently clear. The following is the original Latin text of the concession:—

In eis vero ecclesiis et oratoriis ubi feria vi, quae prima in unoquoque mense occurrit, peculiaria exercitia pietatis in honorem Divini Cordis, approbante loci Ordinario, mane peragentur; Beatissimus Pater indulsit, *ut hisce exercitiis addi valeat Missa votiva de Sacro Corde Jesu*; dummodo in illam diem non incidat, aliquod Festum Domini, aut duplex primi classis, vel Feria, Vigilia, Octava ex privilegiatis, de cetero servatis rubricis.

The words we have italicized seem to show that the motive of this concession was, that the Mass said in connection with the devotions in honour of the Sacred Heart, on the first Friday of the month, should correspond with these devotions, and should be, as it were, their complement. The decree says: *hisce exercitiis addi valeat Missa votiva*, and these words leave no room for doubt. We think that it is only the Mass said in connection with the devotions that enjoys the privileges mentioned in the decree. Moreover, this Mass, even when celebrated as a private or Low Mass, possesses all the solemnity as to rite, &c., which a Solemn Votive Mass possesses; and we are certain the Congregation of Rites never intended to permit the celebration of several Solemn Votive Masses (or their equivalents) in the same church on the same day.

2. A deacon or subdeacon, as well as a priest, may wash corporals, purificators, &c. It is not customary in this country, so far as we know, for anyone not in Holy Orders to be allowed to perform this office; but, according to Wapelhorst¹ and others, there is elsewhere a custom permitting this washing to be done by clerics in Minor Orders. All that our present information justifies us in saying about this custom is, that it is not condemned by any rubric or decree. It would seem that it is only the first washing that need necessarily be done by one in Holy Orders, or by a cleric, if we adopt the custom mentioned by Wapelhorst. The other washings may be committed to a lay person, though the altar linens, while washing, should in all cases be kept separate from other linens. It is, however, becoming that these linens should be washed a second time and a third time by the same person who is permitted to wash them the first time, and it is imperative that the water used for the first washing should be poured into the sacrarium.

COMMEMORATIONS IN THE VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly say what commemorations, if any, are to be made in the Mass of the Sacred Heart, which is now allowed in several churches and oratories on the first Friday of each month. Are we to make a commemoration of the displaced feast, of the *feria* in Lent and Advent, of the octave, &c.

SACERDOS.

We replied to a question similar to the above in the October number of the J. E. RECORD for 1892. This votive Mass of the Sacred Heart, as has been stated in the preceding reply, possesses the characteristics of a solemn votive Mass. Hence no commemoration whatsoever is made in it, nor is the *Oratio imperatu* said. The *Gloria* and *Credo* are both said, and the last Gospel is always the beginning of the Gospel of St. John.

¹ No. 10, 4.

THE RENEWAL OF RELIGIOUS VOWS

In the November number of the I. E. RECORD for 1896, we published a question on the above subject recently addressed to the Congregation of Rites, together with the reply of the Congregation. In the question reference was made to a general decree on the same subject, issued in 1894. At the request of several correspondents, who are anxious to study for themselves the terms of the decree of 1894, we here print it. The decree requires no commentary; we may, however, call attention to the difference in the ceremonial prescribed for the first emission of the vows, and for their annual renewal.

DECRETUM GENERALE.

Non semel a S. Rituum Congregatione exquisitum fuit: Utrum, et quomodo sollemnis votorum professio, aut eorum renovatio, quae in plerisque religiosis tam virorum quam mulierum Congregationibus locum habet, intra missam peragi valeat. Porro in peculiaribus casibus non una eademque fuit responsionis ratio, quin unquam Generale Decretum hoc de re editum fuerit. Quapropter, ad omnem ambiguitatem de medio tollendam, et uniformitatem inducendam, eadem Sacra Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Cardinali eidem Praefecto, cunctis mature perpensis, atque iis praesertim, quae in Bulla sa. me. Gregorii Papae XIII. 'Quanto fructuosius,' data kalendis Februarii, 1853, pro approbatione Constitutionum Societatis Jesu, hac de re continentur, in Ordinariis Comitibus subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, sequentem methodum, servari posse constituit: 'Celebrans profitentium vota excepturus, sumpto Ssmo. Eucharistiae Sacramento, absoluta confessione, ac verbis quae ante fidelium Communionem dici solent, Sacram Hostiam manu tenens, ad profitentes sese convertet: hi vero singuli alta voce professionem suam legent, ac postquam quisque legerit, statim Ssmum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum sumet. In renovatione autem votorum, Celebrans ad altare conversus expectet donec renovantes votorum formulam protulerint; qui, nisi pauci sint, omnes simul, uno praeunte formulam renovationis recitabunt, ac postea ex ordine Ssmum. Corpus Domini accipient. Haec tamen methodus, cum recepta fuerit, in respectivis Congregationum Constitutionibus minime apponenda est. Non obstantibus quibuscumque particularibus Decretis in contrarium facientibus, quae prorsus revocata atque abrogata censeantur.' Die 14 Augusti, 1894.

Facta autem SS. D. N. Leoni Papae XIII. per me infra-

scriptum Cardinalem Praefectum de praemissis relatione, idem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster sententiam Sacrae Congregationis approbavit, ratam habuit, ac Decreta in contrarium facientia per praesens penitus abrogata esse declaravit. Die 27 iisdem mense et anno.

L. ✠ S.

✠ C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.
ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, *Secretarius*.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

ON A LESSON IN THE MAYNOOTH CATECHISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—Your kind invitation in the November number of the I. E. RECORD for 1896, soliciting opinions on that very important subject, the Catechism, tempts me to trespass on your space. Allow me to express to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Diocesan Committee, my sincere thankfulness for the work they are doing in bringing out a new Catechism. I am one of those who have been sighing for such a work these many years, and I hail its approaching completion with the highest satisfaction.

But I fear many will desire no change, and, wedded to old ideas, and influenced by old memories, will not accept the new Catechism as the boon to catechists which I, though I have not seen it, confidently expect it to be. To show its need, and thus in a small way to assist indirectly in the ultimate object which His Grace and the Committee have in view, I propose to subject to examination—of no deep and searching kind—a lesson in the Catechism ordered by the National Synod of Maynooth. I select the chapter on the Church, as it treats of a subject of the utmost importance, and affords evidences—I do not say special ones—that bear upon my purpose.

Now, it will be admitted by all, that a proportion of parts should be observed in all catechisms. Since a catechetical primer cannot be a full course of instruction, and cannot embrace every point of doctrine, the proportionate importance of subjects should be well considered. Those doctrines which affect but little for good or evil the spiritual life of the people, should hold a subordinate position. On the contrary, those doctrines which are

bound up with vital religious principles and needs, which are the foundation of faith and morals, or their safeguards, those should receive the space, prominence, and attention due to their importance. Again—another side of the same principle—those tenets of Catholicity which are exposed to the frequent attacks of the enemy, with danger to the virtue of the people, should be surrounded with double walls of question and answer.

Now, I fear, I must say that in the Maynooth Catechism this principle is not always observed—is certainly not observed in this chapter. No one will deny that the divine authority of the Church is the most fundamental of doctrines after the existence of God. Shake it, and you shake Christendom as with an earthquake. Yet it receives not much more space, and not as much attention, as the sin of Adam. To the latter subject twelve rather long questions are devoted, while only twenty are given to the Church and the Primacy of the Pope. And who will say that that is the ratio of the respective importance of these subjects?

But besides this unjustly curt treatment of the subject the lesson has other defects of a more serious kind. One, that he who runs can read, is the absence of all reference to our Rule of Faith. One would think that order and logical necessity would demand an explanation of it in the very beginning of a chapter on the Church: it is not explained, nor even referred to. And we know how fond Protestants are of boasting of their Rule—‘the Bible, and the Bible alone.’ We know, too, they often attack Catholics—with no inconsiderable amount of success—on the strength of their principle. Would it not have been well to have pricked this bubble of Protestantism, shown its hollowness, and thus saved many Catholics from shame and injury to their faith? It could have been done with the waste of a very few words. It would have been enough to give but two reasons intelligible to any ordinary mind—the difficulty of understanding the Sacred Scriptures (2 Peter iii. 16), and, on account of the scarcity of Bibles, the impossibility of the multitude making use of such a rule for fifteen centuries after the Ascension. But this fundamental weakness of Western heresies is left untouched, and the opportunity is missed of solidly establishing the faith in the mind of the child.

But to pass on to the examination of the text. The answer to the second question—‘The true Church is the Holy Catholic Church’—is an assumption, premature and unproved, and would

be in its place only towards the end of the lesson. The answer to the third question, founded on this assumption, is largely useless in its scope and feeble in its argument. The necessity of faith, charity, and good works, is here proved, but it could have been omitted, and the chapter would gain in consecution of thought and clearness of arrangement. That the true Church has four marks, we must admit on the authority of the author. To establish this criterion of truth and error no appeal is made to Scripture or Creed, and the four marks themselves are applied to the Catholic Church in a manner that is scarcely theologically sound. The *external* unity is attempted to be proved by an *internal* quality—‘in being *one body* animated by one spirit, and one fold under one head and shepherd, Jesus Christ, who is over all the Church.’ This is confusing the marks of the Church and her qualities.

But the sanctity of the Church fares badly indeed. As explained in this lesson it fails to a considerable extent as a mark. All communions, as Perrone points out, claim sanctity as regards their founder, their doctrine, their sacraments, and many of their members. They have some show of reason for their claim, too, we must admit, when we consider the many cases in which hypocrisy puts on the garb of holiness, or respectability is taken for virtue, or love of self looks like the love of God. Hence we can appeal with much effect to the sanctity of the Church as a mark of her divinity only when it becomes *heroic*. Special stress should, therefore, be laid upon the practice of the evangelical counsels as found in Sacred Scripture. ‘*A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos* ;’ and if so, no more distinctive mark of the true Church could be given than the fruit, ripe and luscious, of poverty, chastity, and obedience borne by the Catholic Church. And further, why not mention the *charismata*, and especially the gift of miracles, giving Scripture reference and the doctrine of the Church regarding it? The power is so distinctively Catholic—a feature which the denial of miracles by Protestants heightens—is so characteristic of the apostolic age as represented in the New Testament, is so pregnant with meaning, that by itself it looks like a fifth mark. It is certainly of such importance as an evidence of truth that it should not be overlooked. For these reasons it is to be feared that the mark of sanctity, as explained in the Catechism, is lost upon those outside of the Church, and brings conviction to the mind of those within largely through their own prejudices.

The exposition of the Catholicity of the Church is better, but is not distinguished for correctness of theology. Towards the end a quality of the Church—the indefectibility—is dragged in to serve as a mark, and a prophecy is indulged in, piously enough, but uselessly. That the Church ‘shall last to the end of time’ is a prediction which can be proved fulfilled only at the end of the world, and can be of no service to us of this day.

The apostolicity has scarcely had justice done it. The derivation of the Orders and the mission of the Church through the unbroken line of her pastors is omitted. And why not make mention here—or in connection with the primacy—of that great chain of two hundred and fifty-seven Popes, connecting by link after link the Church of to-day with the Church of Peter and the other Apostles? It would have been just the thing to catch the mind of a child, and take it from the region of abstract thought—a difficulty with the young—into a real flesh-and-blood notion. Here too, as in the last, the exposition ends in prophecy and declamation: the Church is apostolical ‘because it never ceased, and never will cease, to teach their [the Apostles’] doctrine.’

But I will end here. Without examining the chapter on the Primacy of the Pope—which is not perfection—enough has been said to show that this lesson is a failure and unworthy of its subject. In saying this, I trust I am free from exaggeration. Its omissions of fundamental principles, its assumptions in the answers, its want of orderly treatment and correct theology, its neglect to bring out the weakness of heresy and the divine characteristics of Catholicity, are so plain on the face of it, that I cannot help saying so. Those who do not agree with me in all that has been said will agree with me at least in this: that there is room, if not need, for a new Catechism.

I remain, dear Mr. Editor,

Faithfully yours,

V.

DOCUMENTS

DECREE GRANTING TO THE DIOCESE OF CORK THE FEAST OF THE HOLY FAMILY FOR THE THIRD SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY, WITH THE PRIVILEGE OF TRANSFERRING IT AS OFTEN AS IT IS IMPEDED ON THIS SUNDAY

BEATISSIME PATER

Alphonsus O'Callaghan Ord. Praed. Episcopus Corcagiensis humiliter supplicat privilegium pro clero universo tam seculari quam regulari, Dioecesis Corcagiensis celebrandi quotannis Festum S. Familiae Nazarenae, Dominica III. post Epiphaniam sub ritu duplicis majoris cum officio et Missa nuper approbatis, facta potestate idem festum transferendi in primam subsequentem diem liberam juxta rubricam, quoties enunciata Dominica occurreret.

Ex Audientia Ssmi. habita, die 24 Novembris, 1896.

Ssmus. Dominus Noster Leo, Divinia Providentia P.P. XIII., referente me infrascripto, S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia in omnibus juxta preces : Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus ejusdem S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Die et Anno uti supra.

A. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

DECREE GRANTING TO THE DIOCESE OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN ALL THE INDULGENCES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE 'QUARANT 'ORE' THOUGH THE EXPOSITION IS INTERRUPTED DURING THE HOURS OF NIGHT

BEATISSIME PATER

Jacobus Lynch, Episcopus Kildarensis et Leighlinensis quo magis erga SS. Eucharistiae Sacramentum plebis sibi commissae devotio accendatur magnopere cupit preces quadraginta horarum in suam, quibus convenit locis, introducere dioecesim. Ut vero incommoda et pericula praecaveantur per me infrascriptum Co-adjutorem humillime petit, ut occasione precum praedictarum in

sua dioecesi concedatur sine detrimento privilegiorum et indulgentiarum SS. Sacramentum tota die juxta morem expositum post Benedictionem singulis Vesperis populo factum tabernaculo reponere.

PATRITIUS FOLEY, *Episcopus Coadjutor.*

Ex Audientia Ssmi. habite, die 8 Septembris, 1896

Ssmus. D. N. Leo Divina Providentia P.P. XIII. referente infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario attentis expositis, benigne indulsit, ut in Ecclesiis et publicis Oratoriis memoratae dioecesis Kildarensis et Leighlinensis peragi valeat pium exercitium quadraginta horarum, facta expositione SSmi. Eucharistiae Sacramenti per triduum horis diurnis tantum a mane usque ad vesperam, horis autem nocturnis interpolatis, cum applicatione omnium indulgentiarum eidem pio exercitio a Summis Pontificibus concessarum, quamvis ea omnia servari nequeant, quae in Instructione sa. me. Clementis VIII. (XI. ?) praescripta sunt; caeterisque in contrarium nihil obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die et anno ut supra.

Pro B. P. D., Secr.
C. LAURENTI.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

OUR MARTYRS: A Record of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith under the Penal Laws in Ireland. By the late Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A. Dublin: Fallon & Co. 1896.

ON reading the title-page of this book, the public will be reminded of the great loss which the country sustained some months ago in the death of its distinguished author. A zealous priest of an illustrious order—a profound scholar in the history and general antiquities of his country, indefatigable in research, skilful in compilation, an active member of every movement for the furtherance of historical and antiquarian studies, the official promoter of the cause of the Irish martyrs—it was with reason he was held in respect while living, and it is with reason his memory claims respect after death. The labour of his life has been fruitful in valuable results—many, it may be, unrecorded, as are often the best achievements of lives like his, but many too which history will gratefully acknowledge and transmit. Perhaps his best known work is *Cromwell in Ireland*, a characteristically truthful narrative of that dark but glorious chapter in the record of our country's sufferings. His *History of Ireland* is the best school manual on the subject we know of. His merit as an editor of manuscript materials is established by the publication and translation of the *Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii S. Crucis in Hibernia*, and *Synopsis Nonnullorum Sanctorum Illustriumque Hibernorum Monachorum Cisterciensium* (1 vol. 4to, 1891). The present work was already in the press at the time of Dr. Murphy's death, and, with the exception of the preface, which has been written by another hand, the book comes to us as he left it.

We may best estimate its worth by explaining its purpose and plan. It does not pretend to paint the lives and sufferings of our martyrs with the literary skill and dramatic effect which the subject would well admit, but merely to introduce to the public, partly by quotation, partly by reference, the authentic materials of their history, collected originally by Dr. Murphy for the purpose of a judicial process. The book bears pretty much the same relation to a finished history as an attorney's instruction

to a counsel's defence. We have no right to find fault with Dr. Murphy for not attempting the counsel's part; what he did attempt he has, as far as we can judge, satisfactorily accomplished, and there is no higher praise to bestow. Of the industry employed, we may form some conjecture from the extensive catalogue of old, rare, out-of-the-way books and manuscripts which are given as among the more important sources quoted from or referred to. If any subsequent worker in the same field possesses the talent and feels the noble inspiration to perfect the work and popularize the memory of our martyred heroes, it is he, we believe, will appreciate the value of Dr. Murphy's labours as a preparation for his own.

The plan of the book is determined by its purpose. Dr. Murphy had written a discussion on the theological definition of martyrdom, and its application to the case of his clients; but, as it could not be found among his papers, its place has been supplied by the writer of the preface. The Introduction gives an excellent digest of the penal laws, intended to show that their spirit was essentially hatred of the Catholic religion, and that, consequently, the victims of their operation were truly martyrs in the theological sense. To some this might appear superfluous, but for Dr. Murphy's purpose it is very apt. Then follows the record proper, where will be found, arranged under the years of their death, the names of more than two hundred and fifty martyrs, together with several communities, some of forty and fifty members, whose names, we take it, have been lost to history though inscribed in the Book of Life. The sketches given, some very brief, others more extended, as materials offered, are almost entirely transcripts from contemporary authorities, in many cases recording the testimony of eye-witnesses. As a rule, there is given only the account of one writer, but where corroboration seemed necessary other authorities are quoted, and in all cases reference is made to all the known sources. Seldom does Dr. Murphy make a statement in his own words; never without indicating his authority. Discrepancies between the original authorities, where they occur, are pointed out, and some useful critical remarks subjoined in the foot-notes. The period covered by his researches is one hundred and fifty-six, years, from 1535 to 1691; and though it is true that heaven alone holds a complete list of our martyrs during those years, we may take it that human records have few, if any, additional names to yield.

The martyr-roll itself, as we have it in this book, is an interesting study. Seven archbishops are among the names of glory, all four provinces contributing. Armagh still holds the primacy with those purple-clad, palm-bearing champions; Cashel follows after with two; and Dublin and Tuam with one each. Nine rulers of suffragan sees swell the mitred throng. Priests, secular and religious, in mingled concourse, surround the Pontiff band; while knights and soldiers and citizens, virgins and widows and matrons make a fringe for the shining crowd. It will be noticed that some of the names in Dr. Murphy's list are already *venerable*, being included among the English martyrs whose cause was admitted in 1886 to the Congregation of Rites. They are rightly claimed as *our* martyrs, for though it was English soil that was sanctified by their blood, the blood itself was Irish, and, beside its shedding there, some of them had no connection with the sister isle.

P. J. T.

CANTIONES ECCLESIASTICAE ad voces aequales. Ecclesiastical Chants for Soprano and Alto voices. By Michael Haller, op. 43. Three Parts. Ratisbon : A. Coppenrath.¹

THIS collection of compositions by Haller will, doubtless, prove very acceptable to choirs consisting solely of female voices. Especially the third part will be very welcome to convent choirs, as it contains some of the chants for the ceremonies of reception or profession. It gives settings, for three equal voices, of the *Regnum mundi*, *Veni electamea*, *Desponsari, dilecta, veni*, *Veni sponsa Christi* (two settings), and *Haec est quae nescivit*, to which is added an Offertory, *Ave Maria*. The first part also contains a three-part *Veni sponsa Christi*, and *Qui confidunt in Domino*, together with an *Ecce Sacerdos*, and some hymns to the Blessed Sacrament. The second part gives compositions to texts, which, we are sure, many choirs have often been anxious to sing; namely, a Hymn and an Offertory of the Holy Name, and the Gradual and Offertory of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. There are, besides, two four-part compositions for Easter time. Separate voice parts are published for each of the three parts of this useful work.

¹ Complaints have frequently been made about the difficulty of procuring music published on the Continent. If anyone who experiences this difficulty will send his order to the Rev. H. Bewerunge, Maynooth College, he will see that it will be promptly executed.

CATHOLIC CHURCH MUSIC. Parts VI. and IX. Eucharistic Hymns for two, three, and four female voices. By Joseph Modlmayr. Ratisbon : A. Coppenrath.

As there is a great demand for hymns to the Blessed Sacrament composed for equal voices, we beg to recommend the above artistic and devotional settings. The work in question contains three compositions for two parts, four for three, and two for four parts. Separate voice parts are published.

REPERTORIUM OF CHURCH MUSIC. Part 5 Missa in honorem St. Caeciliae, for three equal voices and organ. By P. Piel. Part 38. Missa VI.* in hon. Purissimi Cordis B.M.V., for three male voices and organ. By Jos. Beltjens.

UNDER the general title of *Repertorium of Church Music*, Messrs. Feuchtinger and Gleichauf, of Ratisbon, have brought out in a neat and handy form some useful compositions which have been published first as musical supplements of the *Courrier de Saint Grégoir*, in Liège. The above-mentioned three-parts Masses, Piel's, for either female voices or male voices, and Beltjens' for male voices, can be particularly recommended as fairly easy and melodious compositions. The voice parts are printed separately.

MISSA SEXTA DECIMA. In honorem S. Antonii de Padua. Mass with organ accompaniment. By Michael Haller, op. 62. Ratisbon : A. Coppenrath.

THE German composers of the Cecilian School rarely edit Masses with organ accompaniment, most of the continental choirs preferring the *a capella* style of singing. As the conditions of our choirs, however, generally necessitate the use of the organ for accompaniment, we must all the more welcome Haller's easy and pleasing Mass in honour of St. Antony. There are two editions of it, for both of which scores and separate parts are published—one for two mixed voices, and one for four mixed voices. Choirs with a small number of singers, or with one part insufficiently provided for, could not do better than select the first edition, in which all the female voices sing the one part, all the male voices the other. This arrangement will produce, in the case mentioned, a fuller effect than if the voices were distributed over the four parts.

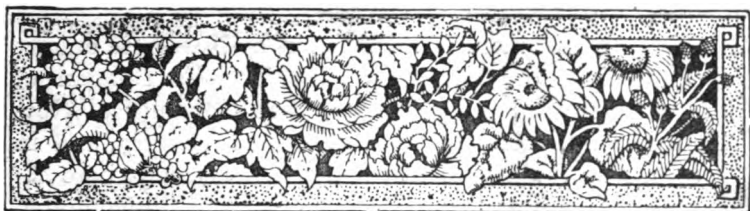
H. B.

THE WONDERFUL FLOWER OF WOXINDON. Freiburg:
Herder

THIS is the title of a volume of 500 pages, by Rev. Joseph Spelman, S.J. It is an historical romance, dealing with the Penal days under Elizabeth, and principally with the time and circumstances of the conspiracy of the ill-fated Babington and his associates for the release of Mary Stuart. The incidents portrayed are of authentic history, with a slight thread of fiction to connect the principal details of the story. The scene is laid in London and the country in its vicinity. The story is told in the form of reminiscences of three of the principal actors, each taking up the narration of that part in which he himself was principally engaged. The execution of this plan gives a quaint and archaic colouring to the whole.

The author has succeeded in giving us a very vivid picture of the political and religious life of this troubled period. He has imparted also much valuable information with regard to the character and conduct of the Queen of Scots. He has followed closely in this the authority of the Protestant historian, Hosack, whose revelation of the treacherous and intriguing statecraft of which she was made the victim is truly appalling. In a few touches here and there the character of Elizabeth is also well delineated by one of the autobiographers. The sufferings of the Catholics under the Penal *regime*, the many stratagems adopted by the pious priests in ministering to their co-religionists, and the zeal and ardour displayed by the members of the illustrious Order of St. Ignatius, supply the tale with many affecting and elevating incidents. To one thing in the story we make objection—the incident of the Wonderful Flower. This we consider too improbable, even for romance; and, if we except that it furnishes a catching title to the volume, it seems to serve no useful purpose, as it neither furthers nor retards the action of the plot. The volume is neatly printed and bound.

C. M.



IRISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

IT is more than a thousand years ago that good Walafrid Strabo spoke of the migratory tendencies of the Irish people: 'Quibus mos peregrinandi paene in naturam conversa est.' Since then they have certainly not belied the judgment of the old magister, and the annals of the Continent are proof that a multitude of the Irish Gael has found its way to every nation and every city of Europe, especially since the downfall of the Irish State at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We read with astonishment that nearly a million of Irishmen fought and perished in the service of the French crown, and we instinctively add to that number all those who followed the wavering fortunes of Spain, Austria, and Russia during the same epoch, not to speak of the minor powers of Europe. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ireland seems to have been, like Switzerland in the fifteenth, a *pepinière* of swordsmen and lancers, an inexhaustible source of warlike men.

The discovery of the New World opened up to the Gael, as to all other European peoples, boundless occasions for the satisfaction of the spirit of adventure, and when the domestic struggle for political independence that fills and consecrates the sixteenth century in Ireland was over, and the great earls had fled in despair, we see the Irish Gael appearing in the New World, in constantly growing numbers, and exercising upon its fortunes no despicable influence. Tradition has it that Miles Standish was an Irishman and a

Catholic. An Irishman, William, is put by Navarrete among the companions of Columbus. Sir Thomas Dongan of Cork, 'a far-sighted and able man,' was Governor of New York towards the end of the seventeenth century, and in the course of the eighteenth many a stout ship bore its hundreds of Irish immigrants into the ports of Philadelphia, New York, New London, and Baltimore. Colonial development, war, foreign commerce, domestic discontent, religious oppression were among the causes that filled with Irishmen the vessels that regularly sailed from Dublin, Cork, and Londonderry. Their descendants, unhappily, are lost to the faith to-day by no fault of theirs. It is sad to think of the religious privations of men like Daniel O'Sullivan, the Kerry schoolmaster, who penetrated the wilds of New Hampshire about the middle of the eighteenth century, and became the progenitor of the revolutionary Sullivans and of other families famous to-day in the New England States. During the eighteenth century, the colonial ports were never without their fair proportion of Irishmen, for the sea has ever been as dear to the men of Erin as to the men of England, and they may praise with equal zeal—

This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone, set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house.

It is certain that Northern New York and Pennsylvania received large accessions of Gaelic Catholics in the first half of the eighteenth century, both Scotch and Irish Gael. Scarcely a month passes that the newspapers of the period do not chronicle the arrival of hundreds. In the latter half of the century New London, in Connecticut, was a favourite port of entry for Irish immigrants, and the eastern portion of that State was largely settled by Irish, though of Protestant faith. The revolutionary war brought many Irishmen to the colonies, for several of the British regiments were entirely composed of the Gael. On the American side a good portion of the soldiers were Irishmen, according to the testimony of General Lee, cited by the British General Robertson before the Committee of the House of Commons,

in 1778. In this country we are all familiar with similar evidences of George Washington and of Verplank, not to speak of the famous phrase of Parke Custis, the adopted son of Washington, that 'in the revolutionary war Ireland furnished one hundred men to any single man furnished by any foreign nation.'

Coming down from the earliest English settlement of this territory, there is in the United States, especially in Virginia and New England, a deep strain of Gaelic blood, one of whose sources is the steady kidnapping, during the seventeenth century, of thousands of Irish girls and boys, brought over to the West Indian Colonies, and to Virginia and New England in particular. The curious researches of Mr. John Prendergast in his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, and the 'permits' of Cromwell in the 'State Papers' of England, are irrefragable proofs of this practice. Nevertheless, neither this infusion of Gaelic blood, nor the great number of eighteenth century Irish redemptioners (temporary bondsmen), nor the other sources of Irish immigration previous to the opening of the nineteenth century, would ever have brought about the marvellous results that have since come to pass through the mighty exodus of an entire people from the venerable seat of its history and its power. This exodus is yet too near us, and its results are yet too personal and present, to permit my discussing it from a philosophical point of view. Hence I shall confine myself to some facts, and to such considerations as seem best fitted for the direction of those who intend in the future to cast in their lot with the great Republic of the West, the world's great bulwark of liberty without license, and individual freedom without anarchy or despotism.

We are told by Dr. Edward Young, formerly Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, that 'prior to the year 1820 no official records were kept of the influx of foreign population to this country.' The same official estimates that between 1776 and 1820 the aggregate immigration was about 250,000. The entire population of the colonies at the opening of the war was about

3,000,000, one-third of whom were probably born on the other side of the Atlantic, while the parents of a large portion of the remainder were among the early immigrants. If we apply to this first period, when immigration statistics were unknown, the ratio of proportion which has steadily obtained since then between the emigrants from the British Isles, we shall conclude that from 1776 to 1895 Ireland has contributed fully seventy per cent. of the emigration from the political island-world of Great Britain. The total transatlantic immigration to the United States since 1820, from all parts whatsoever, is put down at 17,708,331. Of this vast number the British Isles have contributed, during these seventy-six years, 6,743,783, in the following proportion :—

Ireland	.	.	.	3,723,356
England	.	.	.	2,647,230
Scotland	.	.	.	373,197

In the same period Germany contributed 4,940,538; Norway and Sweden, 1,136,875; Austro-Hungary, 716,266; Italy, 680,568; and France, 392,359. It is to be noted that the strength of the Irish immigration antedates that of most other European nations, and, relatively to all, was long enormously in advance, when we consider the small bulk of the population whence it has been drawn. Premising that the total population of the United States according to the census of 1890, was 62,622,250, and that of this number, 53,332,063 were native born, 9,290,167 foreign born, that 55,157,210 were white, and about 7,470,040 were black, it may be of interest to the readers of the I. E. RECORD to read the following table, in which the Bureau of Statistics has tabulated the arrivals from Ireland by decades since 1820 :—

1820-1830	.	.	.	50,724
1830-1840	.	.	.	207,381
1840-1850	.	.	.	780,719
1850-1860	.	.	.	914,119
1860-1870	.	.	.	435,778
1870-1880	.	.	.	436,871
1880-1890	.	.	.	655,482
1890-1895	.	.	.	242,282

3,723,356

This enormous Irish immigration to America is fully appreciated only when we remember that Canada, Australia, South Africa, the West Indies, and all the English colonies have been drawing heavily for their increase of population on the ever-teeming bosom of Ireland.

We must remember too that the nation which furnishes this multitude of immigrants is now one of the smallest on the earth, and that in less than fifty years it has sunk in population from about eight to considerably less than five million souls. Yet, strange phenomenon! while the nation has dwindled, the race has increased beyond all imagination, and it is calculated that to-day there are in the world no less than 20,000,000 men of direct Irish descent.

Our Treasury statistics show that the Irish immigration is drawn from that element of the population which furnishes the natural increase of any people. Between June 30, 1892, and June 30, 1893, out of a total of European immigration of 488,832, there came from Ireland 49,233 souls. Of that number 2,781 were under fifteen, 1,929 over forty, and 44,523 between fifteen and forty years of age. Of this number, 21,435 were males, and 23,088 were females.

In the decade 1880-1890, the Irish immigrants under fifteen were 92,308; over forty, 48,085; while those between fifteen and forty numbered 515,089. Thus Ireland contributed in *ten* years to the population of the United States about *one-ninth* of her own actual brawn and sinew, her grace and her gentleness. And the most ancient social organism of Europe is still pouring westward an endless stream of men and women, to those regions of Hy-Brasil that Brendan, doubtless, gazed upon, and whose sands the holy feet of Ailbe may have trodden!

In fifteen years the United States has received from Ireland about *one-fifth* of her actual population, as the following table shows. The figures are taken from the

latest Treasury statistics (1896), and the years begin and end on June 30 :—

1881	.	.	.	77,342
1882	.	.	.	76,432
1883	.	.	.	81,486
1884	.	.	.	63,344
1885	.	.	.	51,795
1886	.	.	.	49,619
1887	.	.	.	68,370
1888	.	.	.	73,513
1889	.	.	.	65,557
1890	.	.	.	53,024
1891	.	.	.	55,706
1892	.	.	.	55,467
1893	.	.	.	49,223
1894	.	.	.	33,904
1895	.	.	.	5,888

860,670

The greater part of this immigration has been and is yet drawn from the labouring classes, though it is pleasing to note that Ireland sends us, proportionately, as large a percentage of professional and skilled labour as any other nation. Our immigration laws are becoming more exacting as the nation awakens to certain dangers inevitable from the uncontrolled inpouring of European and Asiatic humanity, and to-day paupers or persons without any visible means of support, or likely to be a charge to the State, are rigidly excluded. Contract labourers are also excluded in the interest of our own multitude of workingmen, and the trend is towards a still more sweeping legislation. It is not likely, however, that the doors of the United States will ever be shut to those human elements that have brought it growth and greatness in the past, and are in harmony with the fundamental principles and the spirit of the principles of the American State; whose responsibilities, it is true, grow greater with every decade, but whose possibilities open ever more widely to the eye of the patriotic citizen.

Where have these multitudes of Irish gone, and what are they doing? They are everywhere, in manufacturing New England and New York, in mining Pennsylvania, in the

agricultural Middle States and the North-west, on the Pacific slope, in the South Atlantic and the Gulf States. There is to-day scarcely an American hamlet in which the blood of the Milesian is not represented. The Irish are exceedingly numerous in many of our great cities, such as New York, Chicago, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Boston, and others. In the Southern States, for obvious reasons, their number is not so great at present, but with the increasing prosperity of this favoured region we may expect soon to see a larger influx of the children of Erin. In many Western States, in communities that have sprung up within this generation, and in which ancient prejudice is weak, or comparatively unknown, the Irish enjoy a high degree of consideration and are among the prominent pioneers of this wonderful complexus of young and vigorous States. In the older States the social and religious dislike that once operated to the detriment of the Irish is disappearing rapidly, owing to several important reasons, chief among which is the ease with which the Irish immigrant merges into the political and social life around him, bringing with him the now common language, and accustomed from youth to a life of political activity and responsibility, and to the exercise of most, if not all, of the rights of a freeman.

No man born out of the United States may be president or vice-president; but in the Senate and the House of Representatives, on the judicial bench, in the army and navy, in the civil service, is an ever-growing number of men of Irish descent who shed lustre on their origin, and are beyond reproach as men and citizens. In education, law, journalism, literature, the plastic and applied arts, they hold foremost places, and their ardour and generosity lend much zest and colour to our national life. More than one critic of our manners notices a certain indescribable something in the American character borrowed from long and close contact with the Irishman, perhaps one expression of the strain of Irish blood that surely exists here from a very early date.

The presence of the Irishman may be traced all over the United States, if only by the nomenclature of towns and

cities. And many of their names date from the last century, while others are of yesterday. But in every State, in the oldest as in the newest, there are communities whose first settlers were numerous and affectionate enough to perpetuate in the New World the sweet name that recalled all they had sacrificed in the Old.

Very naturally, I will be asked what advice ought to be given the intending immigrant from Ireland. I might answer by referring to the natural advisers at home and here, as well as to the admirable literature which has grown up about this question in past years. Fr. Stephen Byrne, the works of Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee, John Maguire, M.P., and Bishop Spalding, as well as the reports of the Colonization Society, contain invaluable suggestions, and are far from being antiquated. The files of the older Catholic newspapers, like the *Boston Pilot*, the *New York Freeman's Journal*, the *Philadelphia Standard and Times*, the *Baltimore Mirror*, and others, contain much valuable advice and direction, that any student of this question might well ponder over and digest before writing on it *ex professo*. I can only offer a few general suggestions, of a moral and political character, leaving to others the more practical and economic view of this grave problem.

1. The Irish immigrant ought to be a *model of the natural virtues*. He is usually a Catholic, and if the supernatural life of grace is not raised upon a foundation of natural virtue, he is apt to give a false impression of the nature, scope, and value of his religion. He must, therefore, adapt himself to the land in which he seeks a refuge, and he must remember that he owes a debt of gratitude to that country which opens wide its doors to him, and places within easy reach what is to-day the greatest of civil privileges, the American citizenship. He leaves a land where as yet he is debarred, directly or indirectly, from many things that his heart desires, but that his race or religion, or both, prevent him enjoying. He comes into the chief state of the New World, and in five years he walks a king among men, clothed with the panoply of free citizenship, with the right of suffrage, active and passive, eligible to every office but the highest,

from which, however, his children are not debarred. The very magnificence of this American political generosity makes many foreigners forget that it is a boon pure and simple, to which they have no right, and which may be curtailed or denied as easily as it has been lavished.

2. The American people admire thrift, perseverance, business honour, faith of contracts. Their's is a mighty commercial state; but it is no nation of shopkeepers, if by that be meant a 'gross, vulgarian' soul. They love the virtues that adorn the days of peace, but they are surely not deficient in those that befit the strenuous period of war. The energy which elsewhere is spent on mighty armaments and on mutual checkmating, is here expended on the forces of nature. From the mill-dam that treasures the 'power' for the New England factory to the wonderful harnessing of Niagara; from the turnpike and canal to the great iron roadways that bind the Atlantic and Pacific across a stretch of three thousand miles; from the modest steam-boat of Fulton to the mighty Indiana, or the Massachusetts, there has been in this country such a continuous development of all the business and commercial virtues as the world has never seen. What if there be excesses or dangers? Every healthy body has its crises, its perils, and states are not free from them. But the recuperative powers of this state are beyond calculation, for deep in the hearts of the vast majority of its citizens are planted religious conscience, belief in one God and His revelation, admiration and practice of virtue, natural and scriptural, charity and forbearance, belief in a future life of rewards and punishments.

3. There is here no public legalized blasphemy, no ostentatious violation of the Sunday rest, no cynical disregard of the claims of virtue, nor will the immigrant see here the idea of God and His guiding Providence relegated to the family or the individual. This nation of seventy millions reads with gladness and piety the annual formal message of our President, wherein God, Providence, Prayer, Christianity are formally allowed and commended to every citizen. The American heart is, therefore, a religious, nay, a Christian

heart; and in that heart lies the panacea for the crescent ills of our political life.

We have just gone through a most exciting election, in which the greatest domestic issues were involved, yet to-day peace reigns supreme over the land, and men look hopefully and fraternally into one another's eyes, who but yesterday contended in the political arena. We have great political parties divided on many public issues; yet all have confidence in the executive, and the rumours of war, or the complications of international problems, are calmly entrusted to the representatives of the people, with the most solemn confidence that they will not belie their mandates, will not act with haste or passion, or allow the dignity of the state to suffer.

4. It will not be amiss if I say here a few words on *good citizenship*. The Irish immigrant who arrives on our shores beholds before him a most varied political life, in which ward, town, city, county, state, and nation play each a rôle of absorbing interest. He is already half fitted by his language, domestic political training, and certain innate tendencies or qualities, to enter into this life. He usually does, and with no small share of success, for the Irish race has developed the world over, a rare political capacity, as the history of the English colonies alone will show, or a cursory view of the foreign relations of England in this century. On this blessed soil of freedom the Irish immigrant needs to cultivate every civic virtue, interest in all public problems, conscientious study of public issues, the sense of union for the common weal, unprejudiced devotion to the growth of the State, incorruptible exercise of the sacred right of the ballot, which is the holy fountain of our political life and well-being, and to poison or trifle with which is to cut at the root of our State. The laws guarantee and promise to protect the free exercise of the right of suffrage, and condemn any unwarranted interference with it. They provide for secret balloting, and they have left nothing undone to place the individual voter in a position to register his personal, conscientious opinions. Nor should anyone imagine that it is a slight thing to cast a vote against one's conscience, or as the result of a barter or trade. Beside

the scandal, there is the wrong done to the popular sovereignty, the *Majestas Americana*, which is endangered by no act so much as by the corrupt use of the ballot, an act which more than any other tends to justify the enemies of our State and our institutions.

5. It would not be proper for me to recommend publicly to immigrants any particular part of the United States. But it will not be out of place if they are recommended not to immigrate without some definite knowledge of where they are going, and what they expect to do. This is a dictate of natural prudence. There was a time when the Irish labourer alone controlled the labour market in the United States; but that day is gone, and this honourable labour is now contended for among us by many other European, and even Asiatic nationalities, driven to our hospitable shores by sorrowful circumstances, not unsimilar to those which motivated the coming of so many children of Erin. For various reasons they are often successful competitors in the lower kinds of labour; and while this forces the Irishman to go up in the social scale, it often deprives the arriving immigrant of that sure and permanent support which he could once count on during the first years of his American life.

6. When he can command it, the immigrant ought to bring with him a sum of money as large as his means or circumstances permit. This would be wise, even in a new colony. It is much more needed in these times, when the great cities are becoming congested, and sudden economic disturbances frighten the world of commerce and business into inactivity. It takes means also to cross the great stretches of the country, to purchase land, stock it, and live until the land is productive. Some of our staples have lately fluctuated greatly in value—for temporary and artificial reasons, all believe; nevertheless the penniless emigrant, who expects to live by the land, is gravely affected by these conditions, much more so than the native farmer, whose employed children, distant connections, familiarity with the country, may enable him to weather the storm. Ordinarily speaking, capital invested in the United States is most productive. There are many hundreds of millions of English capital

here—in our railroads, bridges, mines, mills, breweries, and the like ; and there is no reason why those who have capital in Ireland should not invest it here with great profit, especially if they come in person to superintend its employment. I recall more than one instance where Irishmen have prospered greatly on the funds they brought with them and invested in some of our American enterprises.

Perhaps someone will ask what I think of Irish immigration in general. Ought the Irish to stay at home, or ought they emigrate very largely, and especially to the United States? It is a grave problem. Ireland is a very ancient nation, with a very glorious history, and her race of men is pre-eminently adapted to the soil on which they live. Divine Providence seems to have matched the lovely and fertile island with a population of brave and industrious men, and pure and beautiful women. Surely this has not been in order to tear them roughly from the farm and the hamlet, the mill and the forge, the cradle and the spinning-wheel, to scatter them like the leaves of the forest or the sands of the sea. The natural development of any race is on the ancestral soil, where nature and tradition are the venerable nurses of manhood and womanhood, where the racial virtues are natural and frequent, and the racial vices most easily extirpated or counterbalanced. Then, too, history is a great magician, and throws still over every feature of the landscape, as well as over the whole 'sweetest isle of the ocean,' an irresistible charm, in which it is hard to tell what element prevails the most—the deep human love of one's accustomed haunts, of 'the cabin-door fast by the wild wood,' or the ineffable devotion that feeds and grows upon the awful sorrows which beset it; the sweet sense of kinship with the long lines of clan-ancestry that fade off into the dawn of history, or the ineradicable passionate longing to see secular injustice righted, and the harp of Innisfail once again 'strung full high to notes of gladness.' Whatever be its component elements, there is no gainsaying the material charm of Ireland, and in the chain which binds her children to her it is, perhaps, not the least resistful of the links.

Yet this same history shows us the Irish race as possessed beyond all others with the spirit of the world-wanderer. The earliest reliable utterances of their history bear witness that they were seafaring, adventurous people; and since their conversion to Christianity there can be no doubt that this spirit has been heightened and consecrated by religious ardour for the propagation of Christianity. Willingly and unwillingly, wittingly and unwittingly, they have been a people of missionaries longer than any other race. No other people ever gave themselves *en bloc* to Christian missions as they; no other people ever suffered for their Catholic faith as they. And when, with the dawn of this century, the remarkable movement began which has to-day produced some 130,000,000 of English-speaking people, and been the chief element in the *renaissance* of Catholicism from its Continental tomb, it was the Irish who were the pioneers, they being then almost the only English-speaking Catholics, and devoting themselves the world over to the planting of the Catholic faith, the support of its claims and its missionaries, and the sustenance of the Papal authority. They are no longer the only English-speaking Catholics, though they are yet everywhere the majority; but we would be base and ingrate to forget that it was they who bore the brunt of the struggle for many decades of this century.

I would not, therefore, discourage Irish immigration, because there are at stake more than economic considerations. There are at stake the interests of the Catholic religion, which in this land and in this age are largely bound up with the interests of the Irish people. God's hand is upon them, going and coming; and I prefer to believe that He who harmonizes the motion of the planets and the flow of the tides is also the First Agent and the Prime Mover in those no less mysterious movements by which peoples pass from one land to another, even as Israel went down out of Egypt into Canaan, or the Wandering Nations came out of the frozen North and overflowed the Roman Empire.

✠ J. CARD. GIBBONS,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

THE INDEX IN IRELAND

AMONG the innumerable evils prevalent in this age, there is hardly any which is more deplorable, or which does greater damage to the faith and morals of Christians, than 'that most noisome plague of books in which sin is taught, and which are circulating in such numbers everywhere. These books are written in a good style, though full of fallacy and artifice; they are scattered broadcast at enormous expense, unto the ruin of the Christian people; they disseminate everywhere their pestiferous doctrines, and deprave the mind and heart of those especially who are not on their guard.'¹

Nor can we pretend in the least that this most doleful condition of things does not exist even among ourselves in Ireland; although it is not so bad here as in other places.

For there are everywhere on sale, and may be had for a trifle, books, pamphlets, novels, periodicals, the writers of which either openly or insidiously attack and endeavour to subvert religion and morality. And writings of this kind are sometimes bought by Catholics, are taken into their homes, and are read indiscriminately by children and servants.²

This is how the bishops of Ireland, assembled in synod at Maynooth, described the condition of things that prevailed in this country in 1875.

Twenty-one years have passed since, and it may be asked whether there has been any subsidence of the deluge which Pius IX. saw spread over the civilized world; whether the plague of impure and irreligious literature shows any sign of having spent its force and of passing away.

It is very much to be feared that the reverse is true: that there is an increase in the number of those who think themselves at liberty to read books and periodicals in which un-Catholic or even heretical doctrines are advocated; and that, whilst the moral tone of the novel is not improved, this class of literature is circulating more and more extensively among our people; so that not only men, but even

¹ Pius IX. Encycl., *Qui pluribus*, 9th November, 1846.
² *Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Maynooth*, nn. 347-9.

women and girls—and perhaps these especially—now read openly and without scruple what would have brought a blush of shame to the cheeks of their mothers and their aunts in the days of the Synod of Maynooth.

To some this may appear the language of exaggeration : pray God it may be so. But from what I myself know of the books that are freely read both by clergy and laity ; considering, moreover, the class of literature one sees exposed for sale not only at railway book-stalls, which are patronized by persons of all creeds, but in the shops of our Catholic booksellers ; and bearing in mind what one hears from priests who have spent years on the mission in our towns, I dare not hope that things are better now in Ireland than they were twenty-one years ago. The poison has spread into the daily and weekly press ; perhaps it would be more true to say that the virulent principles propounded in these organs from the beginning have now developed into almost open irreligion ; so that people who never read either a book or a review are weakened in faith and deprived of moral tone by the unwholesome pabulum supplied to them under the name of politics or of general news.

I.

If this be anything like a fair representation of what is going on among our people, it is surely the duty of the clergy to consider seriously how they may cope with so great an evil. The only remedy I know of,—besides prayer, which is not a specific for this case,—is, to warn the faithful of their obligation in the matter ; to do this in social intercourse, as well as in the confessional, from the pulpit, and in the press ; and to show them good example by abstaining, for our own part, from reading publications which we condemn as dangerous to the faith and the morals of the laity.

Here the question arises : What are the obligations of Irish Catholics with regard to dangerous books and periodicals ? What are we to preach ? Are we to confine ourselves to inculcating the natural law, which undoubtedly

forbids one under pain of mortal sin to expose oneself to serious spiritual danger, except under stress of some necessity proportionate to the risk? Or, should not a priest go further; and, as the Church has made special laws to preserve her children from this particular form of contagion, may it not be better, in the confessional and elsewhere, to insist on the observance of these special enactments, and to be himself the first to give the good example of obedience in a matter of such importance?

There are many zealous priests who prefer the first of these courses. I propose to examine the reasons by which they are influenced; and I would ask those who may read this paper, and who take an interest in the subject, to supply any arguments that may escape my attention, and generally to discuss the whole question with an honest desire to discover the best and most prudent course, and not with any view to securing a petty dialectical triumph.

II.

Those who would have pastors of souls in Ireland confine their teaching with regard to dangerous books, to admonitions based on the natural law, seem to be influenced by two main reasons. In the first place, they do not regard the legislation of the Church as actually and proximately binding in this country; and, as a consequence, they maintain that those who without necessity or dispensation deliberately read books written for the express purpose of advocating heretical doctrine, do not commit any sin against ecclesiastical obedience, nor incur any ecclesiastical penalty, even though they violate the natural law and sin grievously against the virtue of faith.

In the next place, there seems to be a feeling that, even supposing the faithful in Ireland to be proximately bound by the Rules of the Index and the Constitution *Apostolicæ Sedis*, in the sense explained, yet in the present state of the Irish Church it is not prudent to insist on the observance of this special legislation; inasmuch as we should thereby for a certainty multiply evils, whilst it is extremely doubtful

whether we should secure anything like a proportionate gain.

Moreover, of those who are influenced by this latter reason, some, at least, seem to entertain doubts as to whether these special laws of the Church are of any use for the end they are intended to promote. It is sometimes said that in the past the Inquisition and the Index did more harm than good to the Catholic cause; that, in any case, the day is gone by when we could hope to gag the press; that an educated public are sure in the end to discern and cleave to the truth; and that, instead of forbidding books and periodicals to the faithful, our endeavour should be to leaven these publications with sound Catholic doctrine; and we should thus not only keep our own flock safe, but win over many who are at present straying in the darkness of heresy and unbelief. The atmosphere of the world, we are reminded, is cold and harsh; and as the faithful cannot remain always within the hot-house of good Catholic society, they are all the safer for being hardened by occasional exposures to the evil influences against which they shall have to struggle through life. This and much more to the same effect is what one hears advanced occasionally in justification of the liberal views which seem to have crept in among us with regard to this matter of dangerous reading.

Now, it is not easy to see how any reflecting Catholic, with the laws and traditional practice of the Church before him, can maintain that either now or at any other time it could be anything but a calamity if the faithful read, or were allowed to read, bad books. That there is danger—serious danger—in bad literature, is a proposition which for Catholics needs no proof. That it is wrong to expose one's faith to peril, unless one be justified by reason of some proportionate necessity, is equally undeniable. Free-thinkers and advocates of private judgment may reject one or other of these two propositions; but surely no right-minded Catholic can agree or sympathize with them in this.

It is equally in accordance with the Catholic tradition to

believe that the natural law which forbids us to expose ourselves to this danger, except under pressure of a proportionate necessity, is safeguarded by the addition of an ecclesiastical precept to the same effect. Bad books have been condemned by ecclesiastical authority almost from the beginning; they have been ordered to be burned, and the faithful have been commanded, under the severest penalties, to abstain from reading them. The policy of the Index is traditional in the Church; so that I do not know how any Catholic can pronounce it a mistaken policy, of little or no use as a safeguard to faith or morals.

There remains one other position to fall back upon, for those who may be inclined to regard the legislation of the Index as unsuited to the present day; they may maintain that, in the social conditions prevailing at present, everyone is under a necessity of reading whatever he may lay hands upon.

This position may be false, but it is consistent; how far it is true or false, I shall discuss later on. What I would insist on here is, the admission which is forced from everyone imbued with the true Catholic spirit, that the non-observance of the laws of the Church forbidding the faithful, under severe spiritual penalties, to read books of a character dangerous to faith and morals, is a great calamity, even though it be the *less* of two evils, one or other of which we cannot avoid.

III.

I propose now to consider in order the two main arguments of those who hold that in admonishing his flock of their obligations in this matter, a pastor of souls in Ireland does well to confine himself altogether to the obligations arising from the natural law. The first and principal of these reasons, as it seems to me, is based on the contention that the faithful in this country are not bound by the Rules of the Index or any similar legislation; not even by the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis*, as far as it regards the reading of books. Of course, if these laws do

not bind in Ireland, it would be criminal folly on the part of a pastor to teach his flock that they are actually in force.

It is due to those who maintain that the faithful in Ireland are not bound by these laws, to mention here the modification which they are careful to attach to their opinion. They do not say that these laws are not in force, or do not bind; they are in force, and do bind, but only radically, remotely, or, as some say, *in actu primo*; formally, proximately, or *in actu secundo*, they are not obligatory. The net result of which is, that, as a matter of fact, in Ireland one may read heretical or infidel books to one's heart's content, without committing any sin of disobedience to ecclesiastical authority, or incurring any ecclesiastical penalty; although one must be always careful to say that these laws are in force, and bind our consciences in some way which imposes on us no actual restraint. They are binding on us in the same way as the law of fasting in Lent binds one who has been duly dispensed from its observance,—an obligation which, as long as the dispensation lasts, does not place the slightest restraint on the appetite of the person concerned.

I cannot feel satisfied that in this country the laws of the Church which forbid indiscriminate reading, are of so ineffective a character. My reasons are the following:—

When a law has been duly promulgated, it binds those for whom it was intended, so that they are guilty of disobedience if they refuse to conform to it, unless in so far as the legislator may have consented that they should not be so bound. This is a first principle, so far, at least, as ecclesiastical law is concerned; the rulers of the Church do not get their authority from the people, nor can the faithful, of themselves, ever make null and void any act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Now, the Rules of the Index and the Constitution *Apostolicæ Sedis* have been duly promulgated for Ireland; nor has the Pope consented in any way that these laws should

not be operative generally. If this be so, it follows that in Ireland we are bound by this portion of the Canon Law just as much as by any other ; we must obey, unless we get a dispensation, or unless in particular cases we may presume on the indulgence of the Holy See.

With regard to the greater portion of this argument, there is not, I imagine, any difference of opinion among educated Catholics. It is not denied that the laws in question have been promulgated for Ireland ;¹ nor that, once promulgated, the consent of the Pope is required to exempt us from the necessity of actually observing them. The whole question turns on this one point,—whether or not the Pope has consented in some way or other that the Rules of the Index should not be in force with us, formally and proximately in the sense explained.

Now, there are various ways in which a legislator may consent to exempt his subjects from the necessity of actually complying with a law duly promulgated. He may do so *expressly*, or *tacitly*, or *legally* ; and there is, in addition, what is known as *presumed* consent.

1. Consent is *expressed* by some external sign, such as a spoken or a written word, a nod, or any other such perceptible manifestation. Dispensations are ordinarily given in this way ; and when a legislator wishes to abrogate a law, he does so usually by publicly proclaiming it to be his will, that after a certain time the law in question shall cease to exist. Needless to say there has been no such general abrogation of all the Rules of the Index or of the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis* ; nor has there been any general dispensation given for all in Ireland, though express dispensations of a more or less limited character have been procured by many individuals.

¹ ' Nous disons que l'Index romain n'a pas en besoin d'être promulgué dans les provinces du monde chrétien, pour y devenir obligatoire. En effet, les Souverains Pontifes en promulguant l'Index à Rome, ont inséré une clause qui fait qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de promulguer l'Index dans les provinces du monde chrétien.' *Analecta Juris Pont.*, 6 ser., col. 1,725. Comp. Icard, 6th ed., vol. i., p. 178.

2. *Tacit*, like express consent, is actually present in the mind of the consenting party; but, whereas the latter is manifested externally by positive signs, the former—that is, tacit consent—is made known by silence or the absence of any positive manifestation. In our dealings with men it often happens that we are made aware of the mind and intentions of others by what they do not say or do, as well as by what they positively express. Not that silence gives consent in every case; it does occasionally; when, for instance, a superior sees one of his subjects acting against the words of the law, and refrains from admonishing him, without having any special reason for so abstaining. If a father sees one of his boys abstracting a sum of money from the paternal purse, and does not interfere to prevent the abstraction, though he can do so without inconvenience, the boy knows well that he has his father's permission. The Pope or any other ecclesiastical superior may do in like manner. As a matter of fact, there are certain liturgical laws—such as the rubric which prescribes that a cup of unconsecrated wine be given to the faithful after communion—which have been so abrogated. The Congregation of Rites and the Pope are aware that this rubric is not observed either in Rome or anywhere else; they could, without the least inconvenience, insist on its observance; they do not insist, and thereby show sufficiently what their will is in the matter.¹

Now, it seems beyond question that the Rules of the Index have been and are modified in some particulars by a tacit consent of this kind on the part of the Holy See. Thus, for instance, the tenth Rule forbids the publication of any book or manuscript whatever, until it has been submitted to ecclesiastical authority and the publication authorized. In 1848 this enactment was modified for the Papal States by Pius IX., who decreed that it should apply only to such publications as treat of religious matters. The modification was never expressly extended to the whole

¹ *Missale Rom.*, Ritus celebrandi, x., 6, in fin.. *Rituale Rom.*, Ordo administrandi Euch., i; *O' Kane on the Ritual*, n. 649.

Church; but everyone understands, not without reason, that this is the sense in which the Holy See wishes the law to be interpreted over the whole world.

It is equally certain that the authorities in Rome do not consent tacitly that the faithful should be free to disregard *all* the Rules of the Index. Whenever they have had a fair opportunity of making their mind known about the matter, they have invariably insisted that these Rules are everywhere still in force. This must mean, at least, that there are some portions of these laws with regard to which the Pope must not be understood to consent either expressly or tacitly that the faithful may consider themselves free to disregard them. He may know what is going on, and yet make no protest; but is he free to admonish his children without doing more harm than good to their souls? How many material sins would he thereby convert into formal? There is such a thing as economic silence; it is practised by prudent men in Church and State, as well as in the family circle, and it is very different from tacit consent or connivance, which supposes the superior to be physically and morally in a position to make known his mind. One is not morally in that position when one cannot speak without exposing to danger what one holds dear,—to a danger, perhaps, exceeding that which, by remaining silent, one does not strive to prevent.

If, therefore, the Rules of the Index are modified somewhat, though not altogether withdrawn, by the tacit consent of the Holy Father, how is one to know how far the modification extends? By making out, as best one can, the facts of the case; by considering these in the light of the principles by which rulers are guided in giving their consent tacitly to a modification of an existing law; and by consulting the experts who have given any opinion on the matter. It seems to me that as far as those publications are concerned in which heresy or infidelity is propounded directly, the indiscriminate reading of which is the evil we have most to fear, there can be no difficulty. No expert would dare to assert that the Holy Father tacitly permits the

second clause of the *Apostolicae Sedis* to remain a dead letter.¹

3. Legal consent is that by which customs are authorized. It is contained in the Canon Law, in which there is an enactment to the effect that the Church does not insist on her legislation, whenever it is opposed to the customs of a community, provided these customs be reasonable, and have a legitimate prescription.²

¹ It does not seem unreasonable to say that, in addition to the modification of Rule 10, referred to in the text there is tacit consent of the Holy See for the following changes:—

Rule II. seems to be withdrawn, as far as regards books written by heretics, and not treating of religious matters. Neither in Rome nor anywhere else does anyone consider himself bound to abstain from reading a work on Mathematics, or a political or social article in a newspaper, merely because it was written by a Protestant, and not examined by Catholic theologians and approved by a bishop. But, what everyone does everywhere,—even the law-givers with their officials and intimate friends,—may be said to be tacitly permitted by the authorities.

Rule IV. has been modified so far as not to bind the faithful any longer to get from their bishops permission to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, when the copy of the Bible they wish to use has been published in the authorized manner, either with the approbation of the Holy See, or (if it have Catholic notes) with that of the bishop. Some canonists contend that Benedict XIV., and later on (in 1836) the Congregation of the Index, expressly authorized this modification (see Bouix, *De Curia Rom.*, pp. 554, &c.; Craisson, vol. i., p. 737). Others (*Analecta Juris Pontif.*, quoted by Craisson, l. c.) contend that the modification is not expressly contained in these documents. It seems to me that in this matter it is not unreasonable now to say that we have the tacit consent, at least, of the Holy See. The reason for this view is the universal practice that exists at Rome and elsewhere.

Rule V. has reference to such works as dictionaries, concordances, &c., compiled by heretics; it is modified in the same way as II.; the reason is the same in both cases. The reading of books of controversy, written in the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, is forbidden by Rule VI., in the same way as the reading of the Bible is by Rule IV. These two Rules seem now to be modified to the same extent.

Rule VIII. regards such books as are good in the main, but incidentally favour heretical or infidel opinions. In accordance with Rule X., as it was understood originally, works of that kind could not be published without the permission of the ordinary. Rule VIII. permits him to allow the publication, but only after the work has been expurgated. Now Rule X. has been modified, as we have seen, so that for the publication of such books episcopal permission is no longer necessary, at least when the work does not deal with religious matters *ex proposito*. Is it not reasonable to suppose that this modification of Rule X. carries with it a modification of VIII., so that it would be no longer forbidden to read such books without a dispensation? The latter modification is not, I am aware, necessarily contained in the former; but would anyone in Rome ever think it forbidden to read an excellent history or a work on art merely because it contained one sentence in which an heretical opinion was incidentally expressed? Icard (vol. i., p. 102) quotes Schmalzgrueber, Reiffenstuel, Layman, Weistner, Engel, Pichler, and even Billuart, in some sense such as this.

² L. I. Decr. tit. 4, *de consuetudine*, c. 11, *cum tanto*.

It might not unreasonably be contended that with us in Ireland the community has for many years paid no attention to the Rules of the Index, with the exception, perhaps, of such as regulate the publication of books treating of religious matters, and the reading of unauthorized versions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. I do not deny that such has been and is the case; I deplore the fact, and this is why I resolved to call attention to the matter. But, will anyone maintain that the Holy See regards this custom as reasonable?

M. Icard says: 'The custom alleged [in certain places on the Continent] has been reprobated by the supreme Pontiffs; whence, under that aspect, it lacks a necessary condition. Moreover, it is unreasonable, inasmuch as it exposes the faithful to the greatest danger of corruption in faith and morals.'¹ It is well known that this is the teaching of all modern canonists.²

Hence, those who in Ireland read books or periodicals in which heretical or infidel doctrines are propounded of set purpose, have no right, in justification of their practice, to rely on custom or the legal consent of the Pope. But it has been already shown that they have as little right to rely on his express or tacit consent,—unless in so far as they may have got a special dispensation. Accordingly, if their conduct be justifiable at all, it must be by reason of what is known as the *presumed consent* of the Holy Father,—the only form of consent that remains to be examined. As a matter of fact, I believe it is in virtue of this presumed consent that those who incline to liberal views in this matter

¹ *Praelectiones Juris Can.*, vol. i., p. 178.

² Writing for the United States, Dr. Smith says: 'As to custom abrogating the laws of the Index, Reiffenstuel very justly points to the fact that, so far from being tolerated by the Roman Pontiffs, these customs have been expressly and repeatedly condemned by them, and are therefore abuses.' *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law* (6th ed.), vol. i., p. 275, p. 503.

In an article in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii* (4th series, col. 1, 402) I find the following:—'Quand bien même on trouverait que certains pays n'ont pas observé l'Index, cela ne prouverait rien contre le droit; vu que l'obligation d'observer la loi subsiste, d'autant plus que les coutumes contraires n'ont pu devenir légitimes à aucune époque; ces coutumes ont été cent fois abrogées par les souverains Pontifes qui ont fait publier de nouvelles éditions de l'Index jusqu'à nos jours. La volonté du législateur étant bien connue, il n'y a pas lieu de faire appel à la coutume.'

justify their position, for which reason, and because this portion of the question presents special difficulties, I think it better to reserve it for special treatment in the next section.

IV.

When an ecclesiastical law commands or forbids anything, if one cannot comply with the obligation without suffering an extrinsic and accidental loss,—a loss proportionate to the nature of the obligation,—and if there is not time or opportunity to go to the superior and get a dispensation, it is admitted that one is justified in such circumstances in presuming that the superior does not wish to urge his authority, and consents that one should be free to disregard the law. This is what is known as *epieicheia*—equity. We may always presume that our superiors allow us to do what is reasonable in the circumstances. In this connection St. Thomas observes :—

It often happens that it is useful for the public weal that something should be done, as a rule, although in some cases it is very injurious. Since, then, the legislator cannot have every single case in his mind, he proposes his law in accordance with what occurs most frequently, intending the common good. Hence, if a case should occur in which the observance of such a law would be injurious to the common weal, the law is not to be observed. Thus, if in a beleagured city there were a law prescribing that the gates should remain closed, it would be useful for the common safety, generally speaking. If, however, it should happen that the enemy were in pursuit of some of the citizens by whom the city is guarded, it would be most injurious to the city if the gates were not opened ; and so, in that case, the gates should be opened, contrary to the words of the law, that the public weal, which the legislator intended, might not suffer.

It must, however, be borne in mind that if the observance of the letter of the law does not expose one to a sudden danger, which it is necessary to provide against at once, it does not belong to everyone to make up his mind as to what may be useful or injurious to the city. This is reserved to the prince, who, to provide for cases of this kind, has authority to dispense in the laws. But if the danger should be sudden, not allowing of delay so as to make it possible to have recourse to the superior, this very necessity carries with it a dispensation, inasmuch as necessity has no law.¹

¹ 2, 2, q. 96, a. 6 ; cf. 2, 2, q. 120, a. 1.

1. Accordingly, if it be really impossible, or very difficult, either for the Irish Church in-general or for individuals, to observe the Rules of the Index, there can be no doubt that, so far as this necessity extends, these laws cease to bind.¹ The real question, therefore, is, whether there is or is not any very great difficulty in the matter. It should be borne in mind that the question is not whether now and then an individual may be under some necessity of reading an heretical author, in circumstances when it would be altogether impossible for him to get a dispensation. No one doubts of that.² The question is, rather, whether in every case there is such necessity in Ireland. Those must be prepared to answer in the affirmative, who maintain that no one now is ever bound in this country by this portion of the Canon Law.

I am not prepared to take the responsibility of answering this question, and of granting everyone in Ireland the liberty which follows as a necessary consequence from the state of things which such an answer implies. A priest or layman goes into a bookseller's shop, or is attracted by a book-stall at a railway station; he sees exposed for sale a volume, say, of Herbert Spencer's, or of the late Professor Huxley's, or some periodical which contains an article directly impugning the inspiration of the Bible, or a translation of some of the works of Haeckel or Renan, or even such a book as Gladstone's *Studies Subsidiary to Butler*, or the Duke of Argyll's or Mr. Arthur Balfour's works on the Foundations of Belief. What special necessity is there to compel any ordinary Irish Catholic, priest or layman, in such circumstances, to purchase any of these publications, and peruse it quietly in the privacy of the railway carriage or of the study? Are we in Ireland under any greater stress in relation to such matters than the educated

¹They cease to bind proximately, but continue to exist radically, in this sense, that they do not require to be promulgated anew when the necessity passes away. In cases of dispensation and *epieicheia*, the law is not abrogated, but a certain person or community is exempted for a time from the necessity of observing it. This is true also of custom, which, according to the better opinion, has the effect of suspending, but not of abrogating, the law.

² St. Alph., l. 7, n. 283, *in fin.*

Catholics of Paris, Rome, or Vienna? But these latter are not exempt from the necessity of actually conforming to the Rules of the Index, nor from the censures contained in the second clause of the Bull *Apostolicae Sedis*.

2. If there is any difference between the position of Irish Catholics and the faithful in other portions of the Church, with regard to the reading of such books as have just been mentioned, and in the circumstances that have been described, it is this, that in Ireland, England, and the United States, few educated Catholics, lay or clerical, have any difficulty about reading such publications, as long as they can make up their mind that their faith is not in much danger; whereas, in France and Italy priests and pious laymen would not do so without permission. Here no one thinks it necessary to observe the laws of the Church on the matter; there the same laws are observed, at least by the *sanior pars fidelium*. Is an individual bound to observe a law, where no one but himself pays any attention to the enactment?

This, as it seems to me, is the real core of the whole question; the only way in which the liberal opinion may be defended with the least appearance of plausibility;—so far, at least, as that opinion allows all the faithful to read indiscriminately all kinds of books, even those which come under the censure of the *Apostolicae Sedis*, provided the reader does not commit a sin against the natural law. For other reasons,—as, for instance, the impossibility of providing a staff sufficient to supervise the publication and sale of books and periodicals, in accordance with the letter of Rule X., it may be necessary in Ireland to do some things which are not in conformity with the Rules of the Index; but with regard to the private purchase and reading of heretical or forbidden books, for mere curiosity, or to see what the authors have got to say, apart from what has been said in the last paragraph, there is no reason why an ordinary Catholic should not observe the letter of the law in Ireland any more than in Italy. And for those whose duty it may be to make themselves acquainted with such literature, there is no more reason here than there is in

Rome why they should not get a dispensation. Of course, a sudden emergency may arise; but I refer to what is done freely, without any particular stress or cause, rather than to cases of sudden emergency.

Is it, then, to be admitted as a principle capable of universal application in law, that whenever an enactment has been duly promulgated, but is not observed by the majority of the community, the minority of the same community are free to disregard it. St. Alphonsus writes¹ :—

The question is, whether, when it is not stated that it is the will of the legislator to bind his people independently of their acceptance of his law, an enactment of his is binding of itself, without the people's consent. With regard to Papal laws, . . . the second opinion, to which we subscribe, affirms [that such a law is binding] . . . Some doctors limit [this] . . . 1, . . . 2, . . . 3. If the greater and more prudent [*sanior*] part of the people have not received the law; for, although those who do not at first receive it are guilty of sin, if the custom has not yet lasted the term required for prescription, nevertheless the rest are not bound to the law. For it is presumed that the legislator does not wish to bind them to observe a law which is not received by the greater part [of the community]. So, the Salmant., with Suarez, Pal., Tap., &c., with Busemb. and Lessius.

Here St. Alphonsus seems to lay down a universal principle, to the effect that a minority may follow the majority in disregarding any ecclesiastical law whatever. True, he qualifies this by supposing the majority to be also the *sanior pars populi*; but every majority thinks itself the *sanior pars*; and every minority must of necessity think the majority with whom they do not agree, to be guided by unsound principles. Accordingly, that an ordinary law should go into desuetude, it is sufficient that the custom of not observing it prevail among the majority of the community.

This line of argument is plausible enough. Nevertheless I find it hard to believe that St. Alphonsus, or any other theologian or canonist of repute, would propound the foregoing principle as applying to all cases of ecclesiastical legislation. Let me propose one case which actually occurred.

¹ *Theol. Mor.*, l. i., nn. 138-9.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the law of clerical celibacy was disregarded by the greater part of the clergy in some portions of the Western Church; there were even dioceses in which it may be said to have been disregarded altogether. 'The Bishop of Constance gave public permission to his priests to retain the wives to whom they had been married. And the Bishop of Metz declared that he was powerless to give effect to the decree against clerical concubinage in his diocese.'¹

The laws of the Church forbidding clergymen in Holy Orders to marry, were, according to Jungmann, 'believed to have been abolished by custom, and on that account such marriages were considered lawful; so much so that they were contracted even publicly by clergymen without any fear.' Jungmann quotes from the brothers Ballerini, editors of the works of Raterius, Bishop of Verona, in the middle of the tenth century, the following passage:—'If I were to expel from the clergy those who have been twice married [*multinubos*, the Holy Order itself being considered one marriage], whom but boys should I leave in the Church?' And Guy, Bishop of Milan, was not ashamed to reply as follows to those who denounced these abuses:—'You say that it is impossible for priests to commit adultery and offer sacrifice; which is true. But our priests, thank God, have hitherto neither been nor been called adulterers, but carefully observe the precept of the Apostle, that they should be men of one wife.'²

Here, then, is a case in which all the conditions mentioned by St. Alphonsus were fulfilled: an ecclesiastical law, not observed by the greater part of those for whom it was intended. It was so, at least, in many places; and there is reason to believe this to have been the condition of the Church at that time in Italy, France, Germany, and even in England.³ Did the popes and the holy bishops who

¹ Gilmartin, *Church History*, vol. ii., p. 7.

² See Jungmann, *Dissertationes*, vol. iv., pp. 116 *seq.*, nn. 18, 19.

³ See in this connection, by all means, Jungmann's *Dissertationes* for the period, especially that on the Law of Celibacy (20th), and the following on the Pontificate of Gregory VII. In December 1074 this Holy Pontiff wrote as

wept in those days over the condition of the Church, console themselves by reflecting that these incontinent clergymen were justified in following the practice of the majority? If a candidate for Holy Orders were to ask Abbot Hildebrand in confession for direction as to whether or not he could lawfully get married and then take Holy Orders, what kind of an answer do you think he would receive?

This one example shows conclusively that the principle which has been quoted from St. Alphonsus is not to be understood as applicable to all cases. Indeed, when one carefully considers the limitation already alluded to,—that not only the *major* but the *sanior pars communitatis* must have ceased to observe the law,—one sees that there is some limitation insisted on by the saint himself. For, curiously enough, the term ‘*sanior*’ is not used when the theologians and canonists are treating of custom. Why is the word used in the one case, and not in the other, if it be not intended to act in some way as a limitation?

Since, then, the principle is not to be applied universally, the question arises: where is one to draw the line? I have a notion that we might get light as regards this question by considering another case to which it is allied.

When a general law of the Church is promulgated, it may happen that it will be found very much unsuited to the circumstances of certain districts. In that case, the bishops are justified in permitting their flocks to disregard the law; but the canonists who allow this, are careful to add that the bishops must proceed to lay the matter before the Holy See. Should the Pope insist on the observance of the law,

follows to the faithful in Germany:—‘*Audivimus, quod quidam episcoporum apud vos commorantium, ut sacerdotes et diaconi et subdiaconi mulieribus commisceantur, aut consentiunt aut negligunt. His, praecepimus, vos nullo modo obedire vel illorum praeceptis consentire, sicut ipsi Apostolicae Sedis praeceptis non obediunt, neque auctoritati SS. Patrum consentiunt. Testante S. Scriptura, facientes et consentientes par poena complectitur.*’ And the chronicler, Lambertus, a contemporary, bears witness to the zeal with which the holy Pontiff urged the bishops everywhere to make and enforce laws against incontinent clergymen similar to the decree passed in the Synod of Rome, in 1074. ‘*Hoc decreto per totam Italiam promulgato, crebras litteras ad episcopos Galliarum trans mittebat, praeci piens ut ipsi quoque in suis ecclesiis similiter facerent, atque a contubernio sacerdotum omnes omnino feminas perpetuo anathemate resecrent,*’ &c. Jungmann, vol. iv., pp. 272-4.

there is nothing for it but to obey;¹ and he may be expected to insist in all cases where customs *contra legem* would not be tolerated by the Holy See.

Is it not reasonable to draw the line at the same point, when the law is not observed by the greater part of the community, whether there is question of a recent enactment, or of an old statute which is beginning to fall into disuse? In the first case there can be little difficulty about allowing the minority to be guided by the majority, until it is known for certain that the Pope regards the non-observance of the law as an abuse. *A pari*, in all cases where custom will not be tolerated, individuals are not justified in presuming on the consent of the Holy Father, merely because the majority of the community are not observing the law.²

Now, it has been shown already that in this matter of the Index all customs have been invariably reprobated by the Holy See. It follows, therefore, that we are not justified in presuming that the Pope allows us to read books in which heresy is propounded, merely because the law is not observed by the community generally. Indeed, I should like to know whether the majority of Catholics in Rome or in Paris are careful to comply with this portion of the Canon Law. If so, they must get credit for more respect for the authority of the Church than we are accustomed to give them. I refer to the majority only; but it is a majority of those who are not outside the pale of the Church. Of course, many of them are Liberals and anti-clericals; still they are Catholics, and count among the majority. If majorities were to be calculated on the basis of reckoning those only who observe the laws of the Church, it might be a question whether there is in Ireland a majority who do not comply with the Rules of the Index.

¹ See Lehmkuhl, v. i., n. 126.

² In this connection Lehmkuhl remarks very justly:—‘*Leges, quae a majore et saniore parte populi acceptatae non sunt, sive civiles, sive ecclesiasticae, reliquos ligare non censentur, nisi superior denuo eas urgeat. Ita etiam ante legitimum desuetudinis tempus legis obligatio cessare vel suspendi potest, quia (a) legislator praesumitur nolle paucos obligare ad discrepandum a communitate, (b) in iis circumstantiis praesumi saepe potest, propter difficultates legi adversantes epikiae locum esse.*’ *Theol. Mor.*, vol. i., n. 127, 5. The italics in the passage are mine.

Let me here guard against being misunderstood. There may well be other reasons for presuming on the consent of the Pope in these and similar cases. There may be special difficulties attaching to individual cases; and, if so, there might be room for *epieicheia*. My conclusion is limited to the one consideration—of the law not being observed by the majority. I do not see how this mere fact justifies one in presuming on the permission of the Holy See. And I may repeat here that in the vast majority of cases in which Irish Catholics read heretical or infidel publications, there does not seem to be any other consideration that could be advanced in defence of their conduct.

To sum up briefly this portion of my case. The Rules of the Index have been duly promulgated for Ireland, as laws, by competent authority. Catholics, therefore, are bound by them, unless in so far as they may have been relieved by the consent of the legislature. In Ireland there is no general dispensation; neither express, nor tacit, nor legal; nor may we presume on a general permission. Hence, every Irish Catholic who has not got a special dispensation, and is not placed in any special position of urgent and grave necessity, is bound under sin to conform to these Rules. There is a censure of excommunication attached to the violation of some of them—the reading of books in which heresy is propounded of set purpose and not merely incidentally, also of such publications as have been condemned by name. This censure is incurred *ipso facto*; it binds as proximately and effectually—unless ignorance excuses—as does the law to which it is attached. Is there any man of position in Ireland who will say that the second clause of the *Apostolicæ Sedis* is a dead letter in this country, and may be practically disregarded as far as the reading of bad books is concerned? That clause, however, is but one of the Rules of the Index,—the Rule which is of all others the most important for safeguarding the faithful from the poison of heresy and infidelity.

V.

But even though that it were admitted that the Index binds in Ireland, it might still be doubted whether pastors of

souls would do well to admonish their people of this obligation. Economic silence, it has been already observed, is not unknown in Church policy; and it is not wise to turn material violations of the law into formal sins. This is a very serious question, with regard to which a new policy should not be inaugurated until the matter has been well considered from all points of view.

1. This objection, serious as it undoubtedly is, applies to other countries just as much as to Ireland; yet canonists elsewhere have not hesitated to raise the question of the obligation of the Index, both in their books and in periodicals. It is discussed by M. Icard in the text-book which we use in this College; indeed there is no text-book in use anywhere in which the question is passed over in silence. It was raised by Dr. Smith in America; and when in the first edition of his work that writer propounded liberal opinions with regard to this obligation, he was called to account by Dr. Quigley, in a periodical not at all so restricted in circulation as is the *I. E. RECORD*. The question has been fully threshed out by the editor of the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*,¹ and it was touched on more than once in the pages of the *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

The authors of these books and papers were not unaware of the evils that might flow from the policy of insisting on this obligation; they must have hoped for good effects more than sufficient to counterbalance the evil. As for the necessity of consideration, I admit it freely; and only ask whether we ought not at least to begin to consider. How or when shall our consideration bear any fruit, unless we proceed to an exchange of views? And how shall this be done unless some one begins? It is not with a view to inaugurate a new policy, so much as to start a discussion and exchange of views—consideration of some practical kind—that the question is raised by the present writer, who would be sorry if his paper should come very much before the laity; nor does he apprehend much danger on that score from its being

¹ See the 4th Series, col. 1401, where the writer discusses the question of the reception of the Index in Germany; the 6th Series, col. 1724, where the same question is discussed for Belgium; col. 1761 for Portugal.

published in a periodical which circulates almost entirely among priests.

2. As for the reasons there may be for allowing the question to rest, lest by raising it material sins should become formal, there is more than one aspect under which this deserves to be considered.

In the first place, it is to be feared that the faithful are not only not told of the obligation arising from Rules of the Index, but that they are positively advised that there is no such obligation. Of course, this advice, at most, is but materially sinful; but such a sin is a much greater evil than is the mere reading of many books. Not that this, or even a much greater evil, might not be permitted to take its course unmolested, if there were sufficient reason for not interfering; but it is well to understand in what precisely the evil consists with which we are just now concerned. It is not only that dangerous and even bad books were being freely read by the faithful in Ireland; but that it is in the air somehow that those who are capable of judging are of opinion that such conduct in Ireland is not a violation of any ecclesiastical law. To one who believes that an ecclesiastical law does exist,—a law of such importance as to exclude the possibility of a reasonable custom to the contrary,—this state of things, if true, must have a gravity of a peculiar kind.

It may be well to observe here that, in this matter, as in so many others, one can teach more effectually by example than by precept. And though prudent economy may require one to keep one's lips closed occasionally, lest one should interfere with the *bona fides* of some of the faithful, it does not demand that we ourselves should read bad books; or, if we read them, that we should in social circles proclaim aloud what we have been doing. Here, again, of course, there is at most but a material violation of the law; but, surely, it cannot be so very dangerous to remind the clergy of their obligations. They will either be convinced of the obligation or they will not. If they are convinced, there is little doubt but that they will comply with the law; and if they remain uncon-

vinced, they will know how to make up their consciences before disregarding it.

When it comes to a question of preaching from the pulpit or of writing to the newspapers, then, indeed, one should be particularly cautious. One is then dealing with people of whom many are *in bona fide*, and who may not be disposed to receive and follow the light. Hence, before taking any step of so public a character, it would be well to wait for guidance from the higher authorities; or, at least, until the matter has been thoroughly threshed out by our canonists and theologians. I, for one, do not recommend any parish priest or curate to whom this paper may have brought personal conviction, to proceed at once to force this conviction on others from the pulpit or in the newspaper press. It is different with regard to our own practice, as well as with regard to the advice and admonitions we may be called on to give to penitents, or which may drop from us in conversation with the educated laity. In any case, I admit that some damage may be done by the discussion I am raising. It can only be, however, if readers of the I. E. RECORD are convinced that the doctrine I am advocating is practically certain; and the improvement that would gradually take place in the Irish Church from the operation of such a conviction in the minds of the clergy, is so great as, in my opinion, to far outweigh any harm that might also accrue.

For, it is not the policy of speaking out, alone, that is attended with danger to the community. The evils resulting from economic silence are enormous,—witness the words of Pius IX. and of the Synod of Maynooth, with which this paper began. The Council of Trent was inspired by the Holy Ghost to provide special means of combating these evils; it provided the Rules of the Index. Under the guidance of the same Holy Spirit the chief pastors of the Church have ever since maintained these Rules, going so far as to denounce as abuses any customs to the contrary that may have been brought under their notice. May it not be very imprudent to continue to disregard safeguards provided and maintained under the guidance of the Holy Ghost? Is there

not danger on both sides? Did not the Popes foresee the many material sins that would be converted into mortal offences by their refusal to tolerate in other places the customs that prevail with us?

No nation—not even Ireland, if there be any peculiar privilege of indefectibility attaching to our national Church—can afford to expose the faith of its children to the danger arising from unnecessary reading of heretical and infidel publications. There is no individual or class of individuals—not even priests—who may not lose the faith; or, what is almost as bad, have their spiritual perception weakened, so as to leave them practically without supernatural light. Simple faith is, after divine charity, the greatest of all earthly blessings; it is the root, of which charity is the blossom, and the bliss of heaven the fruit; it goes far to bring heaven down to earth. Ireland has often been represented as the most miserable country on the face of the globe. Those who say so have not seen or have not taken into account the religious peace that is enjoyed by so many of the Irish poor, their patience in times of trial, the confidence with which they look up to the Almighty Father in life, and above all at death. It is the result of their simple faith. Now, if that faith is not extinguished, it is to be feared that its lustre is very much dimmed in Ireland, among those who read without scruple and without necessity books in which heretical or infidel opinions are broached; and this dimness may easily grow into darkness. The prayers of St. Patrick are no guarantee that we also may not fall away from the faith; other nations have had their apostles and martyrs no less than we. Economic silence may have its advantages, but it is not without its dangers. God grant us light to discern on which side the greatest danger lies.

W. M'DONALD.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF 'THE IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

II.

WHILE the great religious movement which I have endeavoured to portray was in process of development, while Gerard Groot was evangelizing Holland by his preaching, and with the aid of Florentius Radewyn was bringing into existence the holy confraternity which culminated in the formation of the Congregation of Common Life, and the founding of Windesheim, a child was born in the far east of Rhineland who was destined to occupy a foremost place in the mighty work of regeneration, and to bequeath to posterity a book and a name undying in the history of Christendom. This child was Thomas à Kempis.

In the wide expanse of country between the Rhine and Meuse, not very far from Dusseldorf, lies a small town named Kempen, in the diocese of Cologne, and in it there lived in those days a pious couple, John Haemerken and his wife Gertrude. Not amongst the ranks of the nobility or gentry, but in the lowliest path of life, this worthy pair earned their bread by the sweat of labour, and reared their children in poverty, and in the fear and love of God. John Haemerken was a simple artisan, and his wife no higher in rank than himself. So far as we can ascertain he was probably an artificer in metal, an industry specially cultivated in Kempen from time immemorial to the present day. The word Haemerken, or Haemerlein, as it is sometimes written, means in German 'a little hammer,' and very likely, after the custom of those simple times, indicated his calling. In the well-known Latin editions of Thomas's works the name is translated into 'Malleolus.'

Tradition tells us that Gertrude kept a school for little children. If we may take the progress of her sons in holiness as an index of her solid piety, it must have been great indeed. History is clear respecting two sons of this worthy

pair—John, born about the year 1365; and Thomas, who first saw the light about the year 1380. A faint rumour alludes to another son, Gobelinus,—probably older than Thomas, who, like his brothers, gave himself to the service of God, and lived and died in the odour of sanctity in the monastery of Mount St. Jerome, at Hulsbergen. John, the eldest son, had gone from Kempen to Deventer before the time when we have any information concerning Thomas, and there joined the Brotherhood of Common Life. Thomas, born as we have stated about 1380, remained under the care and tuition of his parents, aided by the teaching of the grammar school of Kempen, until he was thirteen years of age. Then he too betook himself to Deventer to join his elder brother. Deventer, it should be remembered, besides the attractions it possessed for him from being the head-quarters of the Congregation of Common Life, amongst whom John à Kempis was enrolled, was in those days a noted centre of learning in Holland, and was much more accessible to the inhabitants of the adjacent countries than Paris or the German universities.

Let us glance at the map, and think how the little youth—child, indeed—made the long and arduous journey from Kempen to Deventer. History tells us nothing of that pilgrimage, for such it must have been—how much he travelled by land, how much by the Rhine; but assuredly all can sympathize with the good parents in the anguish they must have felt in parting with their boy as he set forth alone upon the wide world. So tender in years and poor in all worldly resources, the child needed an earnest faith in Providence. His good parents had taught him to trust in Heaven, and that confidence was not in vain. Certain it is, from his own account, that to Deventer Thomas came, and sought his brother John. Disappointment awaited the youth. John had gone from Deventer, and was then at Windesheim, full twenty miles away. To Windesheim he journeyed and was tenderly received by his elder brother. Fortified with an introduction from him to Florentius Radewyn, he returned to Deventer. He tells us how kindly that holy man received him, and all he did to provide

for his immediate wants. John à Kempis was already a brilliant light amongst the congregation of Windesheim, and doubtless his recommendation obtained for his youthful brother a favourable reception, enhanced by the intelligence and fine disposition of the boy.

Scanty as the materials of our information about Thomas à Kempis are up to this epoch, from thenceforth they are far otherwise. It is impossible to read his works attentively without finding ample details which indicate step by step his subsequent career. The difficulty lies rather in the selection of the most salient and interesting points. To begin, let us see the impression made upon the youthful aspirant by the example he beheld amongst the Congregation of Common Life. We shall take his own words:—

Having come in my youth to Deventer to pursue my studies, I sought my way to Windesheim, to visit the Canons Regular there, amongst whom I found my own brother. By his advice I was led to seek the acquaintance of a certain curate of the Church of Deventer, named Master Florentius, a most devout and excellent priest, the fame of whose holiness had spread to the northern parts of Germany, and whom I had already been drawn to love. The crowd of students who assembled round him when he celebrated the divine Mysteries sufficiently denoted the high estimation in which he was held; for he was noble in presence and speech, and pleasing to all beholders, a true servant of God, an obedient and devoted child of our Holy Mother Church. The reverend father received me most kindly, and, moved by charity, kept me awhile in his own house. He also placed me in the school, and provided me with books needful for my studies. Finally he obtained for me hospitality with a certain excellent lady, who treated me and other clerics with the greatest benevolence. In the holy company of Florentius and his brethren I had before me daily examples of the most edifying kind, which excited my warmest admiration. I reflected on the regularity of their lives, and upon the words of grace which flowed from their lips. Never, within my recollection, have I met such men as those,—so fervent, so pious, so animated with charity towards God and their neighbour. Living amongst seculars they were in every respect wholly unworldly, and appeared perfectly indifferent to all things of earth. Dwelling at home in peaceful retirement they devoted themselves to the copying of books, to pious reading and meditations, only relaxing their hours of labour by the utterance of ejaculatory prayers. Every morning after matins they assembled in the church, and there during the

celebration of Mass, prostrate in humble attitude, they raised their hands and souls to God, pouring forth their prayers and sighs, imploring His mercy through the intercession of the saving Victim.

The founder and first spiritual director of this most excellent Congregation was Florentius Radewyn. This great Master, adorned by every virtue and filled with divine wisdom, had truly studied the Lord Jesus Christ, and together with his priests and clerics strove humbly to imitate the manner of life of the Apostles. All were united, heart and soul, in Almighty God. What each possessed was given to the common fund, and using a frugal fare and humble raiment they dismissed from their minds all solicitude about the future. Consecrating themselves with willing hearts to the service of God all obeyed absolutely their Rector or his Vicars, and accepting obedience as their fundamental rule strove with their utmost vigour to conquer themselves, to resist their passions, and break down self-will; all the while earnestly begging that they should be severely reprimanded for any faults or negligences into which they might happen to fall.

It is needless to say how rich in grace and in the spirit of true devotion were these holy men. Their words and example edified many, and the patience with which they endured the contempt of the frivolous moved numbers to despise the false joys of this world. Those who had formerly scorned them and judged their lives as ignoble and foolish, presently converted to God, touched by conscience and experiencing the grace of devotion, confessed that these men were manifestly true servants and friends of the Lord.

Thus, crowds of men and women, despising all worldly gratifications, turned themselves to God, and strove, under the guidance of Florentius, to obey the precepts of the Church and devoutly practise works of mercy towards the poor. All his brethren, clinging to the words of life, aided the holy master, and like brilliant stars in the firmament shone forth amidst the darkness of a decaying world. Some amongst them, priests distinguished for sacred lore, preached with great ardour in the churches, and by their exhortations the faithful were instructed unto justice, hearing the Word of God and doing good works.

Such were the impressions made on à Kempis' mind during nearly seven years which he spent at Deventer prosecuting his studies in preparation for the religious life he had chosen. We are indebted to his pen for a touching history of his companions there, whose holy edifying lives prepare us for the great spiritual treatise—*The Imitation*—which later in life he put together. In

truth the sentiments and teaching of that book are foreshadowed in all we read of the life he witnessed at Deventer, and later at Mount St. Agnes and Windesheim. In my former essay I have entered into many details on this subject, which the brief space now at my command obliges me to omit.

Besides Florentius Thomas's special friends at this time were Arnold van Schoonhoven, Boehm, Gronde, Berner, Brinkerinck, Brune, Gerard of Zutphen, Van Buren, James of Viana, and John Ketel.

In the year 1399 Thomas was nearly twenty years of age, and then, as he tells us, he betook himself to the Monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle (one of the affiliated houses of Windesheim), where his brother John was Prior, and earnestly besought admission. This was the year preceding the death of Florentius, and we have reason to believe that this step was taken by his advice and under his direction. Certain it is that he was admitted, and there commenced the long career of religious life which ended only with his death, in 1471. We may imagine the joy with which the brothers met on this touching occasion, realizing the words with which Thomas opens his first sermon to the Novices: 'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.' Thomas, entering Mount St. Agnes in 1399, was invested as a member of the Order in 1408. According to the continuator of the *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes* he was ordained five years later, in his thirty-third year.

Here commences to develop, for those who ponder over his works, the beautiful picture of the life of Thomas à Kempis. It is only there we can realize what manner of man he was,—how simple, and yet profound,—how merciful to others, although so perfect himself,—what a priest—preacher—confessor—master of novices—historian—and bright example of all virtues. Then it becomes easy to understand how he, so keen to appreciate and profit by all he saw, could reap the harvest of holiness, and garner in *The Imitation* the pith and philosophy of virtue.

It would scarcely repay my reader were I to reproduce at

any length the *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes*, detailing the early struggles and poverty of the new monastery, the subsequent increase of its resources and members, their edifying lives and deaths, the indomitable courage and perseverance of its first Prior, John à Kempis, and of his successors, William Vornken, Theodoric Clive, and others, who brought the Institution to completion and prosperity. I must even omit all account of the generous assistance given in the hour of need by earnest friends, such as Everard Eza, the skilled physician to whom à Kempis attributes his rescue from a dangerous illness. Yet his was a wondrous and touching story. Sceptic in faith he came one day through curiosity to hear Groot preach in Deventer. Smitten by the words of the great missionary, he 'who came to scoff remained to pray,' and mastered by the influence of the gifted evangelist entered religion, and after a life devoted to the service of God and his neighbour, as Pastor at Almelo, died in the odour of sanctity, in 1404.

John Cele, rector of the schools at Zwolle, the companion of Groot's visit to Ruysbroeck, was another of Thomas's friends over whose career I would gladly linger, but I must not tarry. Perhaps some who feel interested in this little sketch will turn to the sources from whence I draw, and satisfy their longing for a rare history of holy lives and deeds. It is necessary, however, that I should direct attention now to an event which I believe exercised a potent influence in moulding the spiritual career of Thomas à Kempis, and contributed materially towards fitting him for the compilation of the great book—*The Imitation of Christ*.

When John à Kempis, the first Prior of Agnetenberg, resigned office, he was succeeded, in 1408, by William Vornken, of Utrecht, a distinguished member of the Congregation of Windesheim. This new Prior was evidently, as we find by the account given of him by Thomas, and more fully by Busch, a most remarkable man. If we turn to page 35 of the *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes*, and chapter xxxiii. of the first book of the *Chronicle of Windesheim*, we find details concerning Vornken which forcibly remind us of *The Imitation of Christ*. In fact it

almost seems as if that book was the reflection of the holy Prior's life, virtues, and teaching. The love of poverty, contempt for all things earthly, persevering industry, and, above all, deep devotion to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, were his leading characteristics. In addition, he was conspicuous for his profound knowledge of Holy Writ, for love of discipline, prudence in advising, patience with the afflicted, kindness in consoling the tempted, endurance in adversity, exemplary diligence in all things, love of solitude and silence, compunction, meditation, gratitude to God for all His blessings, devotion to the feasts of the Church, relish for all things that appertain to God, trust in Providence in the hour of trouble, sympathy with the ailing, and charity in praying for the dead.

As Vornken remained prior for sixteen years, it will be observed that he was Thomas's immediate Superior from 1408 until some years after *The Imitation of Christ* had made its appearance, and the internal evidence of similarity between this holy man and the book is irresistible and significant, adding a link to the long chain of reasoning, which as we shall later see, points to Thomas as the author. This has been already noticed by Grube in his able history of John Busch.

In the year 1424 John Vos van Huesden, Prior of the Mother House of Windesheim, died. Shortly afterwards he was succeeded by William Vornken, who was transferred from Mount St. Agnes, and Theodoric Clive was elected to fill his place. Although the precise date is not expressly named in the *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes* we have good reason to believe that about this time Thomas à Kempis was elected sub-Prior, and undoubtedly we find him occupying that office in 1429.

In this latter year a grievous visitation fell upon the brethren of Windesheim and Mount St. Agnes. Owing to a dispute concerning the appointment of a new bishop the diocese was placed under interdict by the Holy See, and as a large section of the laity resisted the decision of the Pope (Martin V.), the Brothers were subjected to persecution and obliged to fly for safety. Those from Mount St. Agnes,

leaving their convent in charge of a few lay brothers, departed first to Hasselt, and thence, by a perilous voyage on the Zuyder Zee, betook themselves to a monastery at Lunenkerk, near Harlingen, in Friesland, to escape from ill-treatment, and to carry out needful reforms at their destination. All did not remain at Lunenkerk. A certain brother John, one of the oldest members of the community, who, in spite of age and infirmity, wished to accompany the others to Friesland, was sent home on account of his failing health, and died in 1430.

In the following year Thomas à Kempis was himself sent to assist his ailing brother John, who was then Rector and Confessor at the Convent of Bethany, near Arnheim. There he remained for fourteen months, until, in the month of November, 1432, he closed his brother's eyes in the peaceful sleep of a holy death. Just about that time the storm of persecution against the brothers subsided, the interdict was removed from the diocese (by Pope Eugenius IV.), the exiles returned from Lunenkerk to Mount St. Agnes, and shortly afterwards Thomas joined them there. From this date until his death in 1471 he remained at Agnetenberg, occupying at first the office of Procurator, and later that of sub-Prior, to which he was re-elected in the year 1448. So far as we can judge from all the information available this latter period was one of repose and devotion to the spiritual life. We are indebted to Thomas's anonymous and nearly contemporary biographer for the information that he was once elected Procurator, or Bursar. The *Chronicle* contains no such record; yet it seems but natural that the author of the essay *On the Faithful Steward*, even mystical as it is in certain respects, should have occupied at some time this post. According to the same authority Thomas was relieved of this duty, which was uncongenial to him, and re-elected as sub-Prior, in order to enable him to devote himself unreservedly to the cultivation of the interior life.

Aided by the many interesting personal details which we find in the memoirs of Thomas à Kempis written by his anonymous biographer, by Ascensius, Tolensis, and Rosweyd,

we can easily picture to ourselves his saintly old age at Mount St. Agnes. The convent, which he remembered in its commencement in poverty and hardship, was now completed and prosperous; but those who had made it so, his own brother included, had gone to their reward. To use his own poetic words, often repeated in the obituary records of his *Chronicle*, they had 'migrated,' and now rested with the Lord; while he, who had taught so many to enter the narrow gate, and tread the thorny way of perfection, still lingered on earth. But what an honoured old age!—'It is good for a man when he hath borne the yoke from his youth.' 'But they that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity.'

We can picture à Kempis in our minds as his portrait and the descriptions help us. A man of good figure, scarcely under middle height, of dark complexion and vivid colour, the forehead broad and high, the face a little elongated—a noble head, with elevated crown, and piercing intelligent eyes, always gentle and kind, lenient and charitable to the weak, encouraging to the timid, occupied at all times with his various duties, and unceasingly at work. We can think of him at the altar, offering the Holy Sacrifice, burning with the ardour which he infused into the Fourth Book of *The Imitation*. Again, in the choir, singing the Holy Office, standing erect—unsupported—almost raised from earth, with eyes uplifted to heaven, and visage irradiated by holy awe and delight. We can imagine him as he pours the words of consolation into the ear of the weeping penitent, or points out to the wavering the road to security. We can picture him preaching, as he was ever willing to do, to the crowds who flocked to hear him at Mount St. Agnes. We can imagine him surrounded by the community, silent while other topics are discussed, then bursting into eloquence when God and His saints are named, and pouring forth in a limpid torrent the words of wisdom.

Again, in the privacy of his little cell, scourging himself with a heavy discipline, and chanting his favourite hymn *Stetit Jesus*. We can picture him as he walked and conversed

with the brothers, suddenly feeling the inward voice of God, and saying: 'Beloved brethren, I must go. Someone awaits me in my cell.' Who the visitor to his cell was we know from *The Imitation*, where we can realize his communion with God. We can picture him as he comes from lauds, refusing himself further sleep or rest, and devoting the dawn of morning to his writings. Idleness he abhorred; Labour, as he tells us, was his companion; Silence his friend; Prayer his auxiliary.

Thomas had ever been an indefatigable writer, and copied books innumerable, both for the use of the monastery and for sale. He had written out the whole Bible in four great volumes, also a large missal for the use of the brothers; some of the smaller treatises of St. Bernard; and moreover had composed a vast number of spiritual treatises. How truly he revered the work of the copyist we know from his twentieth *Concio*, in which he writes as follows:—

Verily it is a good work to transcribe the books which Jesus loves, by which the knowledge of Him is diffused, His precepts taught, and their practice inculcated. Neither can it be doubted that thou wilt be loved by Him, and amply rewarded if thou dost diligently write out holy books for the honour and glory of God and the good of thy neighbour. If he shall not lose his reward who gives a cup of cold water to his thirsting neighbour, what will be the recompense to him who by copying good books opens unto others the fountain of eternal life?

A Kempis' love for study was so proverbial that when his portrait was taken he was represented sitting in the open air, the buildings of Mount St. Agnes in the distant background, while on the pages of a volume at his feet are inscribed the words, 'I have sought rest everywhere, and never found it, unless in a little nook with a little book.'

It is quite possible, with a little labour, to trace a Kempis' spiritual progress in his works. The difficulty lies in selecting illustrations from the boundless field of choice. The earlier stages are pictured in *The Soliloquy of the Soul*; its later development appears in *The Imitation of Christ*; and his final ascent into the realms of mysticism is manifested in the opening chapters of his almost unknown essay on

The Elevation of the Mind. If space permitted I should wish to tarry over this theme, to show by many illustrations how completely and with what versatility he measured the heights of spiritual elevation, fathomed the depths of human feeling, and indicated the way to perfection. I might point out his study of the virtues of poverty, humility, and patience, as taught in *The Three Tabernacles*; likewise his spiritual exercises, his ideas of true compunction, of solitude and silence, of mortification of self, of a good and peaceful life, his instruction of youth, and of the novices and brethren under his guidance. All these topics and many others are exhaustively discussed in the second volume of his works; but it is impossible to enter upon them now.

The Imitation of Christ, the best known of his works, represents less than one-tenth of the whole. There are not a few amongst them which strongly resemble it, and fully bear comparison with that great masterpiece. I only regret they are not better known. All who study à Kempis' works must love them for the truthfulness, simplicity, and unction.

In his latter days, from the time of his re-election as sub-Prior until his death, he would seem to have been devoted entirely to his favourite occupations—praying, reading, composing, transcribing, teaching the novices, consoling and directing those who sought his aid, and quietly jotting down the simple records of his monastery. Meanwhile, the years rolled by in calm and peace, as the *Chronicle* tells, and Thomas was growing old. Not, indeed, that we can observe in his manuscripts the signs of weakened sight or faltering hand. It is said that he never required spectacles; and the codex of 1456, written when he was in his seventy-sixth year, is as perfect as that of 1441, and quite a masterpiece of caligraphic art.

Finally, we come to the last entry in his *Chronicle*. I will give it here in its touching simplicity:—

In the year of our Lord 1471, on the feast of St. Anthony the Confessor [February 12], in the morning after High Mass, a devout laic named John Gerlac died. He was a native of Dese, near Zwolle, and nearly seventy-two years old. He had lived with us for more than fifty-three years, in great humility,

simplicity and patience, and had endured much labour and many privations. But, amongst other virtues which he possessed, he was pre-eminent for taciturnity, so much so that often he would speak very little for a whole day, and even in his labours he gave to others an example of silence. Shortly before his death he was seized with apoplexy, and became in a measure delirious. He was buried in our cemetery with the other laics.

So far as we know these were the last words ever written by Thomas à Kempis. He himself died in the following May, and the continuator of the *Chronicle* records the events in these words:—

In the same year [1471], on the feast of St. James the Less [May 1], after compline, our Brother Thomas Haemerken, born at Kempen, a town in the diocese of Cologne, departed from this earth. He was in the ninety-second year of his age, the sixty-third of his religious clothing, and the fifty-eighth of his priesthood. In his youth he was a disciple, at Deventer, of Master Florentius, who sent him to his [Thomas's] own brother, who was then Prior of Mount St. Agnes. Thomas, who at that period was twenty years of age, received the habit from his brother at the end of six years' probation, and from the outset of his monastic life he endured great poverty, temptations, and labours. He copied out our Bible, and various other books, some of which were used by the convent, and others were sold. Moreover, for the edification of young persons he wrote various little treatises in a plain and simple style, but in reality great and important works, both in doctrine and efficacy for good. He had a special devotion to the Passion of our Lord, and understood admirably how to console those afflicted by interior trials and temptations. Finally, having attained a ripe old age, he was afflicted with dropsy of the limbs, slept in the Lord in the year 1471, and was buried in the east side of the Cloister, by the side of brother Peter Herbolt.

Such is the brief outline which I venture to offer of the life of the great Thomas à Kempis. Those who seek to understand his glory and true grandeur must study his spiritual works. Lowly monk as he was we find in his career and writings the characteristics of a master-mind,—of one who, having realized the greatness of God, and fathomed the shallow nothingness of this world, was enabled to practise, and to teach as no other man ever taught before or since (the Apostles excepted) the one great lesson,—that in patient suffering we must imitate Christ if we would be

with Him in eternity. 'If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me. Having, then read and searched out all, be this our last conclusion—that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God.'

In my next communication I will commence to exhibit the proofs which demonstrate the solid grounds upon which I rest my belief, that, despite vexatious controversy; Thomas à Kempis was the author of *The Imitation of Christ*.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

ARCHBISHOP USSHER

A REPRINT of *A Discourse on the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British*, by Archbishop Ussher (Dublin: John Jones, 1815), contains a biographical sketch of the most renowned of the Irish Protestant Archbishops, to which the following note is prefixed by the anonymous author:—'In his life of the illustrious prelate, he has carefully noted every circumstance, which, though omitted by one biographer, has been recorded by another.' From this account of his life we learn that the birth of James Ussher took place in the parish of St. Nicholas, in the City of Dublin, on the 4th day of January, 1580; 'a day much to be prized,' writes his enthusiastic biographer, 'as on it Heaven gave to earth one of the most valuable and useful characters that ever graced our orb.'

His father's family, originally named Neville, claim that one of them came over from England as usher to King John; hence the distinctive family name. Arnold Ussher, the Archbishop's father, himself a man of talent and learning, was one of the six clerks in the Irish Chancery. Another brother, Henry, was made Protestant Archbishop of Armagh during the minority of his most distinguished

successor and nephew. His grandfather, on the mother's side, James Stanihurst, was three times Speaker of the Irish House of Commons and Recorder of Dublin. The mother clung to the religion of her forefathers, and died a Catholic at Drogheda. In his eighth year, young Ussher was sent by his father to a school, then opened by Fullerton and Hamilton, both Fellows of the University of Glasgow. These gentlemen had been sent over by King James to look after his interest amongst the Protestant gentry of Ireland. When James became King of England both were knighted for their services, and Hamilton was afterwards created Viscount Clandeboy.

In 1693, having arrived at the age of thirteen years, he became a scholar of the recently-founded University of 'the Sacred and Undivided Trinity,' being still under the direction of his former preceptor, Hamilton, who had been elected a Fellow of Trinity. The first incentive to Ussher's future fame as an historian came from that celebrated passage of Cicero: 'Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit est semper esse puerum.' His mind was so much impressed with the importance of this sentiment, that he immediately commenced Sleidan's work, *De quatuor Imperiis*, and from that time he became constantly engaged in historical researches. At the age of fourteen he began to collect materials for his celebrated work of the Annals. When he was but fifteen he had drawn up a chronicle of the Bible as far back as the Book of Kings, and a parallel chronicle of the heathen world.

In 1596 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and two years after distinguished himself as respondent in a philosophical disputation, which was held by the College in honour of the Earl of Essex, on his arrival in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. On the death of his father about this time, the family estate descended to him as being the eldest son. As his estate was involved in much litigation, burdened with the fortunes of seven sisters, and as so much care would interfere with his literary labours, he resigned it to his brother, reserving for himself only so much as was necessary for his maintenance in college, and for the

purchase of books. This anonymous biographer informs us that :—

When only eighteen or nineteen years of age he was considered the most proper person to contend with Henry Fitz-Symonds, a learned and daring Jesuit, who was at that time a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, and who had challenged the greatest and most learned champion in the controversies between the Romish and Reformed Churches, to contend with him. This challenge Ussher alone was found competent to accept. He accordingly came forward to oppose this mighty beaster. A public disputation ensued between them on the subject of Bellarmine's Controversies, which was to be continued one day in every week ; but this wily Jesuit soon found Ussher's wit too strong, his arguments too forcible, his skill in disputation greater than he imagined ; and, therefore, after the second conference, he declined the combat, left the field of battle to the vanquisher, and fled ingloriously.

The learned Protestant, Boyle, laughs at the whole story ; the honest Protestant, Anthony Wood, says simply that the Jesuit 'grew weary of disputing,' with his youthful kinsman ; a writer in Moreri's *Dictionary* scouts this tale, and says that Ussher in his best days would not have been a match for Fitzsimon.

The following is Fitzsimon's own simple account of the controversy, in his *Britannomachia*, dedicated to Aquaviva, his Father General :—

While I was a captive for five years in the Castle of Dublin, I did everything in my power to provoke the parsons to a discussion, except perhaps during the two years in which hardly anyone was allowed to see me, so strictly was I guarded. Whenever I knew that they were passing in the corridors, or the Castle yard, I tried to see them, and by word or gesture to attract their attention towards me. But they neither wished to look up at me in the tower, nor did they pretend to hear me, when from the Castle or the cell I challenged them in a stentorian voice. Once indeed, a youth of eighteen came forward with the greatest trepidation of face and voice. He was a precocious boy, but not of a bad disposition and talent, as it seemed. Perhaps he was rather greedy of applause. Anyhow, he was desirous of disputing about most abstruse points of divinity, although he had not yet finished the study of philosophy. I bid the youth bring me some proof that he was considered a fit champion of the Protestants, and I said that I would then enter into a discussion

even with him. But as they did not at all think him a fit and proper person to defend them, he never again honoured me with his presence.

On this Dr. Parr observes, that Fitzsimon living to know our author better, terms him: *Acatholicorum doctissimus*.

In 1600, Ussher was appointed Proctor, was chosen Catechetical Lecturer to the University, took the degree of Master of Arts, and on the Ash Wednesday of the same year defended a public thesis in philosophy with much credit to himself. It was on the same day that the Earl of Essex was beheaded—that ill-fated nobleman before whom, as Lord Lieutenant, he had sustained his first public discussion two years previously. Although under canonical age, and even then appointed to give controversial lectures at Christ Church, he was ordained on the Sunday before Christmas, 1601, by his uncle, Henry Ussher, then Protestant Archbishop of Armagh. He was soon afterwards appointed afternoon preacher to Government, at Christ Church. At this time the Lord Deputy and Council gave directions to the Protestant ministers of Dublin to disperse themselves through the different churches, and by their sermons endeavour to communicate all necessary information upon the subject of their religion to the Catholic countrymen, who were reported, since the defeat of the Spaniards at Kinsale, to have shown an inclination to confirm to the enactment which required their attendance at Church during divine service.

It is related that Ussher was for a time rather successful in attracting a number of Catholics to listen to his catechetical instructions. But suddenly, we are told—‘the operations of the Statute were suspended, the power of the High Commission was no longer exerted to enforce its observance, and Popery with all its evils, was again permitted to return, and destroy the fair hopes which were entertained of an early abundant harvest in the Lord’s vineyard.’ Ussher loved the city of his birth, and wrote thus in praise of it: ‘Dublin, the city of my birth, is full of people, and is most beautifully situated; the river and the neighbouring sea are full of fish.’

It is related that the English army which defeated the Spaniards at Kinsale, anxious to render the country a literary, as well as military service, subscribed the sum of £1,800 to purchase a library for the University in Dublin. Ussher and his kinsman, Dr. Challoner, were selected to buy the books.

In 1606, he was presented with the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, by Archbishop Loftus, who was then Chancellor of Ireland. In the same year, he again visited the metropolis of England, for the purpose of examining and purchasing such manuscripts and books as were necessary for him to consult in reference to English history. During his stay in England at this time he formed an intimate friendship with Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Camden, the two celebrated antiquarians of that age. The latter was at this time employed in publishing a new edition of his *Britannia*, to which, as he gratefully acknowledged, he was enabled to make many important additions from the information he received from Ussher respecting the ancient state of Ireland.

On the occasion of his previous visit to England, Ussher had made the acquaintance of the celebrated Sir Thomas Bodley, who was at that time engaged in procuring for the University of Oxford, that magnificent library, which has since so deservedly perpetuated his name. In 1607, the subject of our sketch was appointed professor of theology in his *Alma Mater*. This chair he occupied for thirteen years. In 1609, he wrote a treatise on the *Termon or Ancient Church Lands of Ireland*. This was considered a very learned disquisition, and fraught with much critical research. As it referred to the Corban lands of England, as well as Ireland, it was sent by him in manuscript to Bancroft then Archbishop of Canterbury, and by him presented to King James. Sir Henry Spelman was indebted for his information on this subject to what he extracted from the treatise of Ussher. He published part of it in the first part of his Glossary, and mentions the source from whence he derived it, in the following words:—'Thus copiously have I obscured a light, which that renowned

Pharos of the learned world, James [Ussher], Bishop of Meath, kindled for me.'

The Fellows of Dublin University unanimously elected Ussher their Provost in 1610, when he had attained the 30th year of his age. This office, however, he did not find himself free to accept, as it would interfere too much with his literary occupations.

In this year he married Phoebe, the daughter of his friend, Dr. Luke Challoner. This lady, it seems, was an heiress of a considerable fortune, and her father on his dying bed implored her never to connect herself with any other person if Dr. Ussher should propose for her.

The couple appear to have enjoyed a happy married life for the period of forty years. They had only one child, a daughter, Elizabeth, who was afterwards married to Sir Timothy Tyrrel. Hence, the Rev. James Ussher, referred to by Dr. Milner, in his *Tour Through Ireland*, as a convert to the Catholic faith, cannot have been Archbishop James Ussher's 'immediate descendant.' Ussher having occasion to visit England about the close of the year 1619, and having been suspected as favourable to Puritanism, the Lord Deputy and Council gave him the following letter to the Privy Council of England:—

The extraordinary merit of this bearer, Mr. Dr. Ussher, prevaileth with us, to offer him this favour, which we deny to many that move us, to be recommended to your Lordships: and we do this the rather, because we are desirous to set him right in his Majesty's opinion, who it seems hath been informed that he is somewhat transported with singularities, and unaptness to be conformable to the rules and orders of the Church. We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may boldly recommend him to your Lordships, as a man orthodox, and worthy to govern in the Church when occasion shall be presented. And his Majesty may be pleased to advance him; he being one that hath preached before the State for eighteen years; and has been his Majesty's Professor of Divinity in the University these thirteen years, and a man who has given himself over to his profession; an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness; and his life and doctrine so agreeable, as those who agree not with him are yet constrained to love and admire them. And for such an one we beseech your Lordships to understand him, and accordingly to speak to his Majesty; and thus with the remembrance of our humble duties we take leave.

When this character of Ussher had been read, James sent for him, and after a long interview, he ended by exclaiming: 'The knave Puritan is a bad man; but the knave's Puritan is an honest man.' Ussher had been previously one of the King's Chaplains. To test his ability as a preacher, James chose a text in the Book of Chronicles, and desired him to expound it in his presence, 'which,' as Ussher wrote to a friend, 'was very hard bones to pick.' The bishopric (Protestant) of Meath was at this time vacant; and the King, to show his high opinion of him, without any influence beyond his own free selection, nominated him to the vacant see. While he was detained in England, before his 'consecration,' a Parliament was convened at Westminster, on the 1st day of February. Dr. Parr has the following passages extracted from the diary of the bishop elect:—

I was appointed by the House of Parliament to preach at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Secretary Calvert, by the appointment of the House, spoke to the King that the appointment might stand. The King said it was very well done. February 13, being Shrove-Tuesday, I dined at Court; and between four and five I kissed the King's hand, and had conference with him touching my sermon. He said I had charge of an unruly flock to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundreds should be tied, upon so short a warning [lest some Catholics had been elected] to receive the communion upon a day; all could not be in charity; after so late contentions in the House, many must needs come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation; that himself required all his household to receive the communion, but not all the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bade me tell them I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better. To exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their King and country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with *bis dat, qui cito dat*.

On the first Sunday in Lent he preached, taking as his text, 1 Cor. x. 17. Having insisted on the union of the members in the body and to the Head, he next very copiously enlarges on the members being disunited from those who

were not of the same body, the necessity of their being dis-severed, especially from idolators, which he endeavours to prove Catholics to be. The house sent Sir James Perrot and Mr. Drake to give him thanks, and to desire him to print the sermon.

After his consecration and induction into the see of Meath, by Primate Hampden, he preached before the Lord-Deputy Falkland, on the text: 'He beareth not the sword in vain,' strongly impressing on him the duty of strictly enforcing the laws which had been made against the Catholics. His own explanation of the discourse is related in a letter addressed to Lord Grandison:—

The day that my Lord of Falkland received the sword, I preached at Christ's Church; and fitting myself to the present occasion, took for my text those words in Romans xiii.: 'He beareth not the sword in vain.' I wished that if his Majesty, who is, under God, our supreme governor, were pleased to extend his clemency toward his subjects that were recusants, some order notwithstanding might be taken with them, that they should not give us public affronts, and take possession of our churches before our faces. And that it might appear that it was not without cause that I made this motion, I instanced in two particulars that had lately fallen out in mine own diocese. The one, certified unto me by Mr. John Ankers, preacher of Athlone, that going to read prayers at Kilkenny, in Westmeath, he found an old priest and about forty with him in the church, who was so bold as to require him, Ankers, to depart until he had done his business. The other, concerning the friars, who were not content to possess the house of Multifarnham alone (whence your Lordship had dislodged them), but went about to make collections for the re-edifying of another abbey, Mulengarre, for the entertaining of another swarm of locusts. Thirdly, I did entreat that whatsoever connivance were used unto others, the laws might be strictly executed against such as revolted from us, and not suffer them without all fear to fall away from us. Lastly, I made a public protestation that it was far from my mind to excite the magistrates unto any violent courses against them, as one that did naturally abhor all cruel dealings, and wished that effusion of blood might be held rather the badge of the W— of Babylon than of the Church of God.

Again, November, 1626, we find the Irish Protestant bishops assembled in the house of Primate Ussher,

unanimously agreeing with him in subscribing the following protestation:—

The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous ; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical ; their Church, in respect of both, apostatical ; to give them, therefore, a toleration, or consent that they may freely exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin."

Ussher also seems to have taken a very active part, as Privy Councillor, in advising the suppression of convents, friaries, Mass houses, &c. ; for Lord Falkland, in a letter, which he wrote to him, dated April 14, 1629, refers to a proclamation of this nature which was issued on the first of that month, reminds him that he had assisted in the consultations respecting it, and requests him to inquire into some particulars of its operation. In reply, a return was furnished of the Popish conventual houses at Raphoe ; and May, 1629, the Privy Council addressed a letter to him on the same subject, making some further inquiries, and stating that they had given directions to his Majesty's Attorney-General to proceed against the proprietors of the houses mentioned by his Grace in his communications to them.

Ussher had been appointed Archbishop of Armagh, in 1624, when he was forty-four years of age. He then took up his abode in Drogheda, at the East Gate. Lord Stafford wrote to Archbishop Laud, concerning the Protestant Primate's palace : 'It is the best house I have seen in Ireland.' We are informed that he assembled the members of his household to engage with him in devotional exercises at six every morning, at eight every evening, before dinner also, and before supper. He, moreover, delivered, every Friday evening, a regular lecture for their fuller instruction in the principles of the Gospel, in his private chapel ; and on the evening of Sunday he obliged his chaplains to expatiate on the principal features of the sermon which he himself had preached in the morning, in order to impress it the more strongly on the minds of those who were inmates of his house. He had the words, '*Man, remember the last day,*' cut upon a bank of grass in his city garden.

When the Lord Deputy Falkland was recalled to England, Ussher attended him to the place of his embarkation; and it is related by his Protestant biographers, to the credit of both, that when Falkland approached the Primate to bid him farewell, he first prostrated himself upon the earth, and implored his blessing.

Father Fitzsimon relates that when Father Francis Slingsby was lodged in the tower of Dublin, he was twice assaulted by the prime pretended prelate, Ussher. 'The second time he craved to begin, on both sides, in these words: *Be he in this instant damned of us both who varieth by mouth from his conscience.* The debate thereby was interrupted, the said primeman relenting.' Protestant writers give the credit to Ussher of having advanced Bedell to the Provostship of Trinity College. They endeavour, in vain, to defend the Primate from the charge of having permitted excessive exactions and corruptions in his ecclesiastical courts, brought against him by this most worthy and tolerant of the Irish Protestant bishops, Bedell. Ussher attempts to justify himself as follows:—

Though I do not justify the taking of fees without good ground, yet I may truly say of a great part of mine own and of many other bishops' dioceses, that if men stood not more in fear of the fees of the court than of standing in a white sheet, we should have here among us another Sodom and Gomorrah.

In 1630, Downham, Protestant Bishop of Derry, published a treatise on the final perseverance of believers in their contest against sin. Ussher had furnished him with some of the materials, and was, of course, favourable to the publication. It must then, have been very grating to his feelings to have received the Royal Mandate, procured through the influence of Archbishop Laud, to suppress it.

About this time, he also received a circular letter from Charles the First, in which it is stated that the King had received information from the Privy Council of Ireland, respecting the increase and growth of the Romish faction, and the neglect of the Protestant clergy, '*who were not so careful as they ought to be, either of God's service, or the*

*honour of themselves, and their profession, in removing all pretences of scandal in their lives and conversation.'*¹

On the occasion of the national rising, in 1641, Ussher with the greater number of the Irish Protestant bishops fled to England. Bedell, the worthy Protestant prelate of Kilmore, has left it on record how little reason they had to apprehend any hurt or injury from their Irish Catholic countrymen. The only harsh treatment that Ussher then experienced was from a party of Welsh Royalists. They dragged him and those that were with him from their horses, and pillaged his luggage, including several chests of books and valuable MSS.

I know [said he to his daughter] that it is God's hand, and I endeavour to bear it patiently, though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned, for I am troubled in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me all that I have been gathering together these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advancement of learning and the good of the Church.

However, after some months, the greater portion of his books and manuscripts were restored to him intact. On the 5th November of the same year, he preached a sermon at Oxford on the Gunpowder Plot, which he essays to prove, from some pamphlets, said to have been printed at Rome, as having been devised there, and that prayers were offered up at Rome for the prosperous success of it. The honest Anthony Wood assures us that he could find no notice of when or where these incriminatory pamphlets were printed. And the non-Catholic origin of the plot is becoming more evident every year from the publication of contemporary documents.

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, selected Ussher to attend him at the time of his execution by the Puritans of England; and beside him he knelt when reciting his last prayer before laying his head on the block. This act of devoted friendship did not prevent people from accusing

¹ Dr. Renahan, in his *Collections of Irish Church History*, p. 39, writes: 'The [Protestant] clergy were scandalously profligate and immoral, but the episcopal bench was defiled with crimes that disgrace human nature.'

the Primate of having advised King Charles to sanction the attainder and execution of his fallen minister. The King, however, with great heat declared that the accusation was false, and that when the Bill of Attainder was passed, the Archbishop came to him, with tears in his eyes, exclaiming : ' Oh ! sir, what have you done ? I fear this act may prove a great trouble to your conscience ; and pray God that your Majesty may never suffer by the signing of this Bill.' On his arrival about this time in London, we learn that Ussher was interrogated by the Parliamentary Committee as to whether Sir Charles Coote, or any other person ever asked him to use his influence with the King to grant a toleration of religion in Ireland. His reply may be taken as another proof of his own religious intolerance, and of the duplicity of King Charles. He declared that neither Sir C. Coote or any other person ever asked him to use his influence with the King to grant a toleration of religion in Ireland ; and also, that on the arrival of the Irish agents at Oxford, he entreated his Majesty not to enter into any regulation respecting religion in Ireland without consulting him ; that this request was acceded to ; that the King and Council declared against a toleration ; and that he himself always regarded such a measure as involving the danger of the Protestant religion.

At the time of the execution of Charles, January 30, 1649, Ussher was the guest of Lady Peterborough, in her residence at Charing Cross. His biographer narrates that :—

Some of the family, who had previously gone out on the leads of the house, from whence they had a full view of Whitehall, came down when the King appeared upon the scaffold, to entreat him to return with them, and once more behold his venerable and unfortunate master. At first, unwilling to comply, he at last consented. When he saw the hereditary Governor of Britain engaged in the last mournful vindication of his conduct, he sighed deeply, and with hands and eyes upraised to Heaven, suffused with tears, he prayed with earnestness ; and when he saw the masked executioners preparing to fulfil their dreadful office, no longer able to witness a scene so horrible, or endure a spectacle so atrocious and diabolical, in which such foul indignities were offered to royalty, he swooned into the arms of his attendants, and was at length relieved when laid upon his couch by an abundant effusion of tears.

He afterwards kept that day as a day of prayer and fasting.

In 1655 Ussher was urged by some of his brethren to wait on Cromwell, and request him to allow the episcopal clergy the free exercise of the religious services, as he had previously forbade them to instruct youth, or perform any part of their ministerial functions. He found a surgeon dressing a large boil on the Protector's breast: 'If the core were once out,' said Cromwell, 'I should be quickly well.' 'I doubt,' replied the Archbishop, 'the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well.' 'Ah!' said Oliver, with seeming unconcern, 'so there is, indeed,' and sighed. After the interview Ussher said to Parr, one of his chaplains: 'This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised; well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long: the King will return, and though I shall not live to see it, you may.'

It had been the habit of the Archbishop to make some remark in his diary, opposite the day of his birth. His observation this year (1655) was: 'Now aged seventy-five years. My days are full,' and, immediately afterwards, 'Resignation.' Not long before his death he heard Dr. Parr preach, and said afterwards: 'I thank you for your sermon. I am going out of the world, and I now desire, according to your text, "to seek those things which are above."' On March 20, 1655, in the evening, he first complained of a pain in the hip. That day he had remained in his study so long as the light continued, and then went to visit a lady in the same house, who was dangerously ill. The next morning the pain in the hip was accompanied with a great pain in his side. A physician was sent for, and the medicines supposed to be requisite were ordered; but, so far from abating, they only increased the violence of his complaint, which, after his decease, was ascertained to be pleurisy. He now applied himself altogether to his devotions, and the Countess of Peterborough's chaplain prayed with him. Receiving no intermission from pain, he

addressed a solemn warning to all who were around him, to prepare for death and judgment, and requested to be left alone. The last words he was heard to utter were: 'O Lord, forgive me, especially my sins of omission.' He had frequently expressed his desire that he might die praying for mercy and forgiveness, confident that such language was most befitting the fallen sons of Adam. He died on the 27th of March, thirty-one years after his elevation to the Protestant primacy. Cromwell, desirous of obtaining a character for liberality, ordered his remains to be interred, with all the honours due to so great a personage, at Westminster Abbey, on the 17th of April.

Ussher is described as being of moderate stature, sanguine complexion, brown hair, and of a grave though pleasing countenance.

USSHER'S DESIRE TO BE RECEIVED INTO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

In a lecture delivered at the Guild Hall, Sydney, June, 1895, his Eminence Cardinal Moran stated that:—

It is not generally known that Ussher, Protestant Primate and Archbishop of Armagh, was desirous to be restored to Catholic unity . . . We find him, in 1640, entering into negotiations with Rosetti, the Papal Agent, and proposing to resign the see of Armagh, to openly profess the Catholic faith, and to spend the rest of his days in Rome, and, moreover, to bring thither his magnificent collection of manuscripts and books, if a pension of £4,000 a-year were accorded to him. Needless to say, no funds were available to make any such provision, though he was assured that nothing would be left undone to secure for him an honourable maintenance. During the subsequent disturbances of the Civil War he was tossed to and fro, from post to pillar, but is said to have persevered in his pious intentions, and to have been before death admitted to the Catholic fold. His wife, who took refuge in Paris, repeatedly declared, as is attested in the *Rinuccini Memoirs*, that he was most desirous to be reconciled to the Holy See.

Challenged as to the accuracy of these statements by Dr. Chalmers, Protestant Bishop of Goulburn, N.S.W., his Eminence, in his *Fourth Reply to My Critics*,

delivered October, 1895, gives the following additional particulars :—

As regards the Protestant Primate, Ussher, his petition to be received into the Church is referred to in the *Memoirs* of Cardinal Passionei, printed in Rome in the last century. The fact is also recorded in the manuscripts of the contemporary Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Protector of Ireland, which are preserved in the Barberini archives. The facts, as related in my lecture on the Reunion of Christendom, are taken from the official contemporary history of the Rinuccini's Nunciature in Ireland. The original of this invaluable work, in six large folio volumes, is preserved as a precious heirloom in the Triveilzi family archives in Milan. I have a copy of this manuscript. It was made for me a quarter of a century ago, at an expense of £120, and corresponds page for page with the original text.

HIS WORKS AND VIEWS ON ANGLICAN ORDERS

His polemical works, which created a great stir in their day, especially that one entitled, *A Discourse on the Religion of the Ancient Irish and British*, would now be regarded as feeble controversial efforts. Chapter viii., p. 84, he admits that 'St. Patrick had a special regard to the Church of Rome, from which he was sent for the conversion of Ireland.'

His volumes on the *Antiquities of the British and Irish Churches* are considered to be the most valuable of his literary works. He was in constant correspondence with the most learned men on the Continent and in the Islands; amongst others, with the learned Bishop Rothe of Ossory, whom he describes as 'a most diligent investigator of his country's antiquities,' and with Ussher's own uncle, the celebrated Richard Stanihurst, who died at Brussels, in 1618. Cardinal Richelieu invited him to France, promising him a considerable pension, and liberty of conscience. He also wrote a letter on the publication of his work, *Ecclesiarum Britannicarum Antiquitates*, enclosing a gold medal of great value, stamped with his own likeness. Ussher, in return, sent him a present of Irish greyhounds. He was the first student of Trinity College. His splendid library of twenty thousand volumes, including the *Book of Kells*, were secured for Ireland,

and Ussher's *Alma Mater* in a great measure, by the influence and at the expense of Cromwell and the English army in Ireland. The King of Denmark and Cardinal Mazarin, were endeavouring to secure it for their own nations.

O'Sullivan Beare, the author of the Catholic History, having been stigmatized by Ussher as 'the most egregious liar of any in christendom,' returned the compliment by calling the Primate 'ursum—a bear of the most formidable kind; and that he was the very reverse of St. Patrick, whose successor he pretended to be.' O'Sullivan's estimate of the number of the Irish Catholic clergy, in 1618, is *mille centum et sexaginta*.

Ussher and Bedell, in 1633, give the number as double that claimed for themselves by the Protestant clergy.

Bernard, the Primate's chief chaplain, writes that his opinion respecting episcopacy may be fairly summed up in his own words: '*Episcopus et presbyter gradu tantum differunt non ordine*'; and consequently, that in places where bishops cannot be had, the ordination of presbyters standeth valid.'

One could scarcely desire a better justification for the recent papal condemnation of Anglican Orders than this rash and reckless admission on the part of one of their most learned and distinguished prelates.

N. MURPHY, P.P.

A NEW STYLE OF ORGAN FOR SMALL CHURCHES

WITHIN the last few weeks I had an opportunity of seeing and thoroughly examining an organ erected in the College Church, Esker, Athenry, which presents so many new and interesting features that I should like to introduce it to the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

The little instrument is the work of Mr. W. R. Andrew, of London; but the new features in it, which make it so interesting and useful, are the inventions of Mr. T. Casson, whose name is familiar to all students of modern organ-building. It has been designed with a view to supplying, at a low price, an instrument on which players of moderate accomplishments can produce the effects of a full organ with two manuals and pedals. Mr. Casson has called this small organ 'Positive Organ,' a term still used on the Continent to denote small organs without pedals, or a department in a large organ corresponding to the English choir organ. The term was used in the early Middle Ages, in contradistinction to a 'portative' organ—one that could be carried about. The positive organ, therefore, meant a larger kind of organ. Later on, however, when larger organs were built, the old positive organs appeared as comparatively small organs, and hence the term acquired its present meaning. As in explaining the peculiarities of this new instrument I shall have to use terms that may not be familiar to some readers, it may be well, first of all, to premise a few general observations.

In all keyed instruments, such as organs, pianos, harmoniums, as well as the concertina and its relatives, the sound-producing bodies are tuned each to one tone; each of them is capable of producing only one tone, and for every tone, therefore, there must be at least one special sound-producing body. In the piano, we have for every key one string, or several strings tuned in unison; in the harmonium,

we have, similarly, the reeds; and in the organ, the pipes. In this respect these instruments differ from the orchestral instruments, in which the same body is capable of emitting a number of sounds of different pitch. In the violin and its relatives—the viola, 'cello, and double bass—this is done by 'stopping.' By pressing down, with the fingers, the string on the finger-board, the length of the string is shortened and a higher pitch produced. These instruments are provided with several strings, mainly in order to facilitate their manipulation. Absolutely speaking, one string could produce, as far as pitch is concerned, all the tones of which the instrument is capable. In the wood wind instruments—such as the oboe, clarinet, flute—the column of air that produces the tone is shortened or lengthened by opening or closing holes in the side of the instrument. In the brass instruments—such as the trumpet and trombone—similarly the column of air is varied in length by either drawing out and pushing in a tube that is telescoped into another one, or by connecting, through the agency of valves, pieces of various lengths with the main sounding tube. All these means of varying the pitch of the same sound-producing body are impracticable with the instruments mentioned above, and hence it is that they require a different string, reed, or pipe for every key.

In an organ, however, we can produce tones of different quality; we can, as it were, play, with the same key-board, different instruments. But it is clear, that for each of these various tone qualities we must have a whole set of pipes, one for each key. Now, such a set of pipes, one for each key of the key-board, alike in construction, and, consequently, in tone-colour, is called a 'stop.' We may distinguish four different classes of stops. The first and principal one, of full and round tone, peculiarly characteristic of the organ, is called diapason; there are several varieties of it, differing principally in 'scale,' that is, the ratio of the diameter to the length of the tube. The second class is formed by the stops of soft, flute-like tone—such as the clarabella, gedackt, flute; the third, by those of string-like intonation—such as gamba, salicional, dulciana; and the fourth by the reed.

stops—such as trumpet, trombone, oboe. But organ-stops differ not only by their character, but also by their pitch. In order to add dignity and depth to the organ-tone, sometimes stops are introduced, which sound an octave lower than the principal or 'foundation' stops. On the other hand, in order to give more brightness and distinctness, stops are provided that reinforce the over-tones of the principal tones, the octave, the twelfth, the second octave, and so forth. To distinguish these stops of various pitch, they are named by the length of their longest pipe. The lowest note of one of the principal stops is produced by a pipe of about 8 feet in length, and hence such a stop is called an 8-ft. stop. Stops producing tones an octave lower than these are called 16-ft. stops; those producing tones an octave higher, 4-ft. stops; and so on. It must be remarked here, that a closed pipe requires only half the length of an open pipe to produce the same tone. But closed stops are designated, not according to the actual length of their lowest pipe, but according to the tone they produce, measured by an open pipe. A gedackt, for instance, is called an 8-ft. stop, though its lowest pipe is only 4 feet in length. Similarly the sub-bass, or bourdon, usually found as a pedal stop, is called a 16-ft. stop, though its lowest pipe measures only 8 feet. I may mention here incidentally that organ-builders sometimes use closed pipes for the lowest octave of open stops. This is a considerable saving of cost, as closed pipes require less wood and space than open ones of the same pitch. But if the organ-builder intends doing so, he ought to mention it in the specification. It looks like deception, if he specifies, say, an open diapason 16 ft. for the pedal organ, and then puts in closed pipes for the twelve lowest notes.

To allow of all the effects of organ-playing, an organ should have two key-boards for the hands, called manuals, and a key-board for the feet, called pedals, each provided with a number of stops. But such an instrument is costly, and requires a well-trained player. Hence it is that in many churches harmoniums, or so-called American organs, are used as a substitute. These two instruments are essentially the

same, notwithstanding the high-sounding name of the latter. They are both of the "free reed" kind, that is to say, the tone is produced by a reed—a thin piece of metal made to vibrate by a current of wind, just as in the concertina. In the organ, too, we have reed-stops, as mentioned above, and a reed is also used in the orchestral oboe, bassoon, and clarinet. But here the reed serves only for forming the tone, as it were, while the real sound-producing body is the column of air in the pipe. In the harmonium and American organ, however, the reed itself gives out the sound. The only difference between these two instruments is, that in the latter the wind is sucked through the reeds into the bellows, instead of being blown out from the bellows, as is the case in the harmonium. The peculiarity of the sound of both is that the fundamental tone, that which is supposed to be predominant, is very weak, and it is principally the over-tones that are heard. Hence the tone is wanting in body and dignity. It soon tires the nerves. It has no carrying power; it makes a great deal of noise when you are near it, but is scarcely heard at a distance. It has no power to lead the voices; and moreover, by its nasal quality, has a detrimental influence on voice production. Besides, the reed allows of very little variety in character. A slight difference can be produced by varying the shape of the reed and the way it is embedded in the frame. But even in the best of these instruments there is a sameness of colour which soon becomes tedious. Hence a pipe organ, of even the most moderate dimensions, is far preferable to a reed instrument. It was only the question of expense that turned the balance in favour of the reed instruments.

But there is another difficulty to be considered, which I shall try to explain as clearly as possible. Harmony, as a rule, is written in four parts, two of which are regularly played with the right hand, and two with the left. Now, if the two hands are kept pretty close together, the combined compass of the two is only small, and therefore if the higher notes are in their proper place, the lowest notes will be rather high, and consequently the whole harmony wanting in depth and dignity. If, to obviate this, the left hand were

to play lower down on the key-board, two inconveniences would arise; first, the gap between the two pairs of parts would produce a bad effect; and, secondly, the two lower parts would themselves be unpleasant for acoustical reasons, because in the lower tones any interval smaller than an octave produces very disagreeable beats. If, on the other hand, we were to assign three parts to the right hand, and play only the bass with the left hand in the lower portion of the key-board, connected playing, as is necessary on instruments of sustained tone, would be difficult for the right hand, the movement of the three upper parts would be much restricted on account of the limited compass of one hand, and again there would be the gap between the bass and the upper parts.

Various means have been devised to overcome this difficulty. In the American organ we meet with the sub-octave coupler, that is to say, a mechanical contrivance by means of which each key when played presses down with it the corresponding key in the next lower octave. Thus the whole compass of the harmony is extended an octave. The lowest and the highest notes are far enough apart, without there being any gap between them. But, on the other hand, all distinctness of part writing is thereby destroyed, each part being repeated below the next lower one, and we have also the objectionable small intervals between very low notes referred to above. From an artistic standpoint, therefore, this contrivance is altogether to be rejected. Slightly less objectionable is the plan of providing a stop of 16-ft. tone for the lower portion of the key-board. This will give a good bass without affecting the upper parts of the harmony. But here, too, whenever the part next above the bass comes within the range of this 16-ft. stop, the disagreeable effect twice referred to is produced.

In the organ this difficulty has been solved satisfactorily, centuries ago, by the introduction of the pedals. If the feet are brought into requisition for the rendering of the harmony, they can play the bass part sufficiently low, while the two hands are free to execute the upper parts in their natural positions.

But pedal organs are expensive and difficult to play. Hence the reed organ holds the field. Mr. Casson's Positive organ, however, does away, in a most ingenious manner, with both the expense and the difficulty of playing, and is, therefore, likely to rout the rival. Mr. Casson, first of all, cuts away the lowest five notes of the ordinary organ keyboard. Thereby he saves a great deal of expense—for it is the longest pipes that cost most—and deprives the player of only little, as these notes are rarely used, being beyond the ordinary compass of the hands. He then provides a sub-bass, a 16-ft. stop, for the portion of the key-board from the middle *c* downwards, which, by an extremely clever device, is so arranged that only the *lowest note struck* will sound on it. By this, the most important feature of the new instrument, we have the bass of the harmony doubled in the lower octave, while the other parts of the harmony remain unaffected, thus obviating all the inconveniences of the contrivances discussed above. The effect is just as if the bass were played on the pedals with 16-ft. and 8-ft. stops.

This solution of the problem is so simple and so natural, that one wonders why nobody thought of it before. But, of course, even if someone had conceived the idea, there would have been the other difficulty of working it out practically. It took the inventive genius of a Mr. Casson to see the very simple and reliable action by which the desired end could be accomplished.

I can only shortly touch on some other peculiarities of the organ. The so-called 'melodic' stop is a counterpart of the sub-bass arrangement. In it only the highest note struck sounds, and it serves, therefore, for reinforcing the melody, a thing often desirable. The 'transposer' is a mechanical means of shifting the key-board so that the same key will produce a lower or higher tone. The Positive organ thus transposes a semi-tone up and three semi-tones down. This, we expect, will often prove useful to country organists. Music is oftentimes written too high for the voices available. By means of the transposer the organist can play it in a lower key, without having to read the notes differently.

The compass of the organ is from F to a'', three octaves and a third. I understand, however, that the designer is thinking of extending it to c'', thus giving it three octaves and a fifth. The 4-ft. stop, with which even the smallest of these organs is provided, of course, gives an extra octave at the top. The price of these little organs ranges from £65 to £75. The workmanship and material of the organ I have examined is of the very first class, the action perfect, the tone sweet and artistic, and the appearance very pretty. The specification includes three 8-ft. stops, namely, open diapason, gedackt, and salicional. We have, therefore, one stop from each of the families distinguished above, except the reeds. The three stops are beautifully contrasted in colour and strength, and form very nice combinations. The 4-ft. stop, a salicet, is so voiced, that it will blend with each of the 8-ft. stops, as well as produce a good effect in the full organ. The melodic stop acts on the open diapason, and brings out the melody clearly, without making it obtrusive. I should mention that the instrument is easily blown by the performer, while an arrangement for blowing by hand can be attached at a trifling cost.

In conclusion, I may say that while very beautiful effects can be produced on this organ, and while it is very superior to any harmonium or American organ, I should be sorry if anybody were to get it instead of a full organ with manuals and pedals, or if any aspiring organist, on account of the facilities afforded by this instrument, were to give up practising the pedals. For only by the use of the pedals can the finest effects of organ-playing be produced.

H. BEWERUNGE.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

INTERPRETATION OF DIOCESAN FACULTIES TO DISPENSE IN AFFINITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the diocesan faculties that I have got, I have power *dispensandi, certiorato poenitente, in impedimento affinitatis quod post matrimonium contractum oritur*. What am I to understand by the clause *certiorato poenitente*? Does it mean that I am, in granting the dispensation, to explain the ecclesiastical law regarding this diriment impediment to penitents who have hitherto been ignorant of its provisions in this matter? An answer in an early number of the I. E. RECORD will, perhaps, settle some controversy, and will oblige

ADMINISTRATOR.

The impediment of affinity arises *antecedently* or *subsequently* to marriage. The antecedent impediment invalidates a subsequent marriage, and is therefore a *diriment impediment*. The subsequent impediment is rather *prohibent*, and that only *quoad petitionem debiti*; it does not, of course, dissolve marriage already contracted. It is a mere slip on the part of our correspondent, to call this subsequent impediment of affinity a diriment impediment, in relation to the marriage already contracted. For, manifestly, '*matrimonium dirimere, non potest, at reo adimit jus petendi debitum.*'¹

We must premise a few remarks on the nature of this impediment, and on the conditions under which it arises.

Aertnys thus explains the nature and effect of the subsequent impediment of affinity:—

Conjux, qui durante matrimonio contraxit affinitatem cum suo consorte, patrando incestum cum consortis consanguineo vel consanguinea in primo vel secundo gradu non potest petere debitum [nisi altera pars tacite petat vel sit in magno periculo incontinentiæ; etiam, forsan si ipse incestuosus sit in magno

¹ Lehmkuhl, ii. 761.

periculo incontinentiae et tamen non possit dispensationem obtinere^{1]} parti tamen innocenti reddere potest et debet.²

The conditions under which *jus petendi debitum* is lost, are treated in every manual of theology. To one of them only we must refer, owing to its bearing on the question proposed. Theologians discuss whether a person ignorant of this ecclesiastical law, specially prohibiting incest, or even of the penalty or inhability attaching to its violation, would, notwithstanding, contract this subsequent impediment. Many hold that the subsequent, like the antecedent, impediment of affinity is in no way affected by ignorance; it is incurred, they say, *ignorantia non obstante*.³ Others, relying on the common teaching, that ignorance excuses from a *poena extraordinaria*, and contending that this impediment of subsequent affinity is a *poena extraordinaria*, maintain that ignorance, either of the ecclesiastical law itself, or of the penalty, excuses from the impediment. Feije, referring to this second opinion, says:—

Horum autem opinio communior est eique videtur adstipulandum. . . . Hac igitur admissa opinione a *poena illa excusat ignorantia etiam crassa*, non tamen affectata, sive facti qua quis ignorat personam cum qua copulam perfectam habet, esse comparti consanguineam in primo vel secundo gradu, *sive juris, nempe aut legis ecclesiasticae specialiter ejusmodi incestum prohibentis, aut hujus poenae in eum constitutae*.⁴

This opinion of Feije, whether we consider its intrinsic merits, or the authorities by which it is supported, is undoubtedly probable and safe.⁵ It would appear, therefore, that we can and ought to look upon this impediment as non-existent in the case of a person ignorant of the ecclesiastical law. '*Stante autem hac probabilitate*,' says Marc, '*non debet conjux jure suo certo privari*.'⁶

We are now able to reply to the question proposed. Our correspondent has the faculty *restituendi, certiorato poenitente, jus petendi debitum per affinitatem subsequentem amissum*, and he desires to know what he is to understand by the clause

¹ *Vid.* Aertnys, lib. vi. 504. Marc, ii. 2031.

² Aertnys, lib. vi. 503.

³ *Vid.* *De Angelis*, tom. iii., lib. iv., p. 230.

⁴ Page 256-257, n. 383.

⁵ *Vid.* S. Alphonsus, lib. 1074, where this opinion is called '*satis probabilis*.' *Vid.* Lehmkühl, ii. 764; Marc, ii. 2031, Quær. 3; Aertnys, ii. 503.

⁶ *loc. cit.*

'*certiorato poenitente*.' We have not got a copy of his faculties, nor have we any means of learning what is the received acceptation of this clause, in the diocese to which he belongs.

But, as far as we can see, the clause can be taken in two senses only. First, it may, perhaps, though not, we think, without violence, be understood to mean that penitents, who are ignorant of the impediment attaching to incest above described, should, in order to deter them from a repetition of their crime, be admonished of the ecclesiastical law, and of the penalties incurred by its violation. This is the sense to which our correspondent refers. Secondly, the clause, *certiorato poenitente*, may be understood merely to enjoin, that the penitent when receiving a dispensation should be informed of the removal of the impediment, in order that he may clearly understand that the *jus petendi* is restored.

For our part, we think the clause is to be interpreted in the second sense, not in the first. The penitents who are to receive the information are, manifestly, the penitents who require and receive a dispensation. But those only who know the ecclesiastical law and its penalty incur this punishment. Therefore the clause has reference to them only. It does not regard those who are ignorant of the ecclesiastical legislation. The ordinary, in granting this faculty, is not to be presumed to imply the existence of an impediment against the common teaching of theologians; it is manifestly beside his intention and beyond his power to set up a new prohibent impediment of this kind.

The clear meaning, then, we think, is that the confessor should inform his penitent that he is exercising his dispensing power.

We repeat again, that our reply is given without reference to diocesan statutes or custom; and in this connection we may usefully quote the words of Feije:—

Quum tamen haec doctrina quoad ignorantiam legis [ab impedimento excusantem] maxime vero quoad ignorantiam poenae, sit controversa, in praxi consulenda sunt statuta et usus diocesis; quae tamen si severiora habeant, in circumstantiis difficilibus nihilominus usui illa doctrina [ignorantes excusans] esse potest.¹

¹ *loc. cit.*

Now, a further question is suggested by our correspondent's difficulty. Whichever opinion we adopt, as to whether or not ignorance excuses from subsequent affinity, it is a practical question to determine, how we are to deal with those, who confess this particular sin of incest, but who are ignorant of the ecclesiastical law and its consequences. Are we to leave them in *bona fide*? Or should we instruct them? Marc, without restriction, plainly conveys that the confessor should declare the law and the penalty:—

In praxi, conjuges ut plurimum latam poenam ignorant donec ejusmodi incestum confessi, eam a confessario, *prout oportet*, edocti fuerint.¹

And Aertnys implies the same in almost the same terms.² But, it would seem that no invariable rule should be laid down. Each case is to be decided according to the dictates of prudence, and the penitent should or should not be enlightened on this matter, according as he is likely to profit or not by the monition. Feije aptly conveys our meaning:—

Magna circumspectione est hac in re cum poenitentibus procedendum, et interdum *propter praevisam monitionis inutilitatem vel nocumentum omnino silendum neque interrogandus aut monendus poenitens*.³

We have, therefore, an additional reason for rejecting our correspondent's interpretation of his faculties. We do not think that instruction on this matter of subsequent affinity should be given *indiscriminately*. We are, therefore, slow to believe that indiscriminate instruction is enjoined in his diocesan faculty.

A BISHOP'S POWER TO DISPENSE IN CUMULATIVE MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Two persons in my parish wish to get married. There are two impediments, but the bishop has power to dispense in each of the impediments singly. Has he power to dispense in both in the same case, or is it necessary to apply to Rome, *ob cumulationem*?
PAROCHUS.

Cumulation is either *numerical* or *specific*. It is

¹ *loc. cit.*

² ii. 503.

³ *loc. cit.*

numerical when there are two or more impediments of the *same* kind—two impediments of consanguinity, for example; it is specific when there are two or more impediments of *different* kinds, one of consanguinity, for instance, and one affinity.

A bishop may have dispensing power in virtue of his *ordinary* or of his *extraordinary* jurisdiction.

I. (1) Where cumulation is merely *numerical*, and the dispensing power exercised is *ordinary*, the bishop can dispense in several impediments in the same case, in banns, for example, and an unreserved vow of chastity. (2) Where the cumulation is *numerical* and the dispensing power *extraordinary*, the bishop's power depends on the terms of his indult. Usually, he can dispense; sometimes there is a restriction in the indult. Needless to say, our reply does not touch the case in which a bishop has procured a dispensation or the power of dispensing in a *particular* case. Having asked and obtained power to dispense first-cousins, *v.g.*, a bishop could, *eo ipso*, not validly dispense, if he afterwards, unexpectedly, found that the parties were double first-cousins. We have spoken only of general faculties *pro casibus indeterminatis*.

II. (1) Where cumulation is *specific*, and the dispensing power *ordinary*, the bishop can dispense in several impediments. In the same case, *v.g.*, a bishop can dispense in banns, in a vow of remaining unmarried and in the prohibition of the marriage in Advent. (2) If the cumulation is *specific*, and the power exercised *extraordinary*, the bishop cannot, unless in virtue of a special indult, dispense in cumulative impediments. In the *Formula VI.* our bishops *v.g.*, get extraordinary faculties to dispense in consanguinity in the fourth degree and also in spiritual relationship (*nisi inter levantem et levatum*); they cannot, however, in virtue of these faculties dispense third-cousins who are also spiritually related. (3) Finally, where the cumulation is *specific*, and one impediment comes within the *ordinary* power of the bishop, the other within his *extraordinary* power, the bishop can dispense unless there be a special

restriction, express or implicit, in the indult in virtue of which he acts.

Not knowing the nature of the impediments in the case stated by our correspondent, nor the extent of his bishop's powers, we cannot further apply our answer to the solution of his difficulty.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE 'CROSIER' INDULGENCE ATTACHED TO BEADS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly publish the enclosed leaflet, and tell us is it authentic. Many priests and nuns are sending their beads to be blessed by the Canons.

A SUBSCRIBER.

BEADS BLESSED BY THE CANONS REGULAR OF THE HOLY CROSS.

Indulgence of 500 days.

This indulgence can be applied to the souls in Purgatory and be gained by praying an *Our Father* or a *Hail Mary* on such beads. In order to gain the Indulgence of five hundred days it is not necessary to pray either a whole Rosary or a chaplet; it can be gained by a single *Our Father* or a single *Hail Mary*, and can be gained as often as one repeats either the *Our Father* or the *Hail Mary*.

The power of blessing Beads to the effect of gaining the aforesaid indulgence was given by Pope Leo X. to the General of the Order of the Canons of the Holy Cross (August 20th, 1516). Pope Gregory XVI. extended the power to the Commissary-General of the Order (Sept. 15th, 1842), and made the indulgence applicable to the Souls in Purgatory (July 13th, 1845).

Pope Pius IX. authorized the General of the Order to delegate the power given to him by Leo X. to every Priest of the Order (January 9th, 1848).

Finally by decree of His Holiness Leo XIII. (dated 14th March, 1884), this Privilege has been declared authentic, and as belonging exclusively to the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross.

The original Documents are kept in the Archives of the Order of the Canons of the Holy Cross.

These Beads cannot be lent with the design of communicating the indulgences attached to them; otherwise they would at once cease to be privileged.

The Crucifix is indulgenced for the Stations of the Cross, and

also with the plenary indulgence for the hour of death. The indulgence of the Stations of the Cross can be gained anywhere by holding the Cross in the hand, and saying twenty *Our Fathers*, *Hail Marys*, and *Glory be to the Fathers*, when a church where the Stations are canonically erected cannot be visited.

N.B.—The Dominican and Bridgetine indulgences have been also attached to these Beads.

The Rev. Joseph Van den Dries, Canon Regular of the Holy Cross, 19, The Crescent, Taunton, Somersetshire, England, blesses beads that are sent to him.

We have carefully examined every statement made in the above leaflet, and find them all in accordance with the facts. As stated in the leaflet, Leo X. in the year 1516 granted to the General of the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross extraordinary faculties for blessing beads. By using beads blessed by him one gained five hundred days' indulgence for each *Our Father* and each *Hail Mary*, whereas by using beads bearing the ordinary Dominican or Bridgetine indulgences, one—not a member of the Confraternity of the Rosary—gains only one hundred days' indulgence for each of these prayers. But this is neither the sole nor even the greatest advantage possessed by beads blessed by the General of the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross. To gain one hundred days' indulgence for each *Our Father* and each *Hail Mary* by using beads having the Bridgetine or Dominican indulgences, it is necessary—we are speaking throughout of those who are not members of the Confraternity of the Rosary—to say five decades without interruption. In using beads bearing the indulgences we are now discussing, this is not necessary. The indulgence of five hundred days is gained for each repetition, whether they be few or many. Each *Our Father* or *Hail Mary* said devoutly by one holding in his hand beads thus blessed establishes the same claim to an indulgence of five hundred days when said by itself, as if a whole chaplet were said without interruption.

The power conferred by Leo X. on the General of the Order could not be subdelegated by him to any other, not even to a priest of the Order. A slight change, as the leaflet

indicates, was introduced by Gregory XVI. in 1842, when he granted to the Commissary-General of the Order the powers which had up to that time belonged exclusively to the General. A further change was made in 1848 when the General was empowered by Pius IX. to subdelegate these same powers to every priest of the Order.

Notwithstanding the repeated recognition of the faculties possessed by the fathers of this Order, the extraordinary richness of the indulgences attached to beads blessed by them induced many to doubt the authenticity either of the powers claimed by the members of the Order, or of the indulgence. A similar reason, doubtless, has prompted our esteemed correspondent to forward this leaflet to us for examination. Hence frequent questions—*innumerae prope modum*, the Congregation itself says—were addressed to the Congregation of Indulgences from all parts of the world, and from all classes of persons, including archbishops and bishops. To put an end to all doubt on this matter, and to give a fresh and lasting sanction to the powers possessed by the Canons of the Holy Cross, the Congregation of Indulgences, acting with the approval of our holy Father Leo XIII., issued a rescript on March 14, 1884, declaring the indulgence of five hundred days to be authentic, confirming the power of the General of the Order to subdelegate to every member of the Order the faculty of imparting this indulgence to beads, and stating that this power could not be subdelegated to any priest other than a member of this Order.

The indulgences which, according to the leaflet, are attached to the crucifix of beads blessed by the Canons of the Holy Cross, are not imparted by virtue of the powers granted first by Leo X., but by some subsequent concession to the Order or to individual members. Any priest may procure power to impart these indulgences.

Finally, it is stated in the leaflet that the Bridgetine and Dominican indulgences are also attached to the beads blessed by these Canons Regular. This is of importance to members of the Confraternity of the Rosary who may use these beads; for many of the indulgences of this Confraternity require the use of beads bearing the Dominican

blessing. To others the presence of these indulgences is of little account, as by one repetition of the beads only one set of indulgences is gained: and everyone will naturally wish to gain that which is greatest, which is in this case the 'Crosier' indulgence.

HOW SHOULD A PRIEST BE VESTED WHILE ASSISTING AT THE NUPTIAL CEREMONY?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly state in the February I. E. RECORD what is the correct way of celebrating a marriage that is immediately followed by 'Missa pro Sponso et Sponsa.' I belong to a diocese where all marriages are to be so celebrated, except in rare cases. I know that the practice of different priests is different. 1. Some priests go out from sacristy in the ordinary way with all the vestments on, and, having arranged the chalice, take off the chasuble and maniple, and descend to the rails to marry the parties. 2. Others only take off the maniple, and marry with chasuble on. 3. Others go out in surplice, and, having married the parties, return to sacristy, and vest in the ordinary way for Mass. I searched both O'Kane and De Herdt, and could not find the particular point treated.

SACERDOS.

If our correspondent will look into De Herdt, vol. iii., n. 272, he will find a clear and concise solution of the question which he here proposes. This learned author says:—

Parochus pro matrimonii celebratione induitur superpelliceo et stola alba, vel si immediate est celebraturus, alba, stola, et etiam planeta coloris missae convenientis indui debet, excepto manipulo, quem ante missam accepit.

We appeal to the authority, and quote the words of De Herdt, not because there is a difference of opinion on this question among writers, but because his name has been mentioned by our correspondent. Among modern writers, at any rate, there is no difference of opinion regarding the manner in which the celebrant of a nuptial Mass should be vested while assisting at the nuptial ceremony which precedes the Mass. Nor is there room for such difference;

for the Congregation of Rites has itself dictated what is to be observed in this matter. This decision of the Congregation was given as long ago as 1867, in reply to a question addressed to it. We give here the question, together with the reply of the Congregation :—

Utrum pro superpelliceo uti valeat Sacerdos alba cum stola in pectus transversa . . . in celebrando matrimonio cum immediate post absolutionem ritus matrimonii missam pro Sponso et Sponsa celebraturus sit ?

Resp. Si immediate sequitur missa sacerdos praeter albam et Stolam induere debet etiam planetam.

From this reply of the Congregation of Rites it follows that the second method mentioned by our correspondent is the only correct one. A priest, then, about to celebrate a nuptial Mass may, after vesting in the ordinary way, carry the chalice to the altar, arrange it, put off the maniple, and proceed to assist at the nuptial ceremony ; or he may, before vesting, carry the chalice to the altar, and arrange it as usual, have the maniple laid in a convenient place on the altar steps, and then vest in anice, alb, girdle, stole, and chasuble, and, having put on the biretta, proceed to the altar with hands joined. Arrived at the foot of the altar, he removes his biretta, genuflects, and immediately turns towards the parties to be married. After the nuptial ceremony he turns towards the altar, puts on the maniple, genuflects on the first step, and proceeds with the Mass.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—The following documents speak for themselves, and are well worth preserving. A fuller account of the wonderful occurrence recorded in Dr. Zalka's letter will be given in the March number of the I. E. RECORD. Perhaps the most striking fact in connection with the occurrence is the coincidence, wholly unknown in Hungary, that the very year 1697—the ninth of William III.—in which the image of the Blessed Virgin brought from Ireland by Bishop Lynch shed tears of blood, was the year in which the most atrocious penal law ever enacted in Ireland was passed by the Williamite Parliament in Dublin. It decreed the expulsion of all Catholic ecclesiastics of every grade from the country, and made it *high treason* for any of them to return to their native land.—Yours faithfully,

✠ JOHN HEALY, D.D.,
Bishop of Clonfert.

**LETTER FROM DR. ZALKA, BISHOP OF JAURIN [RAAB], TO
DR. HEALY, BISHOP OF CLONFERT**

ILLUSTRISSE AC REVERENDISSE DOMINE EPISCOPUS !
DOMINE COLENDISSE !

Gualterus Lyncaeus, Episcopus quondam Clonfertensis, inter politicas turbas seculi XVII. sede sua Episcopali privatus, ad exteras oras qua exul migrare coactus, venit in Hungariam, secum adferens imaginem B. Mariae Virginis ceu unicum thesaurum suum, coram qua orare et consolationem quaerere solebat. Apud nos, Jaurini (Raab), per Episcopum Jaurinensem Joannem Püski benevole susceptus, etiam Canonicatum accepit, et ab anno 1655-1663 qua Canonicus fuit, una auxiliaris dicti Episcopi et Successoris ejus. Mortuus est 14 Julii anni 1663.

Pius iste vir, superius memoratam imaginem B. M. Virginis reliquit Ecclesiae Cathedrali, in qua ad columnam parietis adpensa in veneratione fidelis populi fuit. Anno autem 1697, die 17^a Martii, seu in festo S. Patricii patroni Hiberniae, imago a sexta hora matutina usque horam 9, sanguinem sudavit, inspectante adcurrentis populi sacerdotumque multitudine.

Mox ad aram lateralem Ecclesiae est collocata haec imago

tam prodigiosa, et ibi in summa veneratione habetur. Hoc anno 1897 recolemus bissecularem memoriam tanti eventus.

Dum haec Illustritati Tuae Reverendissimae ad notitiam perfero, rogare te audeo, digneris mihi perscribere si quae quoad vitam superius laudati Episcopi Gualteri Lyncaeii vobis uberius nota sunt, quo notitiae nostrae pleniores fiant.

Litterae tuae dirigantur hac via : *Raab*, Austria Hungaria.

Suscipe, Reverendissime Domine Episcope, intimae meae venerationis contestationem.

Jaurini (Raab) in Hungaria, die 22^a Decembris, 1896.

✠ JOANNES ZALKA,

Episcopus Jaurinensis.

REPLY OF THE BISHOP OF CLONFERT

Die 3^{ta} Jan., 1897.

ILLUSTR^{us} AC REVD^{us} DOMINE,

CARISSIME UTI FRATER,

Litteras Amplitudinis Tuae die 22^a Dec. 1896 datas animo laetissimo accepi. Etenim illis litteris clare et nitide exposuisti rem vere mirificam—scilicet : quomodo Imago ad oras tuas olim a Gualtero Lyncaeio, Episcopo Clonfertensi, perlata sudorem sanguineum passa sit die 17^{ma} mensis Martii anno 1697 in Ecclesia Cathedrali Dioecesis tuae : simul me rogasti ad Amplitudinem Tuam perscribere ea omnia quae ad plenioram cognitionem vitae praedicti Praesulis Hiberni pertinerent.

Quod perlibenti animo faciam non solum propter ipsam rei utilitatem spirituales, verum etiam in testimonium illius hospitalitatis eximiae, quam olim et Decessores Amplitudinis Tuae et tota civitas vestra erga Episcopum nostrum, exulem miserrimum, exhibuerunt, cujus grata memoria cordibus nostris semper erit infixata.

Igitur praedictus Gualterus Lyncaeus urbe Galvia super oram maris occidentalis Hiberniae natus est circiter initium saeculi XVII. ; de anno vero non constat. Ortus est ex familia antiqua ac primaria in praedicta civitate ; et parentes ejus, Jacobus ac Apollonia, inter procures fuerunt urbis illius, quae ad Agrum Galviensem et Provinciam Tuamensem pertinebat. Eo tempore infelici Catholicis domi educari non licuit, ideo primo Ulyssipone, postea vero Parisiis eruditus est ; studiisque emensis, et Doctor in Sacra Theologia et Legum Doctor est renunciatus. Insuper Protonotarius Apostolicus, et post reditum in patriam Guardianus

Galviae cum jurisdictione quasi-episcopali, ac Decanus Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Tuamensis factus est. Quae omnia constant ex litteris suis datis apud Galviam die 9^{ma} mensis Maii, 1642.¹

Anno 1646 a Nuncio Rinuccini eo tempore in Hibernia commorante valde commendatus ob zelum ac scientiam translatus est ad Episcopatum Clonfertensem, nec immerito; praedictus enim Nuntius in litteris suis Lyncaeum descripsit tanquam 'praedicatorem bonum, virumque magnae auctoritatis, qui pro causa Catholica ardenti zelo accensus est, ac valde desideratus tanquam Episcopus tum a Regularibus tum a laicis multis.'

Semper fuit Lyncaeus Nuntio fidelissimus ac ardenti erga religionem ac patriam amore est succensus; ita ut in annis subsequentibus periculorum plenis, nemo majore auctoritate gavisus sit in conciliis Episcoporum Hiberniae. Litteris eorum publicis scribendis secretarius est renunciatus; neque dubitari potest quin in eisdem componendis maximam partem habuerit.²

Capta Galvia anno 1652, Lyncaeus cum aliis paucis prelatiis Hibernis ad insulam remotam super oram Hiberniae occidentalis, cui nomen Inisboffin confugere compulsus est; attamen animum semper invictum exhibuit. Nam ex illa insula sterili ac remota ipse cum Sociis ad Summam Pontificem scripserunt, luctuosum rerum suarum statum exhibentes, simulque enixe rogantes ut Papa ipsis auxilium aliquod efficax per principes Catholicos adferret. Quomodo ibi vitam agerent illi heroici Confessores, patet ex verbis quibus alius Episcopus eodem tempore suum modum vivendi descripsit:—

Operarii—Episcopi ac Sacerdotes—in illa insula non poterunt diu famem, sitim, aerumnas, acrem persecutionem, vigiliis et infirmitates perferre, habitantes ut plurimum in sylvis et dormientes in pauperrimis casis, caveis, ac speluncis terrae, ubi spatio viginti quatuor horarum vix inveniunt buccellam panis cum modico lacte vel butyro, frigidam saepe pro potu haurientes, et aliquando defectu panis mordent herbam. De hac veritate testimonium perhibeo qui quinque mensium spatio ita in sylvis vixi, ut possem pusillo gregi esse solatio.³

Exinde evasit Lyncaeus—quomodo autem non constat—ad Bruxellas ubi anno 1655, uti apparet, cum duobus aliis Episcopis

¹ Vide Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 114.

² Vide Cardinal Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii.

³ Dr. French, Bishop of Ferns, 1653. Vide *Spicilegium Ossoriense*.

Hiberniae delegatus fuit a Papa ad absolvendos populares suos ab excommunicatione quam forsán incurissent, ob spretas Nuntii censuras antea in Hibernia latas.¹

Bruxellis, uti videtur, eodem anno ad Hungariam migravit, ubi hospites et amicos invenire expulso ac pauperi Episcopo, Deo dirigente, feliciter contigit.

De illo mirifico sudore sanguineo, quem imago B. Mariae Virginis ab Episcopo allata passa sit, hoc unum dicere volo.

Ex litteris Amplitudinis Tuae constat predictum sudorem emissum fuisse die 17^{ma} mensis Martii anno 1697. Porro hoc ipso anno Dublinii in Parlamento Hiberno lata est lex poenalis contra clerum Catholicum omnium adhuc latarum *longe atrocissima*. Non solum enim decretum fuit ut omnes ex Hibernia intra annum excederent sed si quovis praetextu ad patriam reverti auderent, *laesae majestatis* poenam subire oporteret; id est capitis poenâ seu suspendio plectendi erant. Haec sunt verba legis prout ab episcopo De Burgo, Hiberno Dominicano, in sua Historia latine reddita sunt:—

Anno 1697 omnes Papales Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Vicari Generales, Jesuitae, Monachi, etc., etc., quorumcunque Ordinum Regulares, et omnes Papistae exercentes ecclesiasticam quampiam jurisdictionem, discedere tenentur ex hoc regno ante diem primam Maii 1698. Si autem post praelibatum diem inveniantur in hoc regno, transvehentur extra Regis ditiones. Quod si in regnum hoc revertantur, eo ipso rei censebuntur *laesae Majestatis* [cujus poena fuit suspendium.]

Haec una tantum fuit sed omnium ferocissima legum quae in hoc Parlamento contra Religionem Catholicum sunt latae. Haud mirum igitur est si depicta illa Virgo ex Hibernia proveniens, et Hibernorum suorum miseriis condolens *eo anno*, ac die festo Apostoli Hiberniae, illum sudorem sanguineum passa fuerit.

Quo *die* lex illa infamis regum placitum obtinuerit reperire adhuc non potui: forsán eo ipso tempore vim legis obtinuit quo imago B. Mariae Virginis modo illo mirabili calamitatibus Hibernorum condoluit. Si quid autem postea de his rebus mihi innotuerit Amplitudinem Tuam certiore facere haud omittam.

Interea Te diu sospitem servet Deus ex imo corde exoro: et

¹ Vide *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii., p. 150.

² Vide *Hibernia Dominicana*, caput xvii.

plura de illa Imagine coelesti audire cum plebe mea magnopere gaudebo.

Amplitudinis Tuae,

Servus addictissimus,

✠ JOANNES HEALY,
Epus. Clonfertensis.

Datum apud Montem S. Bernardi,
die ac mense uti supra.

**SECOND LETTER OF DR. ZALKA TO THE BISHOP OF
CLONFERT**

ILLUSTRISIME AC REVERENDISIME DOMINE EPISCOPE !

DOMINE ET FRATER IN CHRISTO COLENDISIME !

Litteras Amplitudinis Tuae nuperrime ad me destinatas, tamquam disertos Tuae in Beatissimam Virginem Mariam pietatis testes, luculentum item in nos propensionis et benevolentiae indicium, laeto gratoque animo suscepi. De solemnitate bis-saeculari Sacrae Iconis plura Tibi significare ad id temporis remisi, ubi illa absoluta fuerit. Nunc accipe litteras typis exscriptas, quibus rei gerendae status fidelis Cleri mei memoriae commendatur, accipe item ektypon Sacrae Imaginis sudore sanguineo illustris.

Et Te nostri memorem Deus tueatur omnipotens ! Jaurini in Hungaria (Raab. Györ), die 12^a Januarii, 1897.

Amplitudinis Tuae,

Sincerus Cultor in Christo Frater,

✠ JOANNES ZALKA,
Episcopus Jaurinensis.

**DOCUMENT TRANSMITTED BY THE BISHOP OF JAURIN TO
THE BISHOP OF CLONFERT**

Laudetur Jesus Christus, et Beatissima Ejus Mater, Virgo Maria !

In capite novi, quem inchoavimus, anni haec vota ingeminant labia nostra ; horum sanctorum nominum intima veneratio et vis erigat corda, dirigat cogitationes et opera.

Pervenientes ad limen, quo praeterlapsus annus ab inchoato secernitur, mente volvimus seriem rerum, quas vidimus, rerum item, quas videre desideramus.

Inter varias gaudii manifestationes anni jubilaei gentis nostrae specialis prae caeteris laetitiae nostrae causa fuit recordatio

apostolicorum laborum s. Stephani Regis, quem Dei miserantis benignitas majoribus nostris, ceu angelum magni consilii, miserat. Animo aequae exultante suscepimus agnitum fuisse, ceu fundamentum culturae, doctrinam auctoris et consummatoris fidei nostrae; laudibus denique fuisse celebratam intercessionem Beatae Mariae Virginis e mente s. Stephani patronae patriae nostrae. Suscitaturi in nobis fidem hanc, fecimus publicam ejus professionem, confitentes nos credere, et adjuvante gratia Dei etiam in futurum credituros esse, quod Deus revelavit, quod Christus docuit, quod Apostoli praedicarunt, quod sancta Ecclesia Romana ad credendum proponit, imploratorios auxilium et spem collocantes in potentissima intercessione Beatissimae Virginis Mariae. Certum namque habemus, florente cultu Beatissimae Virginis, integram et incolumem persistere fidem catholicam, et cum hac patriae prosperitatem.

Haec intima persuasio movit me, id agere, ut cultum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae, labente millenii anno in nobis, nostrisque fidelibus promovere, et in majores usque flammam accendere studeamus.¹ Dilectissimi! assecuti estis meam intentionem, dum in diversis Diocesis nostrae regionibus ordinastis peregrinationes ad gratiosa loca, sicut Vobis innui, ut ibi intercessionem Magnae Dominae nostrae pro patria et Rege, proque omnibus nobis jugi devotione impleretis. Populus alacri sane animo suscepit adorationes vestras; amor religionis amor patriae junctus in laetas flammam erupit; milleni et milleni convolarunt sub vexilla vestra; viae resonabant sacris canticis, in laudem Magnae Dominae nostrae. Processiones magnitudine rarae et adparatu festivae exquisito studio fuere ordinatae. Communitates singulae cum suis vexillis et proprio paroco in serie se excipiebant; in ingressu ad visitandum gratiosum locum accensis fere omnes caereis, puellae praeterea festive indutae et sertis ornatae, per ducentena et ultra paria incedentes, insolitum praebuerunt spectaculum. Sacram hanc peregrinationem agentes, tum in pacris, per quos transiverunt, tum in locis gratiosis in charitate fuere suscepti. Animi autem peregrinantium fidelium in fide catholica ita fuere uniti, ut finita solemni hac devotione inter lacrymas discesserint ad sua, dulcissima memoria retinentes et enarrantes magnalia Dei.²

¹ Circ. a. 1896. p. 13.

² Seriem processionum aperit Districtus Csepreggh. Fideles cum suis Sacerdotibus longa serie iverunt ad Osli. Mox Districtus Kapuvarensis instituit

Talia solatia spiritualia concessit Deus mihi, venerabili Clero fidelique populo nostro. Utinam sereno vultu suscipiat devotionem hanc beatissima Virgo et intercedat pro patria Regeque nostro.

Haec quoad praeterita.—Sed convertamus oculos mentis nostrae ad ea, quae in manifestatione cultus Mariani proxime videre et desideramus et speramus. Notum Vobis sit currente anno 1897. die 17-a Martii recurrere secundo secularem memoriam prodigiosi illius eventus, qui miro modo perculit animos Jaurinensium! Imago nempe B. Mariae Virginis, hodie in ara principali navis septemtrionalis Ecclesiae nostrae Cathedralis venerationi publicae exposita, anno 1697. die 17-a Martii sudore sanguine mixto maduit. Deleto ope linteoli sudori novus successit a hora sexta matutina usque horam nonam, inspectante accurrentis, scrupulose et sagaci curiositate investigantis et admirantis fere ex tota urbe populi multitudine.¹ Adfuerunt ex omni statu et aetate, nec protestantibus exceptis. Atque haec est imago illa benedicta, Vobis Dilectissimi adprime nota Singuli namque Vestrum, juxta receptum in Seminario usum, dum Deo Trino vitam totam et mortem omnemque vestram con-

peregrinationem ad Kis-Czell. Districtus Kis-Martón. Rust et Nagy-Martón alii ad Loretto. alii ad Kis-Martón. Districtus Széplak ad Boldogasszony; Districtus Sopron et Németh-Keresztur ad Kópháza; Districtus Jaurinensis ad Kis-Czell. Uniti Districtus Péter. Téth et Kőny numero ingenti ad Téthi-Szent-Kut, ubi in memoriam Millennii etiam statua B. Mariae Virginis fuit e piis fidelium oblatis erecta. Districtus Comitatus Moson ad Kálnok et Boldogasszony. Fideles labii croatici passim ad Loretto. E Districtibus Comitatus Komárom alii ad Bodajk, alii ad Szent-Kereszt in Péli-föld.

¹ Pluribus exponit haec Christophorus Schogg, qui in vicinis decenniis vixit, et e Capellano germanico Capitulari anno 1754. jam Canonicus Jaurinensis erat. Hic 'quae a coaevis et prodigio praesentibus, quibus familiariter convixit, accepit, fide optima litteris prodidit.' Porro: 'Dici nequit, quanta inter sacrum horrorem, pietatis ardorem et propius videndi cupiditatem colluctatio sit exorta . . . ' Ut autem miraculo fides esset, omnisque latentis fortasse fallaciae ac doli suspicio detraheretur, Auctoritate Ecclesiastica refixa primum a pariete icon, tum quibuscunque ornamentis, omnisque, quod includebat, ligno privata, marginibus etiam ligneis, ut nihil deesset, exuta, inspecta denique et excussa diligentissime fuit. Cum autem et ipsa omnis humoris naturalis expers et paries siccissimus deprehensus esset, ac propterea jam libera quoque super mensula solis sacerdotum manibus sustentata prodigiöse cruorem sudare non desineret, manifesto miraculum constituit.' Haec in suis de sacra hac imagine notis in Archivio Sacristiae Capitularis custoditis.

Linteolum thecae argenteae sub vitro inclusum populo ad osculandum datur. Testificationem sequentem habet:

Das ist das Wahrhafte Abwisch-Tüchel von dem allhiesigen gnaden Bildt, Welches Blut geschwitzet hat in Hiesziger Thom's-Kirchen, den 17-ten Monats Tag Martii des 1697-sten Jahrs, Welches Hiernit Gott zu Ehren Unser Lieben Frauen und allen Heilligen Aufli offern Wollen! Raab, den 20-ten May Ao. 1701.

securatūri eratis sortem, nempe ante susceptionem s. Ordinis Subdiaconatus, coram hac imagine inter pia suspiria commendavistis Vos tantae Matris patrocinio; transeuntes penes Ecclesiam Cathedralē introivistis visitaturi et salutaturi Reginiam, Matrem misericordiae; in tentatione et tribulatione, ceu in civitate refugii, quaesivistis protectionem, consolationem, robur, consilium; saepe etiam invenistis.

Nunc itaque, ubi glorificationis istius memoria bis saecularis recolitur, rem mihi Vobisque utilem et jucundam facere me credo colligendo et exponendo historica fragmenta, quae istius venerationis initia et incrementa exhibent.

Imago in tela picta, in altitudine unum et dimidium pedem metiens, exhibet sanctam Dei Matrem, penes dormientem, Jesulum vigilantem, et compositis manibus quasi deprecantem.

Jaurinum adtulit illam, profanationi Puritanorum subducturus, Walterus Lynch, Episcopus Clonfertensis in Hibernia, tempore persecutionis Cromwellianae exul, quem Episcopus Jaurinensis Joannes Püsky in charitate suscepit et a. 1655, canonicatu consolatus est.¹ Fuit ille Archidiaconus subin Papaensis. Egit una

¹ Erinnerungen an die ungarische Kirche erweckt der Name des Bischofs Walter Lynch von Clonfert. In Galway geboren, empfing er die erste theologische Ausbildung im irischen Colleg zu Lissabon, stand dann mehrere Jahre trotz der Verfolgung einer höheren Schule in Limerick vor und bezog die Universität von Paris, wo er den Doctorgrad in der Theologie erwarb. Zum Propet in Galway ernannt, erregte er in Folge seiner Kanzelreden die allgemeine Aufmerksamkeit. 'Er ist gelehrt,' so schildert ihn Rinuccini 'ein trefflicher Kanzelredner, thätig und von Einfluss, ein begeisterter Verfechter der katholischen Sache und von vielen Ordensleuten und Laien als Bischof empfohlen und gewünscht.' Die Liebe zur Wissenschaft liess ihn eine bedeutende Bücherei sammeln, welche die Puritaner leider durch Feuer zerstörten. Am 11. März 1647 zum Bischof von Clonfert ernannt, konnte Lynch nur fünf Jahre seiner Herde ein geistlicher Vater sein. In einem Briefe von 31 August 1652, schildert er Innocenz X. seine Leiden. Nach der Einnahme von Galway war er auf die Insel Inisbofin geflohen, wo er sich damals noch aufhielt. Hier wäre er dem Hungertode verfallen, wäre nicht ein Schiff der königlichen Flotte mit Getreide gelandet, welchem dann zwei Fregatten des Herzogs von Lothringen mit Munition gefolgt seien. An dem Sieg der nationalen Sache wagt er nicht zu verzweifeln, da die Iren, wenngleich von Haus und Hof vertrieben, jetzt nach Art der Makkabäer kämpfen und die Pseudo-Verbündeten offen zum Feinde hielten. Von Inisbofin floh der Bischof zunächst nach Brüssel, endlich treffen wir ihn beim Bischof Johannes Pusky zu Raab in Ungarn, der ihn 1655, zum Weihbischof und Mitglied des Domkapitels ernannte. Als der Bischof nach der Restauration schon Vorkehrungen zur Reise in die Heimath getroffen, erlitt ihn 1664 (recte 1663), zu Raab der Tod. Zum bleibenden Andenken an den hohen irischen Flüchtling bewahrt der Dom zu Raab ein von Lynch aus Irland gerettetes wunderthätiges Muttergottesbild, zu dessen würdiger Aufnahme der Bischof Franz Graf Zichy einen prachtvollen Altar errichten liess. (Alphons

auxiliarem Episcopi. In antiquis Visitationibus saepe notatum invenitur, esse parochum loci ordinatum 'per Episcopum Hibernum.' Adest porro in thesauro Sanctae Imaginis crux pectoralis Georgii quondam Suppanich Canonici Cantoris et Abbatis Ss. Trinitatis de Siklos, quam Walterus Episcopus benedixit et testimonia propria manu exarato providit.¹ Pius hic exul mortuus est. a. 1663, die 14-a Julii. Dum vixit, vita ejus speculum sacerdotale exhibuisse narratur.

Sed ut jam ad imaginem gratiosam redeamus, post mortem Episcopi Walteri imago facta est proprietas Ecclesiae nostrae Cathedralis, et adpensa est ad parietem circa locum, ubi est ara beatæ Annae. Mox post miraculosum eventum expensis gubernatoris militaris fortalitii Jaurinensis, Comititis Sigeberti Heister et uxoris Aloysiae Comitissæ Katzianer ad venerationem Beatisimæ Virginis, ejusque intimum cultum accensorem, erecta fuit ara, et sacra Virgo ad eam collocata atque visitata, qua Consolatrix afflictorum et in tribulatione positorum. Speciale hujus

Bellesheim, Kanonicus zu Aachen, Geschichte der kath. Kirche in Irland. Mainz 1890 II. Band., p. 512.)

Nuperrime, datis ad illustrissimum ac Revsimum Dominum Episcopum Clonfertensem litteris, quæsi de vicissitudinibus vitæ Gualteri Lynchaei Episcopi olim Clonfertensis. Sua Illustritas humanissime et promptissime respondit, ennarans, fuisse virum illum Galviae ex prænobili familia ortum, litteris Ulysipone et Parisiis excultum, Theologiae ac Juris suprema laurea ornatum, imo successu temporis etiam honoribus Protonotarii Apostolici distinctum, Metropolitani Capituli Tuamensis Decanum, denique Episcopum Clonfertensem. Historia ejus ulterior ea est, quam in hac nota auctor germanicus enarrat. Ad quaestionem, quid evenit in Hibernia anno 1697. Responsum accepi, tunc fuisse latam atrocissimam illam legem contra Catholicos, vigore cujus omnibus Catholicis jurisdictionem quampiam Ecclesiasticam habentibus dies dicta, qua emigrare debent. 'Anno 1697. omnes Papales Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Vicarii Generales, Jesuitae, Monachi, quorumcumque Ordinum Regulares et omnes Papistae, exercentes Ecclesiasticam quampiam jurisdictionem, discedere tenentur ex hoc regno ante diem primam Maji 1698. Si autem post prælibatam diem inveniantur in hoc regno, transvehentur extra Regis ditiones. Quodsi in hoc regnum revertantur, eo ipsi rei censebuntur læsæ Majestatis' [cujus poena fuit suspensum. Haec ex epistola Illustrissimi D. Episcopi Clonfertensis Joannis Healy].

¹ Ego Waltherus Lincheus Episcopus Clonfertensis in Regno Hyberniae Fidem facio per præsentes, me ritu solito consecrasse et Benedixisse crucem pectoralem Ad usum Rudi Admodum Dni Georgii Suppanich, Abbatis Ss. Trinitatis de Siklyos, Archidiaconi Mo-oniensis Canonici Cathedralis Ecclesiae Jaurinensis. Die 8. Mensis Decembris. Anno Dni 1662. Simbolum eiusdem Dni Georgii Suppanich: Deus meus misericordia mea. Psal. 85. Waltherus Lyncheus, Eppus qui supra.

In tergo: Sancti et Sanctae Dei, intercedant pro nobis. Amen. Dulcis Jesus ✠ Maria Benigna! Dulcis Jesus miserere mei. Benigna Maria ora pro me. S. Afra, S. Anna, S. Joseph, Orate pro me. Quorum reliquiae hic continentur illi, et omnes.

exemplum occurrit in de votione celeberrimi Stephani Telekessy Canonici Jaurinensis, anno 1699, denominati Episcopi Agriensis, qui exulcerato cordi suo coram hac imagine levamen quae-sivit.¹ Eadem aetate (1688-1721) vixit Canonicus Mathias Bubnich, qui in Chori musici parte aram Divae Virginis respiciente concinnum organum sumptu suo extruxit, porro sacrae hujus imaginis ectypum in pariete orientali canonicalis domus, quae est infra aedes Seminarii, nunc ad ingressum in novam topographiam, adponi jussit, donata vinea in Nyul, ea addita conditione, ut e proventibus fundatio fiat pro Sacris, item, ut lampas coram hac imagine diebus sabbathi et ante festa B. Mariae Virginis in perpetuum oleo alatur, quod nostro quoque tempore frequentatur. Idem, de quo superius mentio erat, Comes Sigebertus Heister et Comitissa Aloysia Katzianer obtulerunt foundationem pro litiis Sabbatinis et festivis B. Mariae Virginis, quae nostro quoque tempore, juxta mentem fundatorum, jugiter persolvuntur. Andreas Sgodich e parcho Peresznyeensi, dein Hidegsgéngensi Canonicus (1713-1743), item Mathias Barilich e parcho Fülesensi itidem Canonicus (1731-1749), foundationem

¹ Serenissime ac Reverendissime Princeps! Servitorum usque ad mortem commendationem humillimam. Dux serenissime quanto cordis dolore mihi acciderit, sapientissimo iudicio et affectionatissimae gratiae vestrae Serenitatis tamquam mihi gratiosissimi Principis relinquo; quod in tanta senectute, post meos in hac Dioecesi vestrae Serenitatis, 38 et amplius annis Labores, et in hocce Capitulo Jauriensi, inter meos fratres, et Capellanos V. Serenitatis, ab annis 28 fere in omnibus Laboriosis Officiis desudantem, hesternae die A. R. Dominus Altenburgensis Plebanus, non exspectatis paucissimis diebus, usque dum mea Installatio Agriae perficeretur, ut honestius discedere valerem, cum gratiosis V. Serenitatis Donacionalibus coram Capitulo comparendo, ut me V. Serenitatis licet indignum, tamen fidelissimum, qui etiam sanguinem pro Vestra Serenitate profundere semper paratus fueram, Capellanum humillimum, per suam Installationem, e stallo exturbaret, et quod summo dolore mihi accidit, iussu (ut ille referebat) vestrae Serenitatis, cum stupore Dominorum Fratrum, et ingenti compassione, potentissime institit. Fateor Dux Serenissime, quod tam iusto dolore, in tantum commotus fuerim, ut nisi gratia, favor, et affectus pristinus Vestrae Serenitatis me animasset, fortasse exanimatus fuisset, unde cum ne verbum coram Fratribus proferre potuissem, excessi mutus e Consistorio, et ad Aram Piae Mariae Virginis, *ante duos annos Lacrymas profundentis*, in tantis meis angustiis confugi, et ibidem pro Vestra Serenitate Matrem misericordiarum exoravi, ut non cum tanto dedecore, et aliorum scandalo, meaque in aeternum confusione, sic ante tempus Jaurino, ubi meis Laboribus vires, et aetatem, cum omnium compassione consumpsi, discedere debeam! Servet Deus V. Serenitatem in annos quam plurimos felicissime ex sincero corde desidero maucoque Vestrae Serenitatis tamquam mei gratiosissimi Principis usque ad mortem humillimus Capellanus Stephanus Telekesi m. p. (Autographon inter acta sub Christiano Augusto. Tom. i., p. 459. Indorsatum: Praesentat. die 11 Julii, 1699.)

fecerunt pro lumine coram sacra hac imagine alendo. Votiva autem dona aurea et argentea plurima adtulerunt fideles in signum intimae venerationis et gratiarum actionis.

Zelosus denique Beatissimae Virginis cultor Comes Franciscus Zichy de Vásonkeő Episcopus Jaurinensis (1743-1783) in locum arae ab Heister erectae, hanc, quam nunc videmus, aram marmoream magno sumptu erexit, et in ea imaginem miraculosam argentea lista munifice ornatam collocavit, addita foundatione pro Sacris hora media octava quotidie celebrandis. Pius hic magnanimus et decorem domus Dei exuberante largitate diligens antistes locum sepulturae coram hac sacra imagine elegit. Ibi praestolatur beatam resurrectionem, quam Illi omnes precamur.

Tempore bellorum cum Gallis gestorum pro defensione patriae e votivis donariis S. Iconis magna vis auri et argenti ablata est; ast nova illis successerunt in thesaurario, quae in festis B. M. Virginis exponi solent, ut sint testes pietatis. S. Iconem ultimis temporibus duo e venerabili Capitulo, Josephus Trichtl lateralibus candelabris, Franciscus Ebenhöch vero nova lampade argentea ornarunt. Pius vero PP. IX. anno 1874, indulgentias plenarias concessit pro diebus 17^a et 25^a Martii, quibus memoria prodigiosi eventus quotannis recolitur.

Haec sunt Dilectissimi, quae adpropinquante jubilari solemnitate Beatissimae Matris Vobis jam nunc in memoriam revocare volui, publicatione ordinis solemnitatis ad tardiora tempora relicta. Agite jam, ut renovetis illa pia suspiria, quibus sacro Ecclesiae ministerio Vos dedictaturi, sub praesidium B. Mariae Virginis confugistis, Vos obtulistis, illius maternum auxilium invocastis; resuscitetis gratiam sacrae ordinationis, ut per vestrum servitium, doctrinam omnemque sacerdotalem exemplarem vitam laudetur Jesus Christus, ejusque beatissima Mater, Virgo Maria!

Jaurini, in octava festi s. Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistae, die 3^a Januarii a. D. 1897, sacerdotii quinquagesimo primo, Episcopatus trigesimo.

✠ JOANNES m. p., *Episcopus*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

IGNATII DE LOYOLA MEDITATIONES. Franciscus de Hummelauer, S.J.

THIS is a most valuable work on the 'Spiritual Exercises.' It is evidently the fruit of deep study, knowledge, and love of that wonderful book. It will prove interesting and useful in the highest degree to all employed in giving retreats according to the method of St. Ignatius. They will find in it answers to difficulties and questions which suggest themselves to everyone so employed. It is a work which combines in a rare degree thought and solid spirituality.

It does not aim at being a full commentary on the text, though it throws great light on the whole work. It deals expressly only with the Meditations and Contemplations. This is its special feature—that it explains and develops all these, including not only those which are more or less largely treated in the book of the Exercises, but also the mysteries of our Lord's life, the heads only of which are given by St. Ignatius. It explains the connection and bearing of all the meditations and exercises on the great aim of the whole work—how a man is to make a right choice of a state of life, and to perfect himself therein, or to reform and perfect himself in the state in which he is already constituted.

It would make an excellent book of daily meditations. No more helpful work for conductors of Jesuit retreats has appeared. It is full of matter. Independently of its being so skilful a commentary on the meditations and contemplations of the Exercises, and their connection and interdependence, it is replete with Scriptural knowledge, together with beautiful and solid spirituality, and all clear and scholarly. It is sure to meet with the high appreciation it deserves from all interested in the marvellous little book it is concerned with. Though the explanation and development of all the meditations and contemplations is the essential characteristic, there is an introduction which is, in fact, a masterly study of the whole of the Exercises, and a very instructive appendix on the preludes and colloquies.

Having said so much in deserved praise, there is one of the

Contemplations in which we think the learned author is at fault. Father Hummelauer seems to hold that our Lord, in the Sermon on the Mount, taught by the Beatitudes that spiritual indifference to all created things, which St. Ignatius insists so much on, though it is not the highest state of perfection in God's service and love here on earth. This latter is set forth in the third kind and degree of humility. Now, surely our Lord meant to lay down here the most perfect rule of happiness, the most perfect way of attaining the end for which we have been created, the most perfect way of being united with God; and that most perfect way is that imitation of Christ from love of Him, which constitutes the third degree of humility. St. Thomas says the Beatitudes are the most perfect fruits of the Holy Ghost, the perfect workings of the gifts and of the virtues perfected by the gifts; therefore there can be nothing more perfect than the life they signify and teach. But this is a minor matter as far as the Exercises are concerned, and still useful to remark.

In conclusion, we are convinced that Father Hummelauer's book will be highly esteemed by all who will read it with the care and attention it deserves, and that it will grow more and more in favour the more it is used and understood.

W. SUTTON, S.J.

THE IRISH CATHOLIC DIRECTORY AND ALMANAC for 1897.

With Complete Directory in English. Dublin: James Duffy & Co.

THE CATHOLIC DIRECTORY, ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER AND ALMANAC for the Year of our Lord, 1897. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.

THESE Directories are so well known that it would be superfluous to describe their contents, and so indispensable that no word of commendation is necessary to ensure their rapid sale. The Register of ecclesiastical events of the preceding year, which is a special feature of the Irish Catholic Directory, is, as usual, interesting, and judiciously selected. We notice that the summary is shorter this year than in former years, but yet it seems to us to be more valuable, as the editor has wisely excluded events and records which have not a permanent historical value. For handy reference both now and hereafter this yearly Register will prove invaluable.

Both Directories have an Ecclesiastical Calendar intended

chiefly for the laity and for nuns; but while Burns and Oates give merely what is required for these two classes, Duffy gives a full translation of the Latin *Ordo*. The result is that the Calendar for the laity occupies eighty-eight pages in the latter, while it fills barely fifteen in the former. Duffy's arrangement is convenient for the few priests who do not wish to purchase the *Ordo*; but we think it inconvenient for the laity and the nuns, who require to know merely the Mass of the day. We would suggest that, instead of printing a full translation of the *Ordo* in the Directory, the Messrs. Duffy should bind up the *Ordo* itself with those copies which they are sending to priests, and that in the copies intended for others than priests, they should print an English summary of the Calendar similar to that given in the edition before us of their Directory by Messrs. Burns & Oates.

Each Directory gives a statistical summary, from which we learn that there are in Ireland 29 archbishops and bishops; 3,438 priests, secular and regular; and 2,434 parochial and district churches; in England, 18 archbishops and bishops; 2,686 priests, and 1,463 churches, chapels, stations, &c.; and in Scotland, 7 archbishops and bishops, 404 priests, and 349 places for Catholic public worship.

SPIRITUAL EXERCISES FOR AN EIGHT DAYS' RETREAT.

By B. Hammer, O.S.F. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder.

THIS book forms a valuable addition to our treatises on practical devotion, and will be found useful by the lay as well as the clerical members of our Communion. It is a work that will be found to be of special service to priests who are engaged in conducting retreats, or to those who are making their own private retreats without the assistance of a lecturer. The volume contains a morning meditation, spiritual reading, afternoon conference, and evening meditation for each day. The matter of the work is assiduously collected from the most approved authorities on the spiritual life; and the meditations, while supplying excellent food for reflection, are so constructed as to give reflection that practical direction which aims at touching the heart and influencing morals and conduct. The book contains in an Appendix the Method of Assisting at Mass by St. Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Ignatius' Methods of Prayer, and St. Bonaventure's Maxims of Piety.

C. M.

MISSA IN HONOREM ST. WILFRIDI. By R. W. Oberhoffer.
London: Alphonse Cary. Score, 2s.

WE are glad to be able to recommend this publication of Mr. Cary's. The composer apparently is an earnest musician, and one who knows what is suitable for the Church. While, therefore, writing in a quite modern style and an effective manner, he avoids carefully anything that, either in harmony, or melody, or rhythm, would be out of keeping with the dignity of God's services or the purity of religious feeling. The Mass will be welcome to choirs that are anxious to be within the boundary lines of correct Church music, but are not able to appreciate music of a Palestrina or the stricter writers of the German Cecilian School.

NEW FACES AND OLD. By Francis J. Finn, S.J. A Collection of Six Short Stories of Boy-life. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.

THE knowledge of boy-character displayed is great; the stories are short, and calculated to interest highly our juvenile readers, while they imperceptibly instil fine moral principles. The little volume is eminently suitable for a birthday or New Year present to younger boys, and for the junior boys' library.

BOOKS RECEIVED

I. From the Catholic Truth Society:—

(1) *Ought We to Honour Mary? Or, the Bible v. the Reformers.* By Rev. James Splaine, S.J. (2) *The Bull on Anglican Orders.* By Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J. (3) *England and the Holy Eucharist.* By Very Rev. Canon Connelly. (4) *Our Father: Meditations for a Month on the Lord's Prayer.* By Rev. Richard F. Clarke, S.J. (5) *Modern Science and Ancient Faith.* By Rev. John Gerard, S.J. (6) *Blessed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland.* By Rev. G. E. Philips. (7) *Wayside Tales.* By Lady Herbert. First Series, Nos. 1-10. (8) *Companion to the Encyclical 'Satis Cognitum': with a Reply to the Bishop of Stepney.* By Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J.

II. From the Art and Book Company:—

(1) *The Daily Life of a Religious.* By Mother Frances Raphael, O.S.D. (2) *The Church Door Almanack.* (3) *Priests' Census Book.* (4) *Handbook for the Sunday School Teacher.* By Father Furniss, C.S.S.R. (5) *Register of Intentions for Mass.* (6) *The Catholic Prayer Book Almanack.* (7) *Catholic Diary, 1897.*



OUR LADY OF GYÖR, AND BISHOP WALTER LYNCH

THE subject of the following paper came casually under my notice when travelling last summer in Hungary. While on a visit in the neighbourhood of Györ, I met the Secretary of the Bishop of that diocese, who informed me that the Cathedral possessed a painting brought from Ireland by Bishop Walter Lynch, of Clonfert, and held the mortal remains of that exiled prelate. The following day the Secretary, Rev. Dr. Gisswein, kindly conducted me over the Cathedral, showed me the miraculous picture of the Virgin and Child, an engraving of which, from a photograph, accompanies this number of the I. E. RECORD, and exhibited a relic connected with it, to which reference will afterwards occur. I am likewise indebted to him for the documents upon which the history of the prodigy is based.

A short account of Bishop Lynch's early life and subsequent career will not, I dare say, be out of place as an introduction. It is taken chiefly from¹ Lynch's *Lives of the Bishops of Clonfert*, and from documents subjoined to the² *Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction*. The sketch, necessarily brief, is personal, reference only being made to the part taken by Lynch in the events of the troubled and difficult times in which he lived.

¹ Joan Lyncae, *Historia Ecclesiastica Hiberniae*, vol. ii. Todd Manuscripts, Trinity College Library, Dublin.

² Sir J. T. Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from A.D. 1641 to 1652*.

Walter Lynch, the son of James and Apollonia, was born in Galway, probably about the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Lynches, one of the tribes, were most ancient, and among the leading families in Galway until the middle of the seventeenth century. During the greater part of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries they possessed the principal authority within the town. Thomas Lynch Fitz-Ambrose was the last Catholic mayor, in 1654, when Cromwell dispossessed the ancient inhabitants; and during a period of one hundred and sixty-nine years, the family gave to Galway eighty-four mayors, and several bishops and distinguished ecclesiastics to the Church.¹ He received the rudiments of knowledge at home, for there was then a famous school, in Galway, kept by Alexander Lynch, and frequented by twelve hundred students. In 1608, Primate Ussher made a visitation of this great seminary of the West, in order to shut its doors, and thus deprive the Catholics of instruction. According to tradition, Dr. John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam (*Gratianus Lucius*), was son of the above named, and his successor as head master of the school.³ To the Irish College in Lisbon, Walter was afterwards sent to complete his education. Having made there a course of humanities and philosophy he got, presumably, like other students on leaving, 'five pounds to pay his passage to Ireland, a gallon of wine, and some flour for biscuit.' On returning to Ireland he founded a school in his native county, at Gort, then the property of his paternal aunt, Elizabeth. She was the first wife of Sir Robert O'Shaughnessy, who obtained a patent, dated 1607, to hold a fair at Gort, and was made a freeman of Galway, in 1611.² From this place he went to Limerick, where he likewise opened an academy. It does not appear how long he stopped there, nor have I found a record of his career as schoolmaster, but he is next heard of in Paris, as a theological student. As the result of

¹ Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 17.

² O'Flaherty, *West Connaught*, J.A.S., p. 420.

³ Blake-Foster, *The Irish Chieftains* Gill, 1872, p. 714.

serious study his course of divinity at the University was successfully completed, and he took, with applause, the degree of Doctor in Theology. Judging from circumstances, Tyrell, Egan, Nugent, and Lonergan, distinguished doctors of the Sorbonne, were, most likely, among his contemporaries.³

Dr. Lynch now turns his steps homewards, and was, no doubt, ordained priest before leaving Paris, for mention is next made of him as Warden of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, Galway, which responsible position his merits and attainments won for him at an early age. This church was founded in 1320, and as the early colonists of Galway were a commercial and seafaring community they dedicated it to the patron of mariners, St. Nicholas of Myra. Galway was in the ancient diocese of Annadown, the cathedral of which was romantically situated on the eastern shore of Lough Corrib, several miles to the north of the 'Citie of the Tribes.' The diocese being small, and the churches much decayed, the metropolitans made many attempts to annex it to the see of Tuam. Besides, the inhabitants of Galway, being mostly English, and their country neighbours and co-diocesans almost purely Irish, were in frequent feuds, which often led to bloodshed and murder. These citizens complained, that in the disputes the Irish clergy, who exercised jurisdiction within the town, sided with their own countrymen. Donatus O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, before whom the Galwaymen's grievances were laid, resolved to remedy them by granting to the complainants a sort of ecclesiastical home rule called the Wardenship.

Accordingly, he constituted St. Nicholas's, which was the principal church of Galway, a collegiate, with a guardian or warden, and eight priests or vicars. He provided for their maintenance, and marked out the jurisdiction of the Chapter, the members of which were to be duly elected by the Mayor and Burgesses of the city. The Chapter exercised the care of souls, and the Warden possessed ample

³ Guerin, *Recherches Historiques sur l'Assemblée de 1682*, second edition, p. 537.

quasi-episcopal jurisdiction.¹ Innocent VIII. confirmed the Archiepiscopal Charter establishing the Wardenship.

In this exalted office, the youthful Dr. Lynch not only discharged faithfully the many duties of the pastorate amidst the troubles of the time, but found leisure to cultivate the science of Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence. For a period he withdrew from the Wardenship, in order to devote himself entirely to this new study, and once more crossed the seas in pursuit of knowledge. In France, he perfected his studies in Canon and Civil Law, and in both obtained the doctorate. He also was engaged as lecturer in the faculty of theology. During this sojourn, it is not certain where he resided ; but it is probable he stayed at the Irish College, Paris, and frequented the Sorbonne, then one of the chief seats of learning in Christendom.

Now, fully trained in every branch of Sacred Science, a dialectician, theologian, and canonist, equipped to do battle for Church and country, he returned to Galway. There he is again found occupied with the cares of the Wardenship, and as assiduous in the discharge of its duties as he was energetic in the defence of its privileges. He catechized and instructed the people, and by salutary advice, not less than by example, instilled into their hearts the love and practice of virtue. That nothing might be wanting, on his part, to the fitting celebration of the Sacred Mysteries on festivals, and to stimulate more the devotion of the faithful, he had an organ erected in the small chapel, where, owing to persecution, he was obliged to minister to his flock. Though naturally an orator, he cultivated sacred eloquence ; and such advantages did he derive from former study, and wide reading, that some of the most powerful discourses were delivered by him with but little, if any, previous preparation. His conversation was graceful and witty, and he was ever ready to illustrate a subject by anecdotes. Owing to his reputation for learning, he was often called on to decide complicated questions, and to settle

¹ Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Wardenship of Galway. I. E. RECORD, September, 1883.

difficult affairs. His table was frugal and plain, and he eat sparingly; when he accepted hospitality, it was solely to afford friends the pleasure of his society. He collected a considerable library, which was his greatest source of enjoyment, but too soon he had to deplore the loss of this valuable collection of books, for they were burned by the 'heretics.' Such is the character of the chief ecclesiastic of Galway, given by his contemporaries.

It is needless to say, that Dr. Lynch took an active part in the affairs of the country, and was most enthusiastic in the Catholic cause. Exercising his spiritual authority as Warden, he issued an excommunication against those who subscribed to the terms of submission to the Earl of Clanricarde, 'as after sufficient deliberation, we ourselves, and all the doctors, . . . have found. . . the former two articles to be against the profession of Catholic faith, . . . yea, intended for the extirpation of the said faith,' &c.¹ This document, which is dated 9th May, 1642, shows that Lynch was then protonotary apostolic and Dean of Tuam.

In 1646, when Vicar-Capitular of Tuam, he addressed a letter to the Bishops of Waterford and Ferns respecting the rejection of the peace of Limerick. This letter exhibits his attachment to the Catholic cause, and his unwearying efforts and self-denial in its service. In his anxiety to learn how matters stood, and to discharge his mission, he relates that he posted from Galway to Limerick, and

Totus sudore madens, et in ardentissime sole vix viribus et corpore subsistens, I arrived at my lodging in the said Citie sed respirare locus non fuit, when all the best of the clergie and venerable fathers of the place came to my lodging, and were soe joyfull of my commeing . . . that I could not take anny leasure to refresh or with corporal food to repaire my tyred body; but I must satisfie their fervent desires, &c.

He states what he did, and adds: 'After this, at the earnest entreaty of this virtuous and fervently zealous clergie, I omitted dinner, and went presently to the Maiors house.'

Here follows an interesting account of the business he

¹Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 113.

transacted, and of the disturbance which then took place in the city. The letter is dated Limerick, 21st August, 1646.¹

For nearly forty years the see of Clonfert had been vacant, and governed by vicars apostolic, from the death of Thaddeus O'Farrell, O.P., at Kinsale,² to 1641. In 1640, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Elphin, and the Vicars Apostolic of Achonry and Killala, petitioned Propaganda to give to the church of Clonfert a pastor in the person of John de Burgo, for many years Vicar-General and Commissary Apostolic. This appointment was made, and he was preconised 12th August, 1641. De Burgo was translated to Tuam in 1647.

The Nuncio Rinuccini wrote to Cardinal Pamphili, under date 11th August, 1646, recommending Dr. Walter Lynch, Vicar-Capitular of Tuam, for the see of Clonfert, should De Burgo be translated to the archbishopric. He said that Lynch was 'a learned man, an eloquent preacher and possessed of much authority in the country, most ardent for the Catholic cause, and supported by many of the clergy and laity.'³ A few months later, 11th March, 1647, Lynch was preconised bishop of Clonfert.⁴ He was not, it seems, recommended for the dignity by the Supreme Council of the Confederates, though it approved the choice of him after the appointment. In a subsequent letter the Nuncio reaffirms his testimony to the high character of Lynch, and his fitness for the exalted and difficult office. He wrote:—

Regarding Lynch, whom the Pope has thought fit to send to Clonfert, the testimony of Father Scarampi, who knew him well, is quite enough. I thank God this provision was made, as every day Lynch proves his merits to be greater. Since I came to Galway, I noticed him to be more exact and diligent than all others regarding divine worship. In everything he is attentive, a good preacher and judge, and so beloved that no one, save the envious, speaks ill of him.⁵

¹ Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, vol. i., p. 607.

² *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 486.

³ Rinuccini, *Nunziatura*, p. 152.

⁴ Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii., p. 216.

⁵ *Nunziatura*, p. 244.

Dr. Lynch was closely associated with the Confederate Catholics. He was present at the Synod of Waterford in 1646, and subscribed to its decrees. Owing to his facility in writing, and despatch in transacting business, he was appointed Secretary to the meetings of bishops at Clonmacnoise and elsewhere. He was charged to conclude a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine, in which negotiations he exhibited the skill of a diplomatist. On one occasion the Bishop of Clonfert joined the Archbishop of Tuam in opposing the Nuncio at Galway. He pronounced the funeral oration of the illustrious Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, who died at Galway, 2nd August, 1651, and whose obsequies were held in the Franciscan Church.¹ The following year Galway, the last stronghold of the Nationalists, was taken; and Dr. Lynch, in company with other bishops and priests, fled to the island of Innisboffin. One of the number, writing from this retreat to Pope Innocent X., describes their mode of life and sufferings.²

From this place the Bishop of Clonfert was deported or escaped to Brussels, where he remained for a time. Of his sojourn in Belgium I have found no trace. Thence he travelled into Hungary, and took up his abode at Györ, bringing with him the painting of the Virgin and Child, which afterwards became so famous. Here the bishop, John Püsky, charitably received the poor exile, and in 1655, consoled him with a stall in the Cathedral chapter, to which the Archdeaconry of Papâ was annexed, and appointed him auxiliary bishop. For several years he discharged the duties of his double office, and the old visitation books show entries of functions performed (*per Episcopum Hibernum*) by the Irish bishop. A pectoral cross, blessed by Dr. Lynch for an abbot, together with an authentication of the same, in his own handwriting, is preserved in the treasury of the sacred picture.

Before leaving Ireland, this faithful pastor committed the care of his beloved flock to others with whom he used

¹ Meehan, *Irish Hierarchy*, &c., p. 167.

² Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii., p. 118.

to communicate by letter. As he became dissatisfied with the administration of his diocese, he entrusted the charge of it to Thomas De Burgo, a doctor of theology, whose learning and integrity he had proved during an acquaintance in Hungary, and named him Vicar-General. But an intruder had seized on the government of the diocese, and disobeying the bishop's repeated mandates refused to acknowledge de Burgo, though supported by the Metropolitan. In this condition of affairs, and having learned that the persecution was abating, Lynch resolved to return to his diocese. While preparing to set out for Ireland, he departed this life, 14th July, 1663, and went to his reward. His obsequies were held in the Cathedral with every mark of respect due to his dignity and virtues, and in the vaults beneath were laid at rest the remains of this illustrious exile.

II.

Before giving the history of the Sacred Picture, I shall say a word or two regarding the city and church, which possess this venerated relic.

Györ, or as the Austrians call it, Raab, formerly a Royal Free-town, and a fortified place of importance, is to-day the capital of a province of that name in Hungary. The seat of a bishop, a thriving commercial city, and a centre of some industries, it is situated at the influx of the Raba and two other rivers into the Little Danube, and stands midway between Vienna and Budapest. From either capital it may be conveniently reached by train or steamer. The journey from Vienna to Györ, a distance of seventy-four and a-half miles, can be made by train within two and a-half hours. The population of Györ including the two neighbouring villages, separated only by the Danube and the Rabcza, is thirty-five thousand. The majority of the inhabitants are Catholics. There are members of the Greek Church and Protestants, and the Hebrew element, rapidly increasing in industrial centres throughout Hungary, is already strong here.

Of the cathedral said to have been built in the time of St. Stephen, no trace remains. The present one is partly

Roman and partly Gothic, with the interior in good Renaissance style. On the south side is a chapel in honour of the Blessed Trinity, which contains the head of St. Ladislaus enclosed in a silver reliquary. The chapel on the north side is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and above the altar hangs the Miraculous Picture, the subject of this paper.

The Cathedral contains other objects of minor interest. Adjoining is the bishop's palace, a quaint but commodious building with a lofty square tower, which commands a good view of the city and surrounding country. Underneath the palace are dungeons of the Turkish period. Close to it is the episcopal seminary, which has a good library. An institution worthy of a visit is the Benedictine gymnasium, which contains a fine natural history collection, and a celebrated museum of antiquities, the property of the order. The buildings are palatial and extensive, and within them superior education is given to upwards of three hundred and fifty students. The studies include a complete gymnasium course, and the school fees are merely nominal, the establishment being maintained at the charge of the Arch-abbey of Martinsberg, of which this is a branch house. Besides there are many institutes, churches, and other objects of attraction to interest an inquiring traveller for more than a day. But to return to my subject.

After the death of Bishop Lynch the painting passed into the possession of the Cathedral, and was hung on the wall near the altar dedicated to St. Anne. There it remained an object of devotion to the faithful, until 17th March, 1697. On that morning, St. Patrick's Day, about six o'clock, while Mass was being celebrated, at which many were present, a bloody sweat was observed to come over the figure of our Blessed Lady in the picture. When the painting was wiped, and the blood removed by means of linen cloths,¹ the

¹ I saw one of these cloths which is preserved in the Cathedral Treasury. It is under glass enclosed in a silver frame, and is presented to the faithful to be kissed. The linen is now dark, and discoloured, as by faded blood stains. On the back of the frame is an authentication in German, of which the following is a translation:—'This is the genuine cloth used to wipe the Picture, this work of divine grace, which sweat blood in this Mortuary Church, on the 17th of March, 1697. This cloth we shall now dedicate to our dear Mother and all the saints in the honour of God.' Raab, 20th May, 1701.

sweat broke out anew, and continued for three hours, until nine o'clock, a.m. The occurrence caused a rush to the church on the part of the population of the city. Crowds, young and old, Catholic and Calvinist, flocked hither to witness the wonderful event. The painting was removed from its place, and inspected closely in order to discover, if possible, an explanation of this mystery. I shall allow a coeval authority to describe, in his own words, what took place on the occasion. Christopher Schogg, a Canon of the Cathedral, who lived in the early decades of the eighteenth century, and was intimately acquainted with contemporaries and eye-witnesses of the prodigy, placed on record what he gathered from them :—

It is impossible [he wrote] to describe the commotion which arose owing to the holy horror, pious ardour and desire of seeing it [the picture] close at hand. In order to obviate doubt concerning the miracle, and any suspicion of possible latent deception or fraud, the ecclesiastical authorities first had the picture taken down from the wall, then denuded of the ornamental frame, even stripped of the stretching laths, and finally closely inspected and shaken. But, since it was found free of natural moisture, and the wall quite dry, and, moreover, being detached and held by the hands alone of priests over a table, it ceased not to sweat blood; this manifestly constituted a miracle.

Immediately after this miraculous event, the governor of the fortress of Györ, Count Sigebert Heister and his wife, Countess Aloysia Katzianer, the promoters of this special devotion, erected at their expense an altar in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the sacred picture was placed there, and visited by the faithful under the invocation of *Consolatrix Afflictorum*. Another testimony is obtained from the diary of the Confraternity of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, of which Michael Dumer was president. He was a Jesuit and Professor in the College of the Society in the city, and present on the occasion. Under date of 17th March, 1697, he noted: 'On this day the picture

¹ Extract from Canon Schogg's notes on the Holy Picture, preserved in the Archives of the chapter at Györ. See I. E. RECORD, Feb. 1897, p. 178 and fol.

of the Blessed Virgin in the Cathedral, began to weep copiously.'¹

A remarkable example occurs in the devotion of Stephen Telekessy, a well-known Canon of the Cathedral, and bishop-designate of Erlau, 1699, who, in his afflictions betook himself to the altar 'of the Virgin Mary that two years before had shed tears.'² About the same time lived Canon Matthew Bubnich (1688-1721), who erected at his cost an organ in the choir, facing the altar of the Blessed Virgin: furthermore, he placed in the eastern hall of the chapter-house a sculptured copy of the painting. He likewise donated a vineyard, the income from which was to serve as a foundation for Masses, and to keep, in perpetuity, a lamp burning before this picture on Saturdays, and on the feast days of the Blessed Virgin. Count Herster and his wife, already named, by a deed dated Györ, 1st Jan., 1715,³ made provision for singing the litanies on Saturdays, and festivals of our Blessed Lady. Foundations to keep lights constantly burning at the shrine, and others of a character similar to those mentioned exist, and their obligations are discharged to this day. Numerous votive offerings of gold, silver, and precious stones have been made at this altar, and testify to favours granted through the intercession of Mary 'Consoler of the afflicted.'

The zealous servant of the Mother of God, Count

¹ The entry runs thus: 'Mane hora 9^{ma} Sacrum Cantatum: a prandii in Congregatione Exhortatio, et Lytaniae in Templo. Hac die Imago B. Virginis in Cathedrali Ecclesia incepit flere ubertina.' This diary is now in the library of the Lyceum, Györ.

² Extract from his letter to the Bishop of Györ, Christian Augustus Duke of Saxony, then residing at Vienna. See Documents, I. E. RECORD, February, 1897.

³ 'Nos S. Romani Imperii Comes Sibertus ab Heister, Sacratissimae Caesareae, Regiaeque Majestatis Generalis Campi Mareschallus . . . Generalatus Jaurinensis Supremus Gubernator, &c.; memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes quibus expedit, universis; et imprimis quidem quod nos Comes ab Heister ex innata, Divinitusque nobis Clementer elargita pietate, Zeloque et cultu erga Deiparam Beatissimam Virginam Mariam observari solito, Imaginem ejusdem Clementissimae Virginis, hic in Cathedrali Ecclesia Jaurinensi ante octodecem annos, scilicet anno 1697 die vero 17^{ma} Martii miraculose guttas quasi sanguineas, praesente magna multitudine populi utriusque Nationis, atque religionis tam Catholicorum quam et Lutheranorum et Calvinistarum sudantem debita cupiens prosequi veneratione in majorum cultus ejusdem B. Virginis promotionem, &c.

Francis Zichy de Vásonkeö, Bishop of Györ (1743-1783) removed the altar given by Count Heister, and erected in its stead the present magnificent marble structure in which the miraculous picture, framed in silver, was placed. By an endowment he provided for the daily celebration of mass at 8-30 at the shrine. The good Bishop is buried in front of the altar, which spot he selected for his last resting-place.

A great quantity of gold and silver was taken from the treasury of the sacred picture to assist in providing for the defence of the country in the war with France, but new votive offerings replaced those lost. In 1874, Pius IX. granted plenary indulgences on the feasts of St. Patrick and the Annunciation, on which days the miraculous event is annually celebrated.

The first centennial anniversary of the miracle was celebrated with fitting solemnity. The panegyric on the occasion was preached by Anthony Majláth de Szekhely, Benedictine Abbot of Börchim, and Canon of the Cathedral. In an eloquent discourse he told the story of the wonderful picture. He narrated how Bishop Lynch, banished for the faith from his native country, saved from desecration and destruction, this precious relic, and, wandering through many lands, safely brought it, his sole possession, to Györ, where he was received with honour, and found a home. After describing the miraculous event, which was witnessed for hours by hundreds and hundreds more, he noted that, often as the figure of our Blessed Mother was wiped, it again ran with drops of bloody sweat, that, trickling down, fell on the Sacred Face of the Divine Infant, the marks of which may yet be seen. Tracing the history of the devotion through the century then completed, he mentioned the altars, foundations, and votive offerings presented in honour of the Mother of God, and in testimony of the miracle.

And now as to the picture itself. It is painted on canvas, and its dimensions are twenty-six inches in height by twenty inches in breadth. The mantle or outer robe of the Blessed Virgin is blue, the inner garment or gown is red. The coverlet on the couch of the Divine Child is brown, with gold marking the pomegranate pattern. The crowns, which

are of gold and precious stones, were, it need scarcely be remarked, afterwards added, at Györ. They are modelled on the style of the crown of St. Stephen, King of Hungary. As to the artist of the picture, or even the school to which it belongs, no opinion is ventured. A professional art critic who kindly examined the photograph, suggests it is an Italian painting of the seventeenth century school; whereas another supposes he finds traces of the Flemish school, and of the style of Peter Pourbus of Bruges.

The time for holding the second centenary is at hand. On St. Patrick's Day next the celebration will commence, and preparations for it are in progress. It is not too much to say that it is certain the miraculous event of two hundred years ago will be worthily commemorated, and that the festival will be marked by the grandeur and magnificence of ceremonial which distinguish the Hungarian nation.

In conclusion, a word of gratitude may not be, it is hoped, unfitly offered here to that noble people, whose forefathers gave not only a home, but also a place in the sanctuary of their glorious church to our exiled countryman, and who, themselves, hold to-day his memory in veneration. Writing of Walter Lynch, the present illustrious Bishop of Györ says, 'His life here,' it is related, 'was a mirror of every priestly virtue.'

J. J. RYAN.

[NOTE.—It is, perhaps, unnecessary to remind the readers of the I. E. RECORD that the event of which I have written synchronizes with the year in which the most hurtful to the Catholic faith, and iniquitous of the penal laws was passed. In 1697 the Parliament passed the Act 9 Will. III., c. i., which bears the title: '*An Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all Regulars of the Popish clergy out of the Kingdom.*' I have not been able to fix the day this enactment became law. Some of its provisions, however, operated on 29th December that year, while others did not come into force till 1st May, 1698. Light on this point would be interesting.—J. J. R.]

ANGLICANISM AS IT IS

II.

IT is the boast of Anglicanism that it pays a peculiar deference to historical facts. 'History,' says *The Church Times*, 'is our best ally.' The guiding principle of the so-called Reformation was, according to Canon Carter (a great leader of Anglican thought), a 'tendency to search into history, to test the present by the past, rather than trust to the mere *dicta* of authority.'¹ But perhaps the most complete glorification of the 'historical' basis of divine faith, according to the Anglican theory, is given by Canon Gore in his *Roman Catholic Claims*.² In this corrected edition of his book, which is, as a rule, consulted by every High Churchman who has any inclination Romewards, and has been known to 'settle' many disturbed minds, Canon Gore has given us two pages on the subject of the rule of faith, which, it will be seen, culminates in a study of history by the masters and guides of the mass below. He is answering the question: 'How are we—not professed theologians, nor even students—to find out the "rule of faith"?' and he is meeting the objection that 'the Roman idea of Church authority gives a simpler remedy for our difficulties. *Theirs* is a rule of faith of easy access.'

Canon Gore accordingly says that 'the individual Churchman begins by submitting himself to be moulded by the rule of faith which he receives.' 'Receives' introduces a little confusion already; but let that pass. 'The proximate authority,' he continues, 'for each of us consists of the personal teachers to whom, by God's providence, we are subject.' A little more confusion is introduced by the substitution of 'authority' for 'rule of faith.' And it is to be noticed that the 'proximate authority' is not, with Canon Gore, the teaching of the Church, but our first

¹ *The Roman Question*, 2nd Ed., p. 166.

² 3rd Ed., pp. 48, 49.

teachers, who may or may not represent the Church. And so by slipping in the word 'authority,' and also retaining the word 'proximate,' he has succeeded in throwing the whole subject into confusion ; for the proximate rule of faith is the rule by which the faith is brought to our doors. A 'proximate authority' may be what that rule involves, but the expression indicates a relation to some other authority, not simply the relation of the rule to the soul.

That Canon Gore is in a complete mist as to the sense of the mere terms, and has changed their meaning from that which they bear in Catholic terminology, is evident from what he goes on to say. For having told us that 'side by side with the personal teachers, and controlling them [*sic*] are the written formulas of the Church,' he says, 'thus the personal teachers and the formulas, taken together contribute the proximate rule of faith.' It is clear that this is absolute nonsense, unless Canon Gore is putting his own meaning on the terms 'proximate rule of faith.' With us they mean the living rule, as compared with (so to speak) the dead rule: the speaking, as compared with the silent rule: the form of our faith, as compared with its material. With Canon Gore they mean something quite different; that is to say, the mere terms have undergone a change of meaning. Proximate, as applied to authority, means with him, provisional, as a court of first instance ; as applied in this sense to the 'rule of faith' it is meaningless.

But Canon Gore proceeds with this jumble of terms, to say that 'this proximate rule of faith [*i.e.*, the personal teachers and the formulas] is not the ultimate authority.' This, of course, is exactly what the proximate rule is with the Catholic. The faith of the Catholic is based on the Word of God ; but the rule by which he gets at that Word, and is guided in the interpretation of the Divine revelation, is the authority of the Church, which is ultimate or final. But Canon Gore actually goes on in the next line to identify his 'ultimate rule of authority' (note the fresh confusion by the introduction of the word 'rule') with 'the remoter rule' of faith, the name which he now gives to the ultimate, as contrasted with the proximate authority. And 'this ultimate

rule of authority—the remoter rule’—is what? ‘This ‘remoter rule of faith,’ he says, ‘involves, as we have seen, a comparison of records, a searching into the past traditions of the Church.’ So that instead of the ‘remoter rule of faith’ being, as in the Catholic definition of it, Scripture and tradition, *i.e.*, a silent, and in a sense, dead rule, whilst the proximate rule is the living teaching of the Catholic Church, which brings Scripture and tradition up to the door of the soul, with Canon Gore the remoter rule of faith, which he identifies with the ‘ultimate authority,’ consists in the principle that we get behind the authority which comes to us first in order, and control and correct it by a ‘comparison of records, a searching into the past traditions of the Church.’

Thus not a vestige of the Catholic rule of faith remains after Canon Gore’s mixture. It is completely purged away. Nothing whatever is eventually received on authority; the ‘remoter rule of faith’ has not been brought into operation until we have compared records and searched into past traditions. Only then has the soul got through and behind the proximate rule of faith, as Canon Gore calls it; only then does it reach the ‘ultimate rule of authority,’ as he calls the last process. It is, then, in the ultimate analysis, pure, unmitigated, private judgment that Canon Gore upholds. But the absurdity of making this search and comparison, this verifying process, the rule of faith for the multitude, seems to have struck Canon Gore himself. And so he deals with this difficulty as follows:—‘Such research is only possible, comparatively for a few, and only a few are capable of undertaking it. But the few act for the many.’ So that the many have to make their rule of faith obedience to the authority of the few. They have, in fact, a different rule of faith. But they may be consoled by the following consideration:—‘The fact that competent persons are constantly engaged in this verifying process of comparison and research guarantees [*sic*] that the current Church teaching is being kept pure from accretion.’ Thus everything hangs on the ‘competent persons.’ Of course, if they are guaranteed from error, the fact of their being constantly

engaged in the verifying process will guarantee the purity of the current Church teaching; but this would be to attribute the prerogative of infallibility, either to several individuals, or to a 'collectivity' of 'competent persons.' In which case all the Protestant objections to infallibility would, in good logic, revive in tenfold force.

Nevertheless, this is what the Anglican theory involves—either no guarantee, or a blind dependence on a few 'competent persons,' who are practically treated as infallible, without a divine promise or a divine selection. The High Anglican, as I have said, parades his peculiar deference to history. His is pre-eminently 'historical Christianity;' he tells you that *he* does not ignore facts and depreciate the verifying process, the comparison of records, or the search into the past traditions of the Church. But if you ask him whether he has done this himself, he replies, 'No;' someone else is doing it, or has done it, for him. They are 'competent' persons. Canon Liddon was in the habit of saying, for the last twenty years of his life, that he had not gone into certain historical questions concerning the early Church, on which, nevertheless, the truth or falsity of his position, on his own theory, depended; but that Dr. Pusey had done it, and he could trust Dr. Pusey. He was one of Canon Gore's 'competent persons.' I propose, therefore, to conclude this article with two or three hitherto unnoticed instances, sufficiently startling, of the way in which history has been treated by this leader of Anglican thought, who went by Canon Gore's 'remoter rule of faith,' or 'ultimate rule of authority;' that is to say, who was 'engaged in the verifying process of comparison and research.'

But before doing so, it may be well to notice a remarkable fact about the Church of England, in view of this claim to represent 'historical Christianity.' It is this. For three centuries of her existence she produced no single history of the Church. One would have thought that her literature would have been teeming with histories. But when Dr. Döllinger wrote his first history, and gave a list of the chief books he consulted, Protestant as well as Catholic, he had to avow that he had gained nothing from England.

German Protestantism had at least produced a Neander, but not so the 'historical Christianity' of England. It seemed to have dropped ecclesiastical history, and to have assumed that it is known by intuition, and could be taken as a matter of course. One really great writer on history stands out by himself, but he hails from Ireland, as though the atmosphere of a Catholic country had suffused something of itself into a Protestant Archbishop. I mean, of course, Ussher, who did some good work in the sources of English history. But he did not actually write a history of the Church. And as for England, she was completely out of the running. A witness above suspicion, *The Church Quarterly Review*, has recently remarked on this peculiar feature of the literature of the Church of England. Speaking of the time when the Tractarian movement began, the writer of an article on the seventh Ecumenical Council (July, 1896, p. 451) says:—

English histories of the Church were non-existent. Attention was for the most part confined to the three first centuries, and perhaps the first History of the Catholic Church which was published in this country was that issued in A.D. 1833, under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, written by the late Dean Waddington, of Durham. And in his history, laborious though its compilation was, it is a remarkable fact that there is scarcely any mention of the Council of Chalcedon, held A.D. 451, excepting in the casual observation that by its twenty-ninth [*sic*] canon the see of New Rome was to have the same advantages with that of Old Rome in the ecclesiastical constitution.¹

Consequently, Dr. Pusey, acting more or less as a pioneer, laboured under all the drawbacks of such a rôle, and one would be glad to think that the innumerable mistakes he made may be at least in part attributed to his exceptional position. But what of the reliance placed on him by members of the Anglican cult, as one of the 'competent persons' engaged in the 'comparison of records and a search into the past traditions of the Church'?

In his celebrated *Eirenicon*, of which the sale was enormous, and which was greeted with a shout of applause

¹ Page 126.

by high Anglicans, which has not yet died out, Dr. Pusey drew up a list of what he called 'instances of infallibility;' i.e., supposed infallible utterances of popes, which put the idea of their infallibility out of the question. At the end of the list he says:—'I have set down no difficulty which I do not myself think insurmountable.'¹

One of these 'insurmountable difficulties' in the way of believing in Papal Infallibility is thus stated:—

Then also [i.e., if the Pope is infallible] Pope Celestine was equally infallible when he declared that 'the charge of teaching has descended [from the Apostles] *equally* upon all bishops . . .' He charged them with it as a duty devolving *equally* upon all.²

The italics are Dr. Pusey's. The whole stress of the argument is laid on the word 'equally.' If they are all equal, one cannot be infallible, as distinguished from the rest. To this quotation a note is appended in which Dr. Pusey says, 'I have adopted the translation in *Allies' Church of England*, from Fleury, xxv. 47, Oxf. Tr.

Now *Allies' Church of England cleared from Schism* is a well-known book, written when the author was a Protestant, and still read by members of the Church of England with consoling effects. And a very able book it is. But Mr. Allies, at that time the best authority on such subjects in the Church of England, depended implicitly in this particular reference on Fleury; and Fleury, a Gallican à l'outrance, has simply mistranslated the passage. The word 'equally' does not occur in it at all. Celestine speaks of the charge of teaching having descended on the bishops *in common*. Now we know that a community of possession may involve a diversity of share. A common commission to an army to assist a colony in the name of Her Majesty contemplates various relationships of subordination between those who are sent to act in common. Fleury, however, substituted 'egalement,'³ and misled Mr. Allies in his Protestant days, and Dr. Pusey depended on Mr. Allies years afterwards, instead of looking at the original. The difficulty was only 'insurmountable' because this obvious course was

¹ Page 317.

² Page 307.

³ Lib. 25, 47.

not adopted. A glance at the original would have prevented Dr. Pusey from standing forth as the champion of Anglicanism against Papal Infallibility, on, at any rate, this point of Celestine's letter to the Council of Ephesus. Five years afterwards, Dr. Pusey discovered this; and in an appendix to the *Eirenicon* (little read) he quietly dropped the word 'equally,' which was the pivot of his argument in 1865, and argued, in 1870, as though the objection originally derived from the word 'equally' still held good, because Celestine speaks of the whole Council as inspired by the Holy Ghost in a way which he does not claim for himself. But here he simply 'loads the dice.' For he makes Celestine say that 'the Council is the visible display of the presence of the Holy Ghost.' There is no 'the' in the original, which makes all the difference. But why did not Dr. Pusey openly admit that the word 'equally' anyhow does not present an 'insurmountable difficulty,' seeing that it does not exist as he tacitly admits, when he translates it 'in common' in this third part of his *Eirenicon*?

The work, however, was done, and lo! another 'competent person,' engaged in that 'comparison of records and the search into the past,' which is to Canon Gore the 'remoter rule of faith,' falls into the same trap. This time it is the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, Canon Bright. The same translation of the passage in St. Celestine's letter is trotted out at Oxford in the notes to a lecture on 'The Roman Claims tested by Antiquity' (still circulated by the *English Church Union*), and the same reference to Fleury reappears (1877, p. 11)! This, too, at last—when pointed out in my book on *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter*—is silently dropped, and the true translation given, whence no argument is, or could be drawn, and full revenge is taken on the discoverer of the mistranslation by a running fire of comments on enormities supposed to have been committed by him.²

I shall now take one more instance of the 'insurmount-

¹ Cf. Part iii., p. 257.

² *Roman See in the Early Church*, p. 160.

able difficulties' with which Dr. Pusey presents us. He says :—

Then [*i.e.*, if the Pope is infallible] St. Leo IX. was infallible when he said :—' The humility of these venerable Pontiffs, worthy of all imitation, considering that the chief of the Apostles is not found called universal Apostle, utterly rejected that proud name *by which their equality of rank seemed to be taken away from all prelates throughout the world*, in that a claim was made for one upon the whole.'

The italics are Dr. Pusey's, and the reference is again to Mr. Allies' book, written when a Protestant. This 'insurmountable difficulty' in the way of believing in Papal Infallibility, is adroitly introduced to substantiate Dr. Pusey's interpretation of St. Gregory the Great's refusal of the title, Universal Bishop, which had been claimed by John the Faster, of Constantinople, in a hyper-Papal sense. It seemed, however, so inconceivable that St. Leo IX., who excommunicated the Eastern Emperor, should have left himself open to the misconstruction put upon the quotation by Dr. Pusey, that I thought it worth while to read the whole letter through. It is a very long one.

Now, in the first place, Dr. Pusey omits the lines preceding his quotation, which throw an altogether different light on the words he quotes. St. Leo says :—' And to whom, after Jesus Christ, could this name be more fitly applied than to the successors of Peter?'—words which imply some inequality between those successors and the other bishops. And Dr. Pusey's translation of the words following is not exact. St. Leo does not say 'in that a claim was made for one upon the whole,' but, speaking of the 'equal rank,' as Dr. Pusey calls it (*par dignitas*), he says that the Apostle

Repudiated a proud term by which a like dignity seemed to be withdrawn from all the prelates throughout the world, while it was arrogated to himself by one out of the whole, as though [*i.e.*, the term being thus understood as a proud title should be refused as though] each said by words and deeds what *their Master*, and the first to be crucified, says :—' I am not worthy to place my head above, but to bend my face down to the earth'—

alluding to St. Peter's crucifixion. Now, why did Dr. Pusey omit this remaining part of the sentence from which he quoted, when it speaks of St. Peter as the "Master" of the Apostles, and so (by inference from the first omitted lines) of the successors of Peter as similarly the masters of the bishops? We may safely presume that he did not go to the original, or he would have seen that the 'like dignity,' or, as he calls it, the 'equal rank' (*par dignitas*), was the *status* of bishop, *quâ* bishop, the denial of which was involved in John the Faster's particular use of the term universal bishop, which term was on that account—and not by way of denying the supreme jurisdiction of the see of Peter—repudiated by Gregory.

But, further, Dr. Pusey's difficulty would have been more than surmounted if he had read the letter of Leo IX. to the end. It is, indeed, one of the longest letters on record; but, surely, considering that Dr. Pusey was flying the Anglican colours high before the Christian world, he ought to have made a little sure of his ground. St. Leo, in the 13th section of this letter, quotes with approval some supposed words of the Emperor, in which he says of 'the Most Holy See of Peter' that—

We sanction by decree that it should hold the sovereignty [*principatus*] as well over the four sees—Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople—as also over all the Churches of God in the world; and that he who, for the time being, is Pontiff of the Sacrosanct Roman Church should be higher than and prince of all the priests of the whole world, and by his judgment all that shall have to be procured for the worship of God, or the stability of the faith of Christians, should be arranged.³

All this Leo IX. adopts. But, further, he says:—

For the faith of the Roman Church, built through Peter on a rock, neither until now fails, nor will fail through the ages, Christ its Lord praying for it, as He testifies close to His Passion: 'I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not; and thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren.' By which saying He plainly showed that the faith of the brethren would be in danger

³ *Mansi*, xix. 643.

through various failures, but, by the unshaken and unfailing faith of Peter, it would be fixed as by the aid of a firm anchor, and would be confirmed in the foundation of the Universal Church; which nobody denies, save he who evidently impugns these very words of truth. For he knows that, as the whole door is governed by the hinge, so the well-being of the whole Church is governed [or arranged, *disponitur*] by Peter and his successors; and as the hinge, remaining immovable, draws the door backwards and forwards, so Peter and his successors have unfettered judgment concerning the whole Church, since no one ought to move their position, because the highest see is judged by none.²

All this occurs in the same letter to the Patriarch Michael, from which Dr. Pusey extracts a sentence to show that St. Leo IX. did not believe in Infallibility; for, on the hypothesis of his infallibility, he would be infallible in deprecating the prerogative, as Dr. Pusey thinks he does in those few words torn from their context. But Dr. Pusey had only to look to the original to see that in the very same letter Leo IX. expressly asserts the infallibility of the Holy See. Yet Dr. Pusey is one of those 'competent persons' who was constantly engaged in the 'verifying process,' 'the comparison of records, the search into the past traditions of the Church,' which constitutes, in Canon Gore's theory, the 'remoter rule' of faith, the 'ultimate rule of authority.'

Certainly, if the words of the Popes may be dealt with as in the two instances just given, *The Church Times* may well speak of history as their best ally. But if such amazing manipulation of authors is a sign of profound ignorance of their meaning, to take the most charitable line, what becomes of the 'remoter rule' of faith which, according to Canon Gore, consists in such a verifying process, and of the competence of the few 'who act for the many'?

LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A.

¹ *Mansi*, xix. 653.

THE LATE REV. JOHN GOWAN, C.M.

FOUNDER OF THE SISTERHOOD OF THE HOLY FAITH

IT is no easy thing to sketch, even in brief outline, the life, work, and character of a man of God, particularly when, as often happens, the subject of the endeavour has tried to hide his personality behind the name of an order or congregation, or of the agency through which his conceptions see the light. So it is in the case of the late Father Gowan. In all his work after he had joined them till near the end he was simply one of the Vincentian fathers. In what remains now his greatest monument, existing in visible, concrete form, living and vivifying—the Sisterhood of the Holy Faith and their schools, and their special initial work, St. Brigid's Orphanage—his creating and organizing, directing and conserving hand remained hidden during the lifetime of Miss Aylward. Had she outlived him, it is probable that the fact that she was the Foundress of the Institute only under him, the real Founder, would have remained hidden until his death, when the love of his spiritual daughters would have assuredly revealed it. What wonder, then, that the obituary notices of such a man have been indeed sketchy and inadequate.

Nor is it in the hope or presumption of doing much better that the present writer pens this tribute to the memory of this father and friend, friend to him as to all priests who consulted this wise counsellor. As of old, monuments were raised to the mighty dead of our race by each clansman and kinsman adding a stone to pile up the *cairn* higher and higher: or, as the poor will bring humble flowers to place on Father Gowan's grave, side by side with the rich wreaths of the wealthy, in some such way is this simple monograph put forward among more polished sketches, penned by defter hands. I only claim space to mention certain works and indicate traits of character

either unknown to, or untouched, or touched too lightly, by the writers of previous sketches.

Had Father Gowan died half-a-dozen years ago, the ordinary worldling, even of his native diocese, would have sketched his life in some such form as this : Born April 9, 1817, in the seaport town of Skerries, he early felt called to the priesthood. He studied in Maynooth College, and was ordained in 1840. For some ten years he laboured in the parish of Glendalough, when he entered the Congregation of the Mission, of which he remained a faithful member for well-nigh half a century, unto his death on January 16th of the present year.

How bald and bare is such an outline ! And yet the arid, sandy surface of the Rand did not hide away such precious gold and gems as these few finger-posts on his life's journey indicate to those who knew this man of God, and his ways and his works. All forceful things in nature seek the light. We read that even mushroom growths have burst the solid stone. And so the strong, sound seeds planted by this tiller in God's vineyard burst even through the repressing obstacle of his own modesty, and proclaimed the hand of the planter. Ere God called him home to Himself everyone had come to know that Ireland, just fresh from persecution, had produced another Founder to rank with the Columbas and Columbanuses, of our past history, with St. Francis de Sales and Venerable John Eudes, and Pere Varin of another, albeit kindred race, in modern times. The history of the founding of the Sisterhood of the Holy Faith remains to be written. But the bare facts are these :

Some forty years ago, among Father Gowan's penitents was Margaret Aylward, in whose humility, fortitude, and zeal he discerned the heaven-designed instrument for a much-needed work. Proselytism was rife, its agents unscrupulous, their means abundant. This wise priest thought out a plan, needing funds indeed, but not so large an initial or continued outlay as would the building and maintenance of an orphanage of the usual kind. Moreover, his plan is safer and more fruitful in its results for the spiritual and temporal

future of the orphans. Anyone calling at St. Brigid's Orphanage, 46, Eccles-street, finds there only the nun in charge, no children. The orphans are boarded out in the wholesome homes of holy Ireland. There they have not the hot-bed lives of the usual orphanage. They know life as it is. They form one of the family. Through after years they are not strangers to the saving memories of a Christian home, the want of which no care conferred in crowded institutions can ever make up for. Often the orphans are adopted, and become the stay and solace of their foster-parents. So striking has been the success of the plan that our best Boards of Guardians have taken it up as a means of lifting pauper children from the damning degradation of poorhouse rearing.

Such was the first work Father Gowan set before Margaret Aylward. The Orphanage opened January 1st, 1857. But soon other avenues of zealous activity opened out before her and Ada Allingham, and the other fervent Irish souls who came to help. In 1860 the Sisterhood was launched, Margaret Aylward and Ada Allingham being the two first members. The Ragged Schools of the Coombe and elsewhere, offering bread and soup to the starving children of sick, or poor, or drunken parents, in exchange for the souls of God's little ones, demanded counteraction. So schools were built on the Coombe, Clarendon-street, and Little Strand-street. Soon others sought for foundations, and now many houses exist throughout the counties of Wicklow, Dublin, and Kildare, not only for the poor, but for all who seek to get for very moderate fees an education whose dominant notes are love and devotion to Faith and Fatherland.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that Father Gowan's life-work was confined to the founding of the Sisterhood of the Holy Faith, and to the various works of that Institute, although such a life-work alone were worthy of any of God's greatest heroes. His labours were manifold and all singularly fruitful. His record as Curate of Glendalough was in itself enough to sanctify his name. All the priests of Ireland were then heroic ; but among them all

Father Gowan's figure stands out pre-eminent, outrivalling even the sublime self-sacrifice of his friend and former class-mate, the late lamented Bishop Duggan. It is remarkable that this great prelate was drawn to this kindred spirit to make just before his death last Autumn, a ten days' Retreat under his guidance. No less noteworthy is it that Father Gowan himself was just finishing a Retreat before he himself was called away home. His labours, his devotedness, his self-sacrifice, leading him to subsist in the famine years on a little porridge, are not forgotten in the mountains to this day. His name and fame are as fresh and as fondly spoken to-day by the grandchildren of those whom he edified, as are those of the best-beloved dispensers of the sacraments now on the days of their leaving. Love begets love; and Father Gowan's thoroughly Celtic heart so loved his people as to be ready to die for them, to go very near to dying in reality for them, starving himself that he might be able to prolong the life of some famine-stricken fellow-creature, and only taking enough food to keep him alive to aneal and anoint the dying.

It may be that the knowledge he then gained of the holy homes of Ireland explains the genesis of the plan of his Orphanage. He saw the people in the comparative plenty of the pre-famine years, in the glowing glory of O'Connell's days, in the sublime renunciation of a law-begotten vice at the preaching of Father Mathew. He saw them in all their joyousness in the good days, when the '*cups*'¹ were plenteous. He saw them again in their sorrow. He saw them in the awful maddening agonies of hunger. He saw them in the depths of despond. But they never despaired. And they died blessing God for their sufferings sooner than take the soup's food at the cost of their souls. He saw and never forgot. How he loved the Wicklow people may in some measure be gleaned from some lectures he delivered about four years ago. An English lady, recently recalling these lectures, said: 'There was not a dry eye in the hall, as the holy man described the martyr-like patience of the people

¹ A kind of potato, particularly nutritious, but all blighted afterwards.

during the famine and fever-plague.' His experience of those dread times left another effect to which we shall refer later on.

His works, after entering the Congregation, may be put under four or five heads. For the first half-dozen years or thereabouts, he worked as a 'Missioner,' to use the term applied to those members of religious communities who assist the parochial clergy by giving missions. Afterwards for a decade or more, in addition to his work of Founder, he taught the English Composition Class in Castleknock. Early in the seventies he was appointed Spiritual Director to the Diocesan College of Holy Cross, Clonliffe, and soon after lecturer on Sacred Eloquence in the National College, Maynooth. All through from his becoming a Vincentian he continued down almost to his death to give Retreats to priests and to religious communities. Just five weeks before his death he pleaded the cause of his Orphans from the pulpit of St. Francis Xavier's Church, Gardiner-street, with a power and eloquence astonishing at his age.

Many explanations have been given of the charm of his style in preaching and lecturing. His undoubted sincerity, 'heart speaking to heart,' is generally set down as the secret of this charm. But it is not this alone. Many speakers, whose sincerity is evident, fail to move as he moved his hearers. His style and manner were so simple as to lead many, indeed all but the deepest thinkers, to fancy that they were unstudied, and that their whole force lay in the sincerity of the speaker. But in truth, all his utterances, even when not formally thought out, were the result of previous thought. His self-sacrificing, self-starvation during the famine had so permanently weakened his system that he could never afterwards study in the usual sense of the word. He could no longer sit down to pore for hours continuously over books, to collect and collate, and write out elaborately. Yet his language was ever pure and correct, and his arrangement most orderly. Apropos of this I may mention an incident which occurred just nine days before his death. A dramatic performance was given by the pupils of his own Convent of the Holy Faith, Glasnevin. Towards

the close of the entertainment a learned Jesuit, himself a great master of style, said to the present writer: 'I hope Father Gowan will give some address; I love to hear him; his language is always so pure and correct.' Other qualities, such as his earnestness, which was the out-bursting of the most lively faith, the most sentient grasp of supernatural things, deep-rooted in an ardent nature, contributed to his power as a speaker. But the careless cannot quote him as an excuse for their own laziness in preparation. When he could not pore, he pondered; and if his utterances were so simple in beauty, so fitted to their purpose, so striking to the mind's eye of the most critical, it was the result of habits of orderly thought, and the deepest study of the rules of composition, made in youth ere want brought on the weakness which barred plodding application.

All who, like the present writer, had the good fortune to hear his lectures on English composition, will agree that, although they may have met more showy, they never met a more effective professor. He had a wonderful faculty of securing the attention of all his class, even of persons who never paid attention in other classes. And he had an inspired way of dropping words of counsel that abode for ever in the minds of the hearers, and moved them to action. As an instance, he once uttered the prophecy: 'The days are coming, and they are near at hand, when everyone who loves his creed and country ought to be prepared to turn the marrow of his bones into materials to defend both against their enemies. Therefore, learn to write, &c.' Some at least of his hearers have never ceased to hear these words ringing in their ears, spurring them to action.

But what above all gave the tone to his style were his love of nature and his intense love of Ireland and of Ireland's faith. He loved nature as God made it. He loved human nature as Christ redeemed and restored it. He loved Irish human nature, Irish Catholic human nature, as the dearest flowering of virtue in God's garden. His remembrance of the famine, artificially created by bad laws, allowed to slay its tens and hundreds of thousands—first, by the heartless indifference, and afterwards by the wasteful stupidity, of the

alien Government and its agents—gave an intense fierceness to his patriotism. He abhorred the degraded patriotism now blatantly boastful, which would divorce the union of creed and country, and so would work in the name of patriotism the worst evil for Erin which her foes have long sought in vain to do. Such false patriotism, if generally adopted, would soon slay Ireland's nationality after slaying the bond of faith, as happened to the Jews when they rejected God, because He would not bring them an earthly kingdom. The shamrock, sacred symbol, is emerald in hue, triune in form. When the hue fades, the shamrock withers and dies. Shorn of a leaf, it is no longer our emblem. So with the faith of him who loves not Ireland. It fades and fails before foreign frowns and fashions. So too the patriotism that is not true to God cannot be trusted by man, or at best would be a lowering love that would sell the soul to batten the body. Such linked love, such perfect patriotism, was Father Gowan's. All the more truly did he long for Ireland's freedom, as he saw in the dominant influence an elaborate contrivance for sending the purest men and maidens on earth away from their pure homes to be despoiled of virtue and degraded into the depths of vice. He loved every legend of our race, every holy well, and every ruined fane. He loved to give in his class such subjects as 'The Well,' 'The Churchyard,' 'The Chapel Bell.' This love of Ireland, this knowledge of Irish ways, aided by a wealth of aptest anecdote and illustration, joined to a style exemplifying his oft-impressed qualities of good writing, viz., 'perspicuity, simplicity, and pith,' and sent home with the ardent intensity of an earnest conviction and desire of convincing, and all illumined and heated up and endowed with the fiery force of God's Holy Spirit, made the charm of his eloquence.

And now I feel I have trespassed on the space to be in reason expected; not, indeed, far enough for the merit of my subject, but too far for the value of my treatment thereof. Yet I have not culled a tithe of the flowers that might be easily gathered from the life of this holy priest to lay upon his grave. I only hope that these words of mine may give some comfort to his spiritual daughters, who would be

inconsolable were they not confident that his spirit watches over them from heaven. For himself, the writer thanks God for having known one so holy, so wise a counsellor, so true a friend, so ardent a patriot, so edifying a priest. Of him it may be said, as the great Hildebrand said of himself, 'he loved justice and hated iniquity.' He was like the patient Gentile of Holy Writ—'simple, upright, and fearing God, and avoiding evil.'¹ As he once said of himself, in the hopeless time following '48, 'he fled from the storms of the world to the shelter of Castleknock.' He there found peace, the nursing mother of good works. In peace he brought forth great things that live after him. And now God has taken him to His own peace, to his true home, where he can plead for his friends, his orphans, his spiritual daughters, and his dear, long-suffering country.

FRANCIS MACENERNY.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF 'THE IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

III.

HAVING briefly reviewed the history of the times and surroundings wherein Thomas à Kempis lived, and sketched an outline of his career, I come to the least grateful portion of my task—namely, the story of the controversy which long raged about the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ*, and which, after one fashion or another, ever sought to deprive the saintly Canon of Agnetenberg of the glory of having brought the precious volume into existence.

Many who know *The Imitation* well, who study it constantly and love its words of holy wisdom, are unaware that it has been the subject of one of the most extraordinary controversies known in the history of literature—a controversy often heated, occasionally bitter, not always carried on with

¹ Job i.

dignity and straightforwardness, and unhappily displaying at times evil passions which the writer of the book would have condemned emphatically. This strange contention touches the authorship of the golden treatise, and has given origin to several hundred essays, more or less voluminous.

Let us see how all this came to pass. *The Imitation of Christ* appeared anonymously, as was frequent with books in those days, and very natural for the work of one who dwells on the maxim, 'Love to be unknown and valued as nothing.' So far as an exhaustive investigation leads we are drawn to the conviction that it appeared in the first third of the fifteenth century, and from that period spread rapidly and widely, being extensively transcribed and circulated throughout the monastic world. There is not the faintest evidence that it existed before the period named, notwithstanding untenable statements advanced to the contrary.

During the lifetime of Thomas à Kempis the authorship of *The Imitation* was distinctly attributed to him by members of his own Order, who necessarily had the best possible information on the subject. Moreover, its parentage, so far from being denied by Thomas, who certainly was not a man to borrow the plumes of others, was tacitly accepted by him when he placed it in his manuscript of 1441, at the head of a series of other treatises, which we have the strongest reason to believe were of his own composition. The world at large was left in ignorance upon the subject, and formed its opinions according as it was led.

At an early period of its history *The Imitation* was attributed to St. Bernard. Nothing could be more natural. Some early manuscripts and editions actually appeared under his name. In tone of thought it strongly resembles his works; but when it was discovered that it quotes St. Francis of Assisi, who was born nearly thirty years after the death of St. Bernard, it became evident that the Abbot of Clairvaux could not have been the author. No mistake could be more excusable. Anyone who studies the book closely, side by side with the works of St. Bernard, will understand how natural it was, from intrinsic evidence, that it should have been attributed to him at the first blush;

but will also realise that the latinity of *The Imitation* proves that he could not have been the author. No two styles of expression or diction could be more radically different.

In turn the authorship has been erroneously assigned to many others, whose claims vanish upon investigation. Amongst these I may mention St. Bonaventure, Thomas Gallus, Henry de Kalcar, Landolph of Saxony, Ubertinus de Cassalis, Innocent III., Piedro Rainaluzzi, John Tambaco, John Charlier de Gerson, the mighty Chancellor of the University of Paris, and John à Kempis, the elder brother of Thomas.

Early in the seventeenth century a certain mythical candidate for the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* was introduced upon the stage, and all the influence of the great Order of St. Benedict was put forward to substantiate his pretensions. This claimant is the so-called John Gersen, who is said to have existed, to have been a Benedictine, and to have flourished in the thirteenth century as Abbot at Vercelli in Piedmont. By-and-by we shall investigate his position.

In fine, I believe I may safely state that the only candidates for the authorship of the great book whose pretensions need discussion are—Thomas à Kempis, John Charlier de Gerson, and the so-called John Gersen of Vercelli. A few critics have adopted a curious theory concerning the authorship of *The Imitation* which scarcely requires notice. They reject all the candidates hitherto named, and argue that the author is unknown, but of date anterior to à Kempis. Their peculiar contention will be considered in due course.

We shall commence by considering the claims of Thomas à Kempis. Already we have seen something of his life, and of the surroundings amidst which it was spent, and can therefore understand how peculiarly capable he was of putting together this masterpiece of ascetical teaching. Trained in the school of spirituality inaugurated by Grcot, Radewyn, Vos van Huesden, Vornken, and their companions, his mind became the mirror of their teaching and transferred itself to the pages of *The Imitation*. An ascetic in the

highest sense of the word, he wrote for those within the cloister, and so truthfully, lovingly, and with such breadth of human sympathy, that his words must live until the end of time.

A solitary monk within his cell,
 Whose walls did make an island of his life,
 Surrounded by the waves of war and strife,
 His hours obedient to the convent bell
 Until the grave had closed upon his corpse.
 A life secluded from the haunts of men ;
 A soul that found an utterance, by the pen,
 For hope and sorrow, joy and sad remorse ;
 A soul that longed for purity, that taught
 Man's duty was to beat down pride and sin,
 To conquer passion, keep all white within,
 And shun a world with dark and evil fraught.
 Ages have past, yet still, amid the strife,
 Is heard the music of that far-off life.¹

It will be convenient to discuss the arguments which go to prove that Thomas à Kempis was the author of *The Imitation* under the following heads:—

- I. Contemporary witnesses.
- II. External evidence as manifested by the manuscripts.
- III. Internal evidence.

I.—*Contemporary Witnesses*

It is obvious that if one or more trustworthy witnesses can be cited who knew Thomas à Kempis in his lifetime, and state unequivocally that he was the author of *The Imitation of Christ*, no reasonable person can resist such testimony. Now, this is exactly what can be done. Two witnesses who knew Thomas personally aver that he was the author, and this long before the great controversy arose upon the subject. Let us see who these contemporary witnesses were.

JOHN BUSCH

The first is John Busch, the Chronicler of Windesheim. It will be needful to say a few words here respecting this

¹ 'Original Verse,' by W. E. A. Axon. *The Academy* (London, September 4, 1886).

remarkable and devoted man. Born in 1400, he entered the monastery of Windesheim, and became a Canon Regular of St. Augustine in 1420. He died in 1479, eight years later than Thomas à Kempis, having completed, in 1464 (that is seven years before à Kempis' death) the *Chronicle of Windesheim*, one of his most remarkable works, of which we have seen something. That he was a man of rare ability and integrity is proved by the fact that when the Papal Legate, Cardinal de Cusa, undertook the reform of the monasteries of Lower Germany, he selected Busch as his companion and co-visitor. Leibnitz, and Trithemius, of Spanheim, wrote of him in terms of the warmest praise.

Let us now see what this unimpeachable witness tells us concerning Thomas à Kempis and *The Imitation of Christ*. Turning to his *Chronicle*, where he speaks of the death of Vos van Huesden, we read as follows. I translate the passage:—

It happened a few days before his death that two well-known brothers of our own Order from Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, came to Windesheim to consult with our said Prior upon certain affairs; of whom one, brother Thomas à Kempis, a man of exemplary life, who composed many devout books—viz., *He who followeth Me*, *Of the Imitation of Christ*, with others, had the following night a dream foreshadowing future events.

Such evidence coming from such a source is conclusive; but we have much more to bring forward in corroboration.

HERMANN RYD

The second contemporary witness who knew Thomas à Kempis personally is Hermann Ryd. He, like Busch, was a distinguished member of the congregation of Windesheim. Born in 1408, he entered the monastery of Wittenberg in 1427, and was later sent to the Tyrol by Cardinal de Cusa to assist in the work of monastic reformation there. In 1447 he was sent to the monastery of the 'New Work,' near Halle, where he distinguished himself by his piety and learning.

In his description of the Convent of the Canons Regular of Windesheim, contained in a codex, dated 1493, in the

monastery of St. Nicolas, in Passau, he writes as follows. I translate the passage :—

The Brother who compiled the book of *The Imitation* is called or named Thomas, sub-Prior in the said monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, in the diocese of Utrecht and province of Cologne; and this said monastery is distant a league from Windesheim, which is the head monastery, in which the Canons Regular of the province of Cologne, Mayence, and Treves hold yearly a General Chapter. The said compiler was still alive in 1454. And I, Brother Hermann, of the monastery of the 'New Work,' near Halle, in the diocese of Magdeburg, being sent to the said General Chapter, spoke with him.

Under ordinary circumstances, it would seem needless to add to the testimony of Busch and Ryd, who knew Thomas—were members of his own order—and pointedly declared him to be the author of *The Imitation*; but, in the present case, it becomes prudent to corroborate their authority, because such extraordinary and pertinacious ingenuity has been expended in the endeavour to support phantom claims by discrediting à Kempis. Therefore I shall quote a few more witnesses, out of the many, who were either contemporary, or nearly so, and whose testimony is ample to establish the claims of the holy Canon of Agnetenberg, even if we had not the foregoing irresistible evidence.

JOHN MAUBURN

John Mauburn, a native of Brussels, entered the monastery of Mount St. Agnes *shortly after the death of Thomas à Kempis*.

In 1491 he published at Basle a book entitled *Rosetum Spiritualium Exercitiorum*, in which he quotes *The Imitation* as the work of à Kempis. Again, in his *Scala Communionis* he does the same. Finally, in his *Venatorium*, he adds the words, 'Qui Frater Thomas à Kempis inter caetera opuscula quae fecit, composuit libellum, *Qui sequitur me*, quem falso Domino Gerson attribuunt.

THE ANONYMOUS CONTEMPORARY BIOGRAPHER OF THOMAS À KEMPIS

This author wrote his biography shortly after à Kempis' death, and states that his informants were the brethren of

Mount St. Agnes, who had lived with Thomas à Kempis, and had known him intimately. In the course of the life this writer distinctly quotes *The Imitation of Christ* as the work of à Kempis, and adds a catalogue of his various spiritual treatises, including therein the four books of *The Imitation*.

Let us remember that the evidence of Maubern and the Anonymous Biographer has the special value of coming from Mount St. Agnes, the domicile and home of à Kempis.

ADRIAN DE BUT

The evidence of this witness comes with singular force in defence of the rights of Thomas à Kempis.

The Royal Commission of History of Belgium brought out, in 1870, under the supervision of Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, the *Chronicles of Adrian de But*, a monk of the famous Cistercian abbey of Dunes. These *Chronicles* date from 1431, and are continued up to the death of De But, in 1480. Late in the *Chronicles*, and referring to the year 1459, the following note occurs:—'Hoc anno Frater Thomas de Kempis, de Monte Sanctae Agnetis professor ordinis regularium Canonicorum multos scriptis suis divulgatis aedificat: Hic vitam sanctae Lidwigis descripsit et quoddam volumen metricè super illud *Qui sequitur me*.'

Here we find Adrian de But, the contemporary of Thomas à Kempis, attributing to him *The Imitation of Christ*, designating it, as usual, by its first sentence '*Qui sequitur me*,' and adding the word *metricè*. This latter term might have remained an inexplicable puzzle were it not for the discovery made about 1872 by Dr. Carl Hirsche, that *The Imitation of Christ*, as well as most of the other writings of Thomas à Kempis, is written and punctuated so as to be rhythmical! Herein, too, is found the explanation of the fact that certain old manuscripts of the book bear the title '*Musica Ecclesiastica*.'

A remarkable and important fact connected with the evidence of de But is, that it was until recently supposed to refer to a much later period than it really does. However, a careful examination of the manuscript itself, which I made at the Burgundian Library at Brussels, in 1887, with

MM. Ruelens and Hosdey, has quite satisfied us that this note refers to the year 1459, that is twelve years before the death of à Kempis.

I have published a full account of this discovery, with an illustrative photogravure, in the August number of the *Précis Historiques*, Brussels, 1889.

WESSEL GANSFORD

According to Albert Hardenberg, the biographer of Wessel, the latter acquired his first taste for true theology by reading *The Imitation of Christ*, and actually went to Mount St. Agnes specially to make the acquaintance of its author, Thomas à Kempis.

GINTHER ZAINER

The earliest printed edition of *The Imitation* was brought out by the above famous printer, at Augsburg, about the years 1471 and 1472. The Editor, in the final note, distinctly attributes the work to Thomas à Kempis.

A beautiful photographic facsimile of this celebrated edition was reproduced in 1894, by Elliot Stock, of London.

MATHIAS FARINATOR

Mathias Farinator, a Carmelite monk of Augsburg, and contemporary of Thomas à Kempis, transcribed *The Imitation* between 1472 and 1475, and states that à Kempis was its author.

PETER SCHOTT

Peter Schott was a Canon of Strasburg, a noted divine, poet, and literary critic. He wrote a laudatory preface to the works of Gerson, published in 1488, and distinctly states that the book, *On Contempt of this World*, a well-known synonym of *The Imitation*, was not the work of the great Chancellor, but of a certain Thomas, a Canon Regular.

JEHAN LAMBERT

Jehan Lambert translated *The Imitation* into French, in 1490, and asserts that it is the work neither of St. Bernard, nor of John Gerson, but of Thomas à Kempis.

PETER DANHAUSSER

I have in my possession a copy of the works of Thomas à Kempis edited by the above, and printed in Nuremberg by Hochfeder, in 1494. At the head of the first chapter of *The Imitation* we find a distinct declaration that its author *was* Thomas à Kempis, and *not* the Chancellor Gerson. A preface to this edition by the Carthusian, George Pirckamer, adds the weight of his authority to the text.

MARTIN SIMUS

Martin Simus, of Strasburg, in his edition of the works of Gerson (1494), again distinctly states that the book, *On the Contempt of the World*, was not the work of that author, but of a certain Thomas, Canon Regular.

TRITHEMIUS

Trithemius, better known as John Trittenheim, Benedictine Abbot of Spanheim, was one of the most learned ecclesiastical historians of his time. He wrote in 1494 and 1495, and attributes *The Imitation of Christ* to à Kempis, the author of the *Sermons to Novices*. His evidence is *most important*, as showing that in his time *The Imitation* was *not* attributed to a Benedictine author, but to a member of the Congregation of Windesheim.

JODOCUS BADIUS ASCENSIVS

Jodocus Badius Ascensius, a man of great learning, edited and published the works of Thomas à Kempis in the year 1521, including therein *The Imitation of Christ*; adding in his preface that he undertook the work at the request of the Benedictines of St. Germain-des-Prés, the Carthusians of Paris, and the Celestinians of Soissons. Evidently all these held that Thomas was the author.

If space permitted I might go on adding witnesses, but this seems utterly needless. Anyone who could resist the evidence of those already quoted is not likely to be influenced if they were multiplied by thousands. It seems impossible that anyone can read the foregoing testimony—coming from witnesses either contemporary or nearly so,

who, acting independently and above suspicion, unite in attributing the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* to Thomas à Kempis—without arriving at the conclusion that he, and he alone, must have been its author.

In my next communication I hope to show something of the *External Evidence* which the various manuscripts of *The Imitation* offer in favour of Thomas à Kempis as its author, and also of the *Internal Evidence* which the book itself contains, pointing in the same direction.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DUTY

THE idea of duty is not the growth of modern thought; it does not even owe its origin to Christianity. Centuries before the doctrine of the Messiah spread its light on the earth, questions regarding man's duties were long and ardently discussed. When the philosophy of Greece pierced through the dark veil of intellectual confusion, and collected together the faded remnants of truth, it mostly occupied itself with the consideration of man. It inquired into his origin, his destiny, and the means he should adopt to procure his personal well-being and ultimate end. Pythagoras and Heraclitus began the investigation; Democritus and the Sophists went a step farther; Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle advanced as far as reason could well have brought them. The great question that came before them all was, What is man's ultimate good, and how is he to regulate his acts so as to obtain that good? Their solution of the latter part of the question varied according to their different views of what is the ultimate good. Socrates was the first among the Greeks who taught that man's well-being consists in the knowledge of the good, but he did not assign what he conceived that good to be; Plato followed in his footsteps, and declared that good to be the ideal harmony of the universe,

and that each one's good consists in ordering his acts to this universal good. Aristotle, more deductive and analytic than his master, descended to the particular act. He sought a standard according to which that act was either good or bad. This standard, he says, consists in moral excellence. Man's acts are good or bad, according to their conformity or non-conformity with moral excellence. But Aristotle does not give a satisfactory account of what this moral excellence is. It depends, he says, on the moral consciousness of the age, and he then points out particular acts where there is conformity with this moral excellence. In his book on *Ethics* he dwells at length on this moral excellence of man, and he shows how man is to act so as to attain his ultimate good ; how the non-rational and semi-rational elements of the soul are to be regulated by reason ; but there are many questions there touched on to which the Stagyrice does not offer a solution. It is a matter of regret to philosophers that this excellent work of Aristotle, which is so full of close reasoning and precision of thought, remained imperfect and incomplete.

What is wanting in Aristotle the Stoics endeavoured to supply. They formulated a system of human conduct that became the standard of well-being to each individual. With Socrates and his successors they placed knowledge as the first essential for all well-doing. Ignorance, they said, is the cause of all evil-doing. One cannot seek evil except he is ignorant of the good. To this knowledge of the good they added an absolute indifference to all things that can affect man. Man's duty, they taught, is to know the good, and to hold himself passively indifferent to all things that can bring him grief or sorrow, joy or pain. This good of the Stoics, in the knowledge of which wisdom consists, is the order of the world fitted and governed by divine thought. Man's perfection consists in the knowledge of this order, and in the right relation of his actions to it. This system of the Stoics was afterwards adopted and modified by the Neo-Platonists. By them it was introduced and taught in Rome, and on its principles is based the admirable little work of Cicero, *De Officiis*.

After centuries of thought the question of man's duties was still unanswered. Reason had gone far on the right road to find out what they are, but being unaided by any superior help it soon proved an unsafe guide, and led the searchers after truth into the pitfalls of error. It was reserved for the teachers of Christianity, whose minds were enlightened and perfected by the divine gift of faith, to define and point out the duties incumbent on man.

It is the object of the following paper to show what these duties are, to assign the foundations on which they are based, and to point out the different ways in which they affect man.

What gives man the eminent position he holds among created beings is the spiritual soul that animates his body. Whether we admit that man's appearance on earth was the outcome of the latent powers of nature that gradually developed during long periods of time, till at a certain epoch a determined portion of matter was sufficiently disposed to become a fit abode of the human soul, or whether we attribute it to an individual and specific act of creation, we must all grant that the human soul was directly and immediately created by God. Man's soul could not be the product of matter. It was above matter, it had properties foreign to matter, it could and did act independently of matter. Yet in the all-wise designs of Providence it was confined in, and limited to, a determined quantity of matter. But though thus limited to the material body of which it was the form, and on which it depended for many of its operations, it still could perform some actions that were beyond the sphere of matter. Will and understanding are psychical faculties, and their exercise does not entirely depend on material organs. The soul however, often required the aid of material organs, even for its immaterial operations, though in the state of original justice in which it was first constituted it was much less dependent on them than it now is. In that perfect state the soul, could not err in the acquisition of truth, neither was it as dependent as it is now on the phantasmata of the imagination. It could then guide and direct the imagination, now it can but often blindly follow.

In addition to these immaterial operations of man, his spiritual soul constituted him an independent individual being, specifically distinct from all others. It assigned to him a special place in creation; it made known to him the end of his existence, and the means proportionate to its attainment; it made him master of his own actions. Man need not have gone beyond himself to learn what his ultimate end was; his inner consciousness proclaimed to him the special end for which he existed. In the ideal atmosphere that penetrated his soul he felt that he was created not for things of earth, but that beyond its perishable goods there was a higher, a nobler, and a more excellent end to which the trend of his actions should incline, and which he should in all things seek to attain. This knowledge of his final destiny showed him his relations to all things else. He saw that he was not like an individual atom, drifting broadcast in space, with no definite way to direct his course; but that he was a being destined to a fixed end, and therefore having a relation, primarily, to that end, and secondly, to whatever else formed an intermediary end of his actions.

By these relations his manifold line of action was mapped out to him, and to each line of action was attached a corresponding obligation to pursue the direct course. The relations thus manifested were threefold: to God, to himself, and to his fellow-man. Man felt that he had a relation to God, who, as He was the cause and beginning of his existence, was to be also the end, the end to which man felt himself bound to direct his actions; secondly, man himself was the end for which God created all things on earth, and therefore was he to look on himself as possessing a certain dignity and excellence granted him by God, and his reason dictated to him that on that account he was to honour and respect his own person; thirdly, man saw that same specific dignity in all other men, and hence arose a new relation which manifested to him certain obligations to others. This threefold relation of man to God, to himself, and to his neighbour was based on the order instituted by the Divine Intelligence, and impressed indelibly on the mind of man.

This order was likewise threefold. The Divine intelligence, according to which were made all things that are made, fixed certain laws or modes of action by which all things were to be guided. When God created the universe He did not act blindly. He foresaw the end for which He acted, and He everywhere proportioned the means to the end He had in view. Everything that came from His hands had its own place in creation, its own work to do, and its own end to attain. God created all things 'in measure, and number, and weight.' The Divine mind is both the exemplar and guide according to which all things are, and act, and the perfection of each consists in its conformity with that exemplar and guide. Each created being seeks the end assigned to it by its Creator, and when it possesses that end it is perfect; it has all that is due to it, and in that possession its perfection consists.

Some beings seek their end without knowing that they do so; they move on instinctively, each fulfilling its own mission, but as far as we can judge, unconscious that the order they follow is in harmony with the mind of their guide. Man has this special perfection, that he knows the order assigned to him by God. He knows that he is a being dependent on his Creator, and that the Creator has rights over him which he feels he is obliged to fulfil. One of these rights that God has over man is to demand that man should act according to the order established by the Divine Law. Man is conscious of the justice of God's right over him; he has written on his soul the knowledge of the demand that God makes from him; and go where he will, he feels that he is under an obligation to obey it. He is free to do so, but when he fails to act in accordance with God's demand, he subverts the order God has assigned to him to follow, and he sins against his Creator. This obligation that man feels urging him on to conform his actions to a definite order is called *duty*. Considered in the concrete, duty is the doing or omission of some act that a law demands us to do or to avoid.

At the present day there are many who deny this demand of the Creator on the creature. Fixing their

ultimate standard of action in reason alone, they ignore the existence of any superior law. They bow down and adore reason, and reject any higher guide of their actions. Agnosticism may ascend higher, or more truly, descend lower, and do homage to its intellectual chimera the Unknown, or Positivism may dress up its idol Humanity, and induce others to bow down before it as the ultimate criterion of the goodness of our actions; but in each case, whether as Rationalist, Agnostic, or Positivist, there is the same attempt to turn man away from the order assigned him by his Creator, and to extinguish in him the glowing spark that illumines his way, and gently, but surely, guides him on to the true end of his destiny. Reason will not do more for modern philosophers than it did for the philosophers of old. Reason without God is like a body without its head, like an army without its general, like a ship without its captain. It has no standard, no guide, no fixed points, no immovable landmarks according to which it is to proceed: it is blind, helpless, and incapable of advancing on the right road. It cannot even continue to exist. Take away the absolute and the real and the contingent cannot continue to be. But with God as its author, and the light of the Divine Intelligence as its guide, it can proceed safely on the true path, and lead man on to the attainment of that end, in the possession of which consists his true happiness.

Granting, then, the existence of the Divine Law as the ultimate standard and guide of men's actions, what, we may ask, are man's duties to God? It may be well, before answering the question, to remark that God in Himself has no obligations towards any of us. He has rights over us. He can make laws for us, and demand their observance; but He has no duties towards us. He is Himself His own law, ever acting in conformity with His infinite wisdom. We are His creatures, depending on Him for our existence, and receiving from Him every good thing we possess. If in His goodness He has thought well to reward us for our good actions, it is because He has bounteously willed it, and not because we can do

anything that imposes on Him a duty to do so. God has rights with regard to us, but He has no duties. We have no rights with regard to God, but we have many duties towards Him. The following are some of these duties.

As rational beings, we are obliged to know God ; and this includes our duty of acknowledging Him as the Creator of all things, their first beginning, as well as their final end ; of adoring Him by acknowledging our dependence on Him, and His supreme dominion over us ; of submitting our reason to His word, and believing Him with the firmest faith when He deigns to speak to us ; and, finally, it includes the duty of seeking the true means whereby we can come to a knowledge of Him. It is our duty to love Him, to esteem Him as the highest good, both in regard to Himself and relative to us ; to centre our affections on Him as such, to seek or desire nothing but what is pleasing to Him, to always maintain His honour and extend His glory. We are obliged to serve Him, as His Law demands, both by internal acts of the soul and external acts of the body. Body and soul alike belong to Him, and are, therefore, to be used in serving Him. We are obliged to do nothing but what is in conformity with His holy will, and to avoid whatever is discordant to His desires ; in short, there is a duty on each one of us to use everything here on earth as a means of bringing us nearer to Him. These duties of man towards His Creator arise out of the right that God has over him, and are consequent on the order that He has established for man to observe. They are known to every human being who has come to the use of reason, and are binding on every human soul.

But these are not the only duties incumbent on man. He has other duties, both towards himself and his neighbour. God, as I have said, has assigned to man an eminent position among created beings. He has made him not a means to be utilized by something else, but He has constituted him an end, inasmuch as all things on earth are ordained by God for man's service. Man is the end for which God created all the things of this world, not the ultimate end, for such is God Himself, but the proximate or

immediate end, since all things on earth are for the service of man. Man is superior to them, and they are subject to him. It is his spiritual soul that gives him this superiority, that raises him high above the level of the brute creation, and impresses on him the image of his invisible Creator. Reason, which is one of the intellectual faculties, manifests to him this superiority, and the relations corresponding to it. He knows he has a body to preserve, and not injure or destroy at will; that he has a soul to perfect and lead to God. Both are from God, and their continued union is a necessary condition for his existence. He cannot destroy that existence, but must preserve it as a gift from God. Hence it arises that he has obligations to himself—obligations dictated to him by natural instinct, sanctioned by right reason, and conformable to the natural law that God has written on his soul. He has a duty to preserve his life, and, consequently, to never take direct steps to destroy it. God alone is master of man's life, and He alone has the personal right to bring it to an end, when and how He chooses. There are cases where man may endanger his life for his own personal good, or the good of another; but then the loss or the danger of losing life is not the object sought. It can at most be but consequent on the good intended, and frequently it is lawful to permit a less evil, that a greater good may follow. The State too can by its judicial authority declare that a man is unworthy of being allowed to remain among the living; that he is an evil to society; and acting with that authority it has from God to preserve the welfare of society, it can deprive that man of life.

Man has also other personal duties. Right reason dictates to him that he is to use his body for the benefit of his soul, that he is to preserve it, to restrain its inordinate appetites, and as far as possible restore it to that submission to reason which was its happy lot in the state of original justice. But it is especially to his soul that man has many duties. He has to order its intellectual faculties to their true end—God, to submit them to His word when He speaks, to use them unbiassed in the investigation of truth, especially

those truths that are necessary for the attainment of his ultimate end. Then, when the truth is known, when the right way is clear, he has to direct his will to the acquiring of the necessary good, to turn it away from the perishable and corruptible, and centre its inclinations on the incorruptible and eternal. Nor is this all ; he has to strengthen and perfect the faculties of his soul by the intellectual and moral virtues. He has within him the power to know what is true, and to do what is right, but it is a power that is almost inert, it requires to be stirred up and made active, to be accidentally perfected by the virtues, by prudence in the intellect, justice in the will, and by temperance and fortitude in the powers that carry out the injunction of intellect and will. And all this in the natural order, and for every human being that comes to the use of reason. It is true, man is raised by God to a supernatural order, and destined by Him to a supernatural end, to an end that man cannot conceive, that 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard.' He gets from God the proportionate means to attain that end ; and, here again, he is under a new duty to utilize these means. He cannot with impunity forfeit the spiritual inheritance gained him by his Redeemer. He has his own part to play, his own duty to fulfil in bringing his immortal soul to the true port. He can fall short of that work ; he can fail in accomplishing that duty ; but when he does, the loss is his own, and must be imputed to him.

There is yet another duty, which is, man's duty to his neighbour. Man, according to the dictum of Aristotle, is a political animal. He is not a solitary being cut away from the society of others. Though not necessarily his 'brother's keeper,' he is his brother's companion and helper. His reason, his position, his surroundings in life show him that he has many duties to his neighbour. He recognises an equal, specific dignity and excellence in all other human beings as he himself possesses, and as each one has a right to preserve that dignity, man has a duty to his fellow-man not to interfere with that right. If each one has a right, all have a duty not to counteract that right. Nor is this a mere negative duty ; it is more ; it is a positive and definite

duty to assist and help others where they have a right to claim help and assistance. Yet, though positive, it is not the brotherly-love, nor the mental or material improvement or self-sacrifice for the common good that the Positivists preach to us as the ultimate end of our lives. It is a duty based on reason which tells us that each man is an image and likeness of his Creator, that he has within him an immortal soul destined to enjoy felicity with us in the abode of the blessed, and purchased at a dear cost by the Precious Blood of its Redeemer. It is this view of humanity, and not the dry barren view of the Positivist, that spontaneously warns us of our duty to our neighbour, that manifests to us our neighbour's rights, and consequently our corresponding duties. In the natural, as in the supernatural order, these duties teach us that we are never to injure our neighbour either in word or deed, that we are not to interfere with his rights, and that we are to help him when in need. Right reason tells us we should do so ; the law of God requires us to do so ; personal rights of each individual demand we should do so.

So far, we have endeavoured to show the fitness of the threefold duty incumbent on man ; namely, his duty towards God, towards himself, and towards his neighbour. We have shown also how these duties are based on the threefold order of things, and on the consequent relations of these orders ; first, the order of the Divine Intellect by which man has fixed and definite relations to God ; secondly, the order of right reason by which man has relations to himself ; and thirdly, the order that regulates one man to another. The duties corresponding to these orders are incumbent on all men, and may be called primary or absolute duties. There are other duties arising out of the personal and individual relations of one man to another in the different phases of life ; for instance, the duties of the servant towards his master, of the citizen towards the state, and of the nation towards its ruler. These are called secondary or relative duties. Not that every duty is not relative ; it is. For where there is duty there is a corresponding relation, and a corresponding right ; and wherever there is right there is a corresponding

duty, at least, in others. We say, in others, because God has many rights, but He has no duties.

Recently much has been said and written about the question whether man has any duties to animals. The Anti-Vivisectionist Society claims that animals have certain rights to which man is bound to submit, and that therefore man has duties to animals. In their estimation it is wrong for the sportsman to shoot down the hare or partridge, or for the scientist to inoculate or make experiments on the guinea-pig. But we fail to see the cogency of the arguments they adduce for their assumed position. Man, we think, has no duties to the brute creation, to animals as such. He is bound, we admit, not to ill-use them or treat them harshly, but this arises not from any rights that they have on him, but from the duty he owes to himself, to always act with moderation, to regulate his actions according to right reason. Brutes are created by God for the use of man, and in harmony with this design of the Almighty, man has the right to use and employ them as befits his wants. He has the right to inflict pain on them, not, be it well understood, in a savage and inhuman manner, he has the right to work them or kill them, as the case may require. What internal perception or sense of pain they may have beyond what is visible to us, we do not know ; and till the Anti-Vivisectionist Society can prove for us that brutes have a different position in the world, and other relations to man besides those now known to us, we feel justified in claiming for man the right to use the brute creation for that end assigned to them by the Lord of all.

When we assign to man duties towards God, himself, and his neighbour, we do so because God has a supreme right and dominion over us, and because man is an image and likeness of God, with the light of the Divine mind reflected on his soul, guiding him in his actions, and demanding allegiance from all his inferior members ; and, finally, because he sees in his fellow-man that same image of God, an *alter ego*, another self, participating in the same light, and tending to the same end. Hence arise the foundations of the threefold duty we have assigned

to man. The Grecian philosophers failed to see any such foundations of human duty, and they were therefore unable to clearly point out what man's duties were. Modern philosophers refuse to accept these foundations of duty, and the result is the want of any fixed rule of conduct that can make man what he ought to be—a true servant of God.

P. T. BURKE, O.D.C.

SIR ROBERT S. BALL ON EVOLUTION

SIR ROBERT S. BALL, formerly Astronomer Royal for Ireland, and now Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at Cambridge University, is deservedly famous as a writer and lecturer on astronomical subjects. It is not, we think, very generally known that in *Longman's Magazine* for November, 1883, he came out in a new and somewhat unexpected character—that of a Darwinian evolutionist. His article was headed 'Darwinism in its relation with other branches of Science.' It did not attract much attention at the time; and had it been left at rest in the pages of *Longman's* it might have been spared adverse criticism. However, in 1892 it was brought forth from its comparative obscurity, and given anew to the public as the closing chapter of a book called *In Starry Realms*. Probably our first thought on meeting with it in such a place is—what brings it there? Darwinism is 'of the earth earthly'—very much so!—and the last place we should look for it would certainly be in an astronomical work. However, there it is, like the fly in the amber, and now there is no escaping it, for we all know the popularity enjoyed by Sir R. Ball's books. As a writer of science for the million, he has few rivals; and it may be safely said that he has taught the general public more astronomy than any other man who has written on the subject. His Darwinism will now profit by the popularity of his astronomy, and get a publicity it never had a chance or before. For one that read the article on its first appearance

a hundred will read it now. Moreover, the fame of the author has continued to grow in the interval, and any opinion from so renowned and accomplished a teacher must necessarily make a deep impression on the public mind. As the article referred to is a thick-and-thin endorsement of Darwinism, it becomes a matter of necessity to examine it in some detail, and to show that, however eminent as an astronomer, as a biologist Sir R. Ball is, we are sorry to have to say, absolutely unreliable.

The article opens with an enthusiastic appreciation of Darwin. The voyage of the *Beagle* is likened to 'the immortal voyage of Columbus. In each case a new world was discovered.' Sir R. Ball describes the effect which the reading of the *Origin of Species* had upon him. 'I can recall at this day the intense delight with which I read it. I was an instantaneous convert to the new doctrines, and I have felt their influence during all my subsequent life.' This enthusiastic tone is kept up throughout the article:—

That the great doctrine would some day be accepted, was a necessary truth. . . . Darwin has worked out one of the most splendid details in the history of the universe. . . . The lifeless earth is the canvas on which has been drawn the noblest picture that modern science has produced. It is Darwin who has drawn this picture. He has shown that the evolution of the lifeless earth from the nebula is but the prelude to an organic evolution of still greater interest and complexity.

Finally, in the concluding sentence, Darwin is styled 'the Newton of natural history,' whose 'immortal work has revolutionized knowledge.'

To account for his present incursion into the domain of biology, Sir R. Ball claims 'that the great doctrine of Evolution is of the very loftiest significance, and soars far above the distinction between one science and another to which we are accustomed.'

He briefly describes the vicissitudes through which the Darwinian theory passed, and brings it out eventually triumphant. 'The truth inherent in the principles of Darwin has quietly brushed aside opposition, and now we hear but little of it.' This sentence is a fair specimen of what we must

regard as a characteristic feature of this article, viz., unqualified assertion of things as facts, which are, to say the least, unproven, and not seldom contrary to the weight of existing evidence and authority. Here we have it roundly stated that the *inherent truth* of Darwinism has placed it beyond dispute. This from so eminent a man practically leaves the ordinary reader no choice. He can only conclude that Darwinism is now the creed of all educated humanity. He is not in a position to know that while some more or less modified form of evolution has met with fairly wide acceptance, the evolution of Darwin has at the present time hardly a leg to stand on. And the remarkable thing is that this has not been the work solely of foes without; the children of the household of evolution have risen up and rent the parent. Lord Kelvin long ago docked off those 'incomprehensibly vast periods' of time which Darwin declared to be *necessary* for the working of his system; Huxley demolished the geological evidence, showing that whatever there is of it 'is quite incompatible with the theory;' Weismann has laid the ghost of natural selection, by upsetting Darwin's theory of inheritance of acquired qualities; and so on, until almost the only thing left of Darwin's famous book is the natural history. But the ordinary reader does not know all this, and stands dumbfounded before Sir R. Ball's blunt statement.

Darwin's interment in Westminster Abbey is hauled in as a national endorsement of his theory. As if the nation as a whole knew anything whatever about his theory; or, as if all those who voted him a national funeral did so because of their acceptance of his theory, and not because he was a great naturalist, whose works reflected credit on his country by giving to the study of natural history such an incentive as it had never before received.

After this we get a bit of astronomical speculation in Sir R. Ball's best popular vein. It would be difficult to find a better specimen of popular scientific exposition than the sketch of the nebular hypothesis of our planetary system, which he gives within the limits of four ordinary book pages. He tries very hard to connect it with Darwinism by pointing to the fact that it too is a theory of evolution; but let that

pass. Here you see the master at his own trade, and cannot help noticing the difference in the workmanship. He concludes this scientific portion with these words:—‘At this point the functions of the astronomer are at an end. . . . His work being done, he now hands over the continuance of the history to the biologist.’ Pity he did not really do so, and draw his pen through all that follows! From this on we have the painful, if instructive, spectacle of a great man labouring at a work for which he is in no way equipped, and which, notwithstanding his ability and enthusiasm, turns out a miserable failure. This it is now our disagreeable duty to show.

The Darwinian portion of the article begins with a statement which is not only not true, but is so entirely opposed to notorious facts, that we find it hard to believe it merely a mistake. Anyone who knows anything about Darwin knows that he made no attempt to account for the *origin of life*. Therefore when Sir R. Ball tells us that ‘Darwin has taken up the history of the earth at the point where the astronomer left it,’ he simply states what is not true. Darwin does *not* begin at the point where the astronomer left off, but at a point whose remoteness therefrom cannot be expressed in terms of quantity. For the two points are separated by nothing less than *a new creation*. *Life* makes its appearance on the earth. Surely such an event was deserving of mention by Sir R. Ball. But even this does not represent all the difference. Darwin is not content to begin with a single living organism. He requires as an adequate foundation for his theory ‘four or five progenitors’ for animals, and ‘an equal or lesser number’ for plants.¹ In short, Darwin not only assumes organic life to begin with, but several distinct *species* of animals and plants—a very notable addition to the ‘lifeless earth’ handed over to him by the astronomer.

And here the question naturally arises—Can we suppose Sir R. Ball to have been ignorant, even so late as 1892, of these fundamental assumptions of Darwinism?—he who

¹ *Origin of Species* (1892), p. 399.

read the *Origin of Species* with such 'intense delight.' In that work Darwin more than once plainly states the limits of his theory of derivation. We have just now referred to one of these plain statements, in which he tells us the number of progenitors he requires for animals and plants respectively. Even more remarkable is his restatement of this in the concluding sentence of the work—'There is a grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one.' Can we conceive it possible that Sir R. Ball could have overlooked such a sentence in such a place? And if not, what are we to think of his telling the public that Darwin began with the 'lifeless earth'? This sort of *suppressio veri* shows us Sir R. Ball in a light in which we had rather not have to view him.

In starting as he did, and not with the 'lifeless earth,' Darwin knew very well the terrible pitfall he was escaping. Sir R. Ball, less wise, falls headlong into it. He proceeds to tackle the 'very celebrated difficulty' of the origin of life, and his solution of it reminds us of nothing so much as of those 'roads to nowhere,' on which our starving people were employed in the famine years.

'It has been contended that life can never be produced except from life; but just as stoutly has the opposite view been maintained.' Here we have another example of unqualified assertion of the non-fact. 'The opposite view' has *not* been 'just as stoutly maintained.' 'The opposite view' is that life can come spontaneously from dead matter. How far this is from being 'stoutly maintained' is evident from the many conflicting theories as to the origin of life, and still more from the prevailing tendency amongst the most thoroughgoing evolutionists to give it up. When Hæckel tries to get round the difficulty by asserting that there is no such thing as lifeless matter, but that all matter is 'equally alive'—(and therefore must necessarily have been alive in the incandescent gaseous and molten states; otherwise the difficulty would remain!)—when Fiske and Tyndall approve of this wild hypothesis; when Tyndall nevertheless admits that there is not 'the least evidence that life can be

developed out of matter without demonstrable antecedent life;' when Darwin confesses that 'our ignorance is as profound on the origin of life as on the origin of force or matter;' when Huxley says 'we know absolutely nothing of the origination of living matter;' when Virchow echoes this admission of absolute ignorance; when Weismann's only argument for the development of life from dead matter is the truly wonderful one that it is for him 'a logical necessity;' when Huxley, having already confessed absolute ignorance, refers his readers to the other side of 'the abyss of geological time' for a solution—(which looks like referring them to Jericho!); when Tyndall again, not content with the two contradictory views already stated, besides his pet crystalline theory, calls in the aid of nothing less than 'a cooling planet' to solve the puzzle—(By the way, Sir R. Ball, awkwardly enough, does not hand over this planet for occupation until it is *already cooled*!)—when this is the chaotic state of opinion amongst the leading materialists, it surely cannot be said that 'the opposite view,' or in fact any view, 'has been just as stoutly maintained.'

'Can a particle of matter which consists only of a definite number of atoms of definite chemical composition manifest any of those characters which characterize life? Take as an extreme instance the brain of an ant, which is not larger than a good-sized pin's head.' We hardly know what to think of these two sentences. They afford 'an extreme instance' either of grave dishonesty, or else of gross blundering on the part of Sir R. Ball. The first sentence asks an abstract question; the second is supposed to supply a concrete example. But see how the example fits the question. We have first to disentangle that question from the confusing language in which Sir R. Ball has thought well to wrap it up. The subject of inquiry is 'a particle of matter which consists only of a definite number of atoms.' If the said particle consists *only* of its material atoms, it does not contain anything but these atoms with their inherent qualities. Hence the particle does not contain what we call *life*—whatever it be—for life is certainly not an inherent quality of ordinary inorganic matter. Therefore the subject

of inquiry is simply a particle of *dead matter*, and the question resolves itself into this—Can a piece of dead matter manifest of itself the characteristics of living matter? In short, can dead matter *grow alive*?

Now consider the 'particle' which is selected to illustrate this capacity in dead matter—the *brain of an ant*! What can Sir R. Ball mean? Does he ask us to regard the brain of an ant as a particle of dead matter 'consisting *only* of a definite number of atoms' and nothing more? And is the life which it manifests to be regarded as an illustration of the power of a particle of dead matter to manifest life? If not, what does the illustration mean? Apparently Sir R. Ball would even have us believe that he is putting his case at its worst by taking such an 'extreme instance'—a particle no bigger than a pin's head. As if material bulk made any difference in a question regarding *life*! Is a microbe less alive than an elephant? Afflicted humanity in our day is sadly convinced of the contrary! The brain of an ant is *alive*; and because it is alive, it is as great a puzzle to our materialist philosophers as the body of an elephant. Sir R. Ball might just as well have taken the whole ant, or for that matter the whole family of ants. One would be just as good—or as bad—an instance as the other of the capacity of dead matter to manifest life.

But what are we to say of the honesty of such reasoning—if we must call it so? Or can we charitably suppose that in the effort to throw some dust in the public eye, a little of it got into the astronomer's own optic? We very much fear that when Sir R. Ball came down for once from his familiar 'high heavens,' he fell among thieves, and contracted their evil ways.

Here follows a couple of pages of glorification of the brain of an ant, apparently leading to no more *apropos* conclusion than that 'by merely studying the behaviour of an infusion of hay or a tincture of turnips in a test tube, we do not rise to the full magnificence of the problem as to whether life can have originated on the globe from the particles of inorganic matter.' What in the world this can have to do with the solution of the said problem passes

ordinary comprehension. In the reference to the 'infusion of hay' and 'tincture of turnips in a test tube' there is probably a covert sneer at the famous experiments of Pasteur, which gave *spontaneous generation* its quietus. But sneers are of little avail against the terribly conclusive work of the great French scientist. Though he necessarily had to study such contemptible things as tinctures of hay or turnips, and had to work with test tubes rather than telescopes, yet he certainly 'rose to the full magnificence of the problem' he set himself, for *he solved it*; and but for his tinctures and test tubes Sir R. Ball would not now be in such a tight place.

But now let us behold Sir R. Ball 'rise to the full magnificence' of his present problem—the origin of life. Here is his solution of it:—

Unusual indeed must be the circumstances which will have brought about such a combination of atoms as to form the first organic being. But great events are always unusual. Because we cannot repeatedly make an organized being from inert matter in our test tubes, are we to say that such an event can never once have occurred with all the infinite opportunities of nature? We have in nature the most varied conditions of temperature, of pressure, and of chemical composition. Every corner of the earth and of the ocean has been the laboratory in which these experiments have been carried on. It is not necessary to suppose that such an event as the formation of an organized being shall have occurred often. If in the whole course of millions of years past it has once happened, either on the land or in the depths of the ocean, that a group of atoms, few or many, have been so segregated as to have the power of assimilating outside material, and the power of producing other groups more or less similar to themselves, then we have little more to demand from the theory of spontaneous generation.

Truly a fearful and wonderful piece of reasoning, and, to use a classic phrase, 'one of the most extraordinary, if not *the* most extraordinary' of the many extraordinary solutions of the great problem! When Pasteur had done with his tinctures, and emptied out his test tubes, the whole scientific world accepted as final his solution of the problem of spontaneous generation. We fear Sir R. Ball's solution of the problem of life will not be regarded as equally conclu-

sive! But let us examine this wonderful mosaic of uncandid wriggling and absurdity.

Sir R. Ball has proposed to himself a question of the very first importance—‘whether life can have originated on the globe from the particles of inorganic matter.’ He knows that this is perhaps the greatest difficulty of the evolution theory. He knows that so far as human knowledge goes there is only one honest answer to it—a flat negative. He knows that other scientific evolutionists as eminent as himself have admitted this, or given the matter up as hopeless. Instead of showing equal straightforwardness Sir R. Ball tries to mystify his readers by a tangle of words which prove nothing but his own want of candour. For we cannot believe that he is himself convinced. The caution with which he approaches the difficulty leaves no doubt as to his knowledge that he is walking on very thin ice. The formation of the first organic being from inorganic matter was ‘unusual indeed’! Why not say straight out that it was so ‘unusual’ that it was never known to have happened, nor anything like it, nor anything remotely suggesting the possibility of it? Is it honest to say of a thing that *was never known to have happened*, that it is merely ‘unusual’? Yet he goes on to drive home this false idea. ‘Great events are always unusual’ he tells us, as if still further to assure us that this ‘great event’ is merely ‘unusual,’ not that it is *unheard of*.

‘Because we cannot *repeatedly* make an organized being from inert matter in our test tubes, are we to say that such an event can never once have occurred, with all the infinite opportunities of nature?’ Is this a fair statement of the other side of the case? Who ever asked to have it *repeatedly* done? Would it not be fairer to say: ‘Because nothing approaching to it has ever *once*, to our knowledge, occurred either in or outside our test tubes, either in chemistry or nature’? Even then we might not be entitled to deny absolutely the possibility in question, but that possibility would be placed in a fairer light. Then what are those ‘infinite opportunities of nature’? Were they different in the past from what they are now? If so, when, and why, and

how? As to temperature and pressure, we can apply these up to and beyond the powers of endurance of any known form of life, and therefore as far as would be useful for the formation of a living being. Moreover, we can combine and balance them with a delicacy probably never equalled in the rough and tumble of nature's gigantic operations. As to chemical resources, we can do all, and more than all nature's *inorganic* chemistry, which was the only kind of chemistry she had to rely on for the first production of life. If it cannot be shown that the 'infinite opportunities' of *inorganic* nature were *specifically* different in the past from what they are now, their mere multiplication will avail nothing. A thousand factories will be as powerless to produce puppy dogs as one. Neither is it of any use to tell us of the wonders of nature's laboratory unless we are also shown that the production of living beings is part of the work done there. However wonderful a chemical laboratory may be, it has its limitations; and we are not prepared to believe without very decided evidence that it turns out, say, tall hats.

'It is not necessary to suppose that such an event as the formation of an organic being shall have occurred *often*.' Here again we have the *suggestio falsi* noticed above, viz., that the opponents of materialistic evolution unreasonably demand the *frequent* production of living beings from inert matter. Sir R. Ball knows perfectly well that if he can produce *one* instance, his case will be regarded as proved. But he also knows equally well that he cannot produce that one instance, and so he keeps on throwing more dust.

And now after all this preparatory mystification we come at last to the kernel, the very marrow, of Sir R. Ball's solution of the problem:—

If in the whole course of millions of years past it has once happened, either on land or in the depths of the ocean, that a group of atoms, few or many, have been so segregated as to have the power of assimilating outside material, and the power of producing other groups more or less similar to themselves, then we have little more to demand from the theory of spontaneous generation.

Read that 'If' in italics, and then at once you perceive the full value of this extraordinary solution of the problem proposed. Clear the sentence of circumlocution, and what do we get? 'If it has ever once happened anywhere that a group of atoms assumed the characteristics of a living being, then we have done with spontaneous generation.' In short, 'if it ever happened, it did—*Q.E.D.*!' Comment would spoil such a gem of demonstration. The last few words of the sentence reveal where the Pasteur shoe pinched the astronomer, and why he was so hard on tinctures and test tubes. The theory of 'spontaneous generation' died and was finally buried in those test tubes. And now, when Sir R. Ball comes asking us to suppose that it may have happened just 'once in the whole course of millions of years,' we can only answer regretfully: 'Too late!'

The next paragraph affords an example of the method of misapplying scientific facts to build up fallacious arguments:—

The more we study the actual nature of matter, the less improbable will it seem that organic beings should have so originated. One of the most obvious contrasts between organic and inorganic bodies seems to be the power of motion, often inherent in the organized body, which is not possessed by the inorganic body; but this is really a superficial view of the question. . . . In ultimate analysis we see that the atoms of inorganic matter seem to have that mobility, which is frequently noticed as a characteristic of vital action. A mere arrangement of the movements of the atoms of a grain of sand could confer on the little object some of the attributes of an organized body.

Here is a deliberate misuse of a generally admitted scientific principle, viz., the vibratory motion of atoms. To say that there is the smallest analogy between that assumed vibratory motion and the 'mobility which is frequently noticed as a characteristic of vital action' is simply to juggle with science. The fact that motion of some sort is common to two objects does not prove that that motion is analogous in its nature, sources, or effects in the two cases, or that it forms any link between them. A steam-engine has motion, but is it analogous to 'that mobility' which characterizes a horse? And has a steam-engine therefore

‘some of the attributes of an organized body’? Before laying down this principle of analogous mobility in living and not-living things, Sir R. Ball should have remembered that Huxley, a *biologist*, flatly denies it—‘There is no parallel between the actions of matter in the mineral world and in living tissues.’

The last sentence of the paragraph is a delightful specimen of that grand principle of evolutionary argument—*assertion*. That principle might be formulated thus:—‘When there is absolutely no warrant for a thing either in nature, science, or common sense, assert it roundly, and you at once make it a probability, or even a fact.’ As there is not the smallest evidence in favour of such a thing, and as on the contrary all known facts of nature and science, as well as the dictates of common sense, are dead against it there is no other way left to convert a grain of sand into an organized body but *assertion*; so Sir R. Ball asserts it like a man. With a directness which he does not exhibit elsewhere he sets this down as a fact of ‘ultimate analysis’ which ‘we see’! Bravo, Sir Robert!

Sir R. Ball next takes up ‘the supreme discovery of Natural Selection,’ and proceeds to show its ‘most captivating simplicity.’ He tells us that though its course ‘is often not easy to trace’—which is true enough—‘the leading idea is so simple that, once it is properly stated, I do not see how any reasonable person can refuse his assent.’ From this we must conclude either that natural selection has not hitherto got a fair statement, or else that the number of ‘reasonable persons’ is sadly limited. Lest it might be thought that this is taking an unfair advantage by fastening on a single sentence, which is perhaps afterwards qualified, turn on to page 362,¹ and read—‘The circumstantial evidence in favour of natural selection is indeed so strong that no unprejudiced person can refuse to accept it.’ And again, turn on to the end of the second last paragraph, and read—‘[The great principle of Darwin] has afforded the solution of the profound problem presented by organic life.’ These state-

¹ *In Starry Realms.*

ments are as unqualified as the most rabid Darwinian could wish. We may in passing express our regret that the 'unprejudiced person,' though presumably the fittest to survive, is being so steadily extinguished 'by natural selection.' Those who cannot 'refuse to accept' Darwinism are becoming decidedly rare. May Sir R. Ball long survive as a 'persistent type,' and write us more good science and less bad philosophy.

He goes on to give examples of the usual kind, showing development by variation and heredity under man's intelligent selection. He then tells us—'What we have here described [as taking place under man's intelligent care] is going on everywhere on the grandest scale in nature.' Here, surely, is assertion 'on the grandest scale.' We are not given a hint that natural selection is in any way at a disadvantage as compared with man's intelligent selection. Not the smallest reference is made to difficulties or objections, so that Sir R. Ball's readers might suppose natural selection one of those fortunate institutions that have never had an enemy. They must find out elsewhere, if they find out at all, how every point of the 'great principle' has been attacked, and mostly with success, even to its very name, which Darwin himself had to admit to be 'a false term.'¹

Next, as an illustration of how natural selection does its work, we are presented with a vivid picture of the precarious existence of the herring; from which our first conclusion certainly is that the life of a herring is hardly worth living. From the egg to the—grave, shall we call it?—the life of the herring seems to be one continuous effort to dodge relentless enemies. Water, air, and dry land swarm with foes. The mackerel surrounds them below, the sea-gull swoops on them from above, the treacherous tide lures them to their death on the shore. Compared with these daily experiences, the Six Hundred, with 'cannon to right of them, cannon to left of them, cannon in front of them,' must be regarded as fortunate. After all they hadn't cannon behind them, and under them, and over them! Henceforth Sir R. Ball's

¹ *Origin of Species* (1892), p. 58.

readers, if they have hearts as well as stomachs, must find a new trouble added to the bones in the discussion of their morning relish. The bitter cry of persecuted herringdom must reach them from the far-off sea, and turn the tasty morsel to ashes in their mouths.

The survivors of this fearful massacre [he goes on to say] are naturally objects of interest. How is it that they have been spared when so many myriads of their brothers and sisters have been annihilated? No doubt their safety is partly due to the chapter of accidents. They happened to be out of the way when the mackerel made a fatal rush. The sea-gull had eaten so many that when it came to their turn he positively could not eat any more. They got into the middle of the shoal afterwards, and escaped the fish that preyed on its margin. But making every allowance for the benefit of accidents, I think we must credit the surviving herrings themselves with some share in their success. The few that have survived were, on the whole, certainly not the most stupid. They must have had quick sight, they must have had nimble fins, they must have had vigilance and activity. They must have been skilful in procuring food as well as in avoiding danger. They had no maternal solicitude to watch over them [!] Every little herring had to forage for himself, and to hide from or elude his enemies as well as he could; he had no kind of warning when the tide was falling, and that he would be left high and dry if he did not get away from the edge [!] I think we must admit that the few herrings that survive out of a million eggs are above the average in whatever qualities best adapt the herring for fighting the battle of life. I will not say that they must be actually the very best of the million, but I think we must admit that they were among the best.

It is to be hoped that the reader is duly impressed with the weight of evidence contained in this passage. However, considering the nature of the dangers just described, most readers will, we think, feel inclined to attribute the survival of the fittest herrings far more to what Sir R. Ball lightly passes over as 'the chapter of accidents,' than to the superior intelligence, nimbleness of fins, or knowledge of the tides, which he would have us believe had most to do with the selection.

But passing by all that, without even pausing to inquire how the smart young herrings acquire a knowledge of the tides, we ask ourselves after reading the illustration—To what conclusion does it all lead? What point of the

evolution theory does it tend to prove? 'Twice in the last two sentences Sir R. Ball tells us 'we must admit' that probably the best herrings survive. Well, suppose we do admit it, what follows? Clearly that the breed of herrings is steadily improving, and that a time may come when they will deserve a better fate than the herring barrel. But does this thrilling tale of the sea afford the least evidence of any tendency in the superior herring to become a salmon or a whale, not to say a bird or a horse? Sir R. Ball shows almost unlimited confidence in the credulity of his readers, but he forbears asking them to swallow this.

Passing over the next paragraph, which is of the usual kind, we take up the three following paragraphs (pp. 359-361), which Sir R. Ball devotes to showing how imperceptible may be the change of one species into another. All this might indeed have been spared, as it is not the *imperceptibility* of the process that is denied, and has to be proved, but *the fact of its taking place at all*. However, let us look a little into the argument, such as it is. As an illustration of the imperceptibility of the change from one generation to the next of an improved kind, by which we are to suppose a fish might ultimately become a bird, Sir R. Ball points to the imperceptibility of the growth of a baby into a man. How the latter process can be an illustration of the former altogether baffles us. If the baby imperceptibly grew into a *horse*, we could see some meaning in the illustration; but that he should merely grow into a *man* does not seem to throw much additional light on Darwinian evolution.

There is another aspect of the illustration in which it is peculiarly unhappy as regards the object in view—viz., the transmutation of one species into another. Everybody knows that one of the chief difficulties of evolutionists in proving such transmutation to have taken place is the absence of all trace, either in existing organisms or in fossils, of the *transitional forms* through which, according to the theory, the first species must have gradually passed into the second. These undiscoverable transitional forms are of course the 'missing links'—familiar even to the man in the street.

Now in Sir R. Ball's illustration the 'links' between child and man are not missing. In fact they are embarrassingly numerous in the shape of photographs taken from week to week. We might not be able to arrange these photographs in their proper order; but we can easily see that they represent transitional stages in the development of the child into the man, and we have no difficulty in tracing the man back through them to the child. Unfortunately in the case which this is intended to illustrate—viz., the supposed transition of one species into another, the embarrassment does not arise from the *multiplicity* of representatives of the transitional stages, but from their *total absence*. The direct suggestion of this contrast by Sir R. Ball's illustration makes it, as we have said, a peculiarly unhappy one. These three paragraphs, then, do not carry the mind very far towards conviction, at least towards the conviction desired by Sir R. Ball.

In the next paragraph (p. 361) he gives us quite a fascinatingly simple account of how two species may be derived from one by spontaneous variation and survival of the fittest. Unhappily, however, *it supposes a state of things not found in free nature*. To point to but one difficulty—no notice is taken of the promiscuous intercourse that takes place in free nature, and the certain swamping thereby of individual peculiarities. Even Darwin had to modify his views on this point.¹ Sir R. Ball's A and B might hope to become the ancestors of widely different cousins, if when they discovered their varied gifts, they separated from each other and from their less gifted relatives, and went into far countries where there was no danger of inferior admixture. Even then they would be greatly bothered by the unfortunate tendency to *reversion*, which would soon encumber their families with representatives of the old inferior stock, thus making things pretty nearly as bad as before.

Sir R. Ball indeed admits that 'in no case would the process be so simple as that here described; a multitude of circumstances will occur to complicate it.' But then he

¹ *Origin of Species* (1892), p. 66.

does not leave it to be supposed that the complication will hinder it. Indeed, he at once goes on to state that he regards the whole contention as proved—‘Enough has been said to show that in the great principle of natural selection we have a means of producing animals and plants which in the course of time will differ widely from other organisms from the same progenitors’—which, by the way, was not the thing to be proved at all, as far as the theory of evolution is concerned. What we want produced from the same progenitors is not *widely different cousins*, but *different species*—a very different thing.

Sir R. Ball closes the case for natural selection by calmly telling us¹ that ‘no one has ever seen a new species developed by natural selection, but that is because no one has ever lived long enough for that purpose.’ That is the sole reason, according to Sir R. Ball. He does not think it necessary to add, as another possible reason, because, so far as is known, *it never happened*.

The next paragraph touches shortly on the evidence of geology, and supplies us with yet another instance of unqualified assertion for which there is not a particle of warrant, and which is flatly contradicted by evolutionists who are better geologists than Sir R. Ball. Having referred to the fragmentary nature of the geological record at present, he roundly asserts of those fragments:—‘They show us several of the links which connect one class of animals with another *in the way the Darwinian theory suggests*’—in other words, support the Darwinian theory. Without going into further detail, we may let Professor Huxley answer that—‘An impartial survey of the truths of palæontology *negatives* the doctrine [of evolution]; for it either shows us *no evidence* of such modification, or demonstrates it to have been *very slight*.’ He says the evidence from the fossiliferous rocks is ‘quite incompatible with the theory.’

Sir R. Ball finishes with an illustration from mathematics, into which we need not follow him. It is simply another false analogy added to those that have gone before.

¹ Page 362.

² *Lay Sermons*.

Enough has been said to show that the proverbial shoemaker was not more unlucky when he left his last than the astronomer when he left his stars and planets to try his hand at evolution. From the moment when, forgetting his own admonition that 'the functions of the astronomer are at an end,' he passes into an unfamiliar region, his essay is little better than a succession of groundless assertions, fallacious analogies, mistakes, and mishaps, which make us almost doubt that this can be the master who has delighted and instructed us in so many beautiful works, whose skilful pen has made 'the story of the heavens' as pleasant reading as a romance.

Wisdom mounts her zenith with the stars.

There, and not with the evolutionists, Sir R. Ball will find her.

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly give your opinion on the validity of the marriage contracted in the following circumstances :—A girl—a *vaga*—who chanced to be living in my parish, wished to marry a man from a neighbouring parish. Acting as the *proprius parochus vagae*, I made arrangements for the marriage. The parties, however, expressed a wish to be married in a neighbouring parish, where one of the parochial clergy—a relative of the bridegroom—was to say a Nuptial Mass. I delegated my curate to assist at the marriage, and he did so. Is the marriage valid or doubtful?

P. P.

For the purposes of the Tridentine Law the presence of the parish priest of the place in which the marriage of *vagi* is contracted, or of another priest delegated by him, is necessary for the validity of the marriage. The presence of any other priest whatever is not sufficient. The opinion of those who held that a parish priest might, anywhere in his own parish or out of it, assist at the marriage of *vagi*, is pronounced by Murray to be *prorsus obsoleta et improbabilis*.¹

Apart, therefore, from local legislation, the parish priest had, in the case proposed, no power to assist at this marriage outside his own parish; nor could he delegate to his curate a power that he himself did not possess.

It is just possible, however, that the marriage is valid, though the statement of the case does not give us the *data* to decide. If the parish priest of the place in which the marriage was celebrated assisted at the marriage, it is, of course, valid. The woman, having no domicile, or

¹ *De Imped. Mat.*, 337; Con. Feije, n. 238; Lehmkühl, ii. 776.

quasi-domicile, could validly contract anywhere before the parish priest of the place, or any other priest duly delegated to assist at the marriage in that place.

Needless to say, too, the marriage is valid if contracted before the *parochus sponsi*.

The statement sent us does not exclude either of these hypotheses. We hazard them to save the validity of a marriage otherwise invalid.

POINT-TO-POINT RACES

REV. DEAR SIR,—A Subscriber would feel thankful for an answer in an early number of the I. E. RECORD, as to whether the reunion, usually termed 'a point-to-point race,' with which the sporting gentry in some counties wind up the hunting season, should be regarded as falling under the prohibition of the Maynooth Statutes,—*A publicis equorum cursibus*, etc.

K.

The statute referred to reads:—

A publicis equorum cursibus, . . . prorsus abstineant [clerici]. Si quis vero clericus sive saecularis sive regularis hanc legem violaverit, suspensionem ipso facto incurrat.

We cannot claim to have a very accurate knowledge of the essential notes of a point-to-point hunt race, or to be able to determine how exactly it differs from other horse races. But nothing that we do know would warrant us in thinking that these point-to-point hunt races fall outside the operation of the statute.

We print this question in the hope that some one more competent may give his views to our correspondent and the other readers of the I. E. RECORD.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE DRESS TO BE WORN BY CANONS ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You will much oblige me and others by stating in the next number of the I. E. RECORD what is the proper dress of a Canon—(1) In choir. (2) When he receives the Blessed Eucharist, *more laici*; say on the concluding morning of his annual retreat. (3) When he administers the Sacrament of Baptism solemnly. (4) When he assists at a marriage which is not followed by the Mass *pro Sponso et Sponsa*. (5) When he preaches.

CANONICUS.

P.S.—The Ordinary has decided as to the matter, form, and colour of the dress.

1. By the common law of the Church, canons are not permitted to wear any distinctive habit or dress whether in choir or elsewhere. Hence, without the permission of the Holy See, canons can wear in choir only the black soutane and surplice. It generally happens, however, that with the diploma sanctioning the erection of a Chapter is given permission for the use of a distinctive habit, consisting usually of the rochet, and mozzetta or cappa. This special dress is, then, the proper dress for a canon when in choir in the cathedral church of his own diocese, in his own church,—but merely by custom,—and when with other canons he attends the bishop *capitulariter* in any church in the diocese. ‘That the canons may proceed *capitulariter*,’ writes Dr. O’Leary, ‘the presence of three preceded by their cross is required and sufficient.’¹ Of the rochet, cappa, and mozzetta, the same learned author writes:—

The rochet is never to be worn uncovered by anyone except the Ordinary; hence, if the cappa or mozzetta is to be laid aside

¹ *Pontificalia*, by the Rev. Patrick O’Leary, D.D., Dean, Maynooth College. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd., 1895, p. 83, n. 14. The answers to all the questions asked here by our esteemed correspondent can be found by anyone in this valuable treatise. The author treats the various subjects which come up for discussion, not only from the standpoint of the common law, but also from that of custom, and of special concessions. To canons, to the various grades of prelates, and to all who have to take part—even as mere spectators—in episcopal functions, this handy volume appears to us to be almost indispensable.

for any reason, the rochet, too, must be laid aside for a surplice, or a surplice must be put on over the rochet. The cappa, or mozzetta, being a choral dress, may be worn for all functions for which the choral dress, and not the surplice, is prescribed; and therefore for all functions except the administration of the Sacraments. . . . The cappa is used in the winter, *i.e.*, as long as the bishop wears the heavier cappa with ermine. In summer, *i.e.*, when the bishop wears the lighter cappa without ermine, the canons wear the surplice; however, in some churches the cappa is retained in summer, the ermine being replaced with silk of the same colour as the rest of the cappa.¹

2. When a canon receives Holy Communion *more laici* he wears a stole in addition to his ordinary choir dress. Hence, if he communicates in this manner in a church, or in circumstances in which he is allowed to wear the special dress of a canon, he puts the stole round his neck without removing cappa or mozzetta. It is not generally permitted to wear the stole along with the cappa or mozzetta, but an exception is made when the action requiring the use of the stole is of brief duration, as when receiving Holy Communion,² and during the imposition of hands at an ordination.³

3. We have just stated that the stole cannot, as a general rule, be worn over the cappa or mozzetta. Hence, when a canon is the celebrant of a function for which the use of surplice and stole is prescribed, he must divest himself of the cappa or mozzetta; and as he is not allowed to wear the rochet uncovered, it follows that he must either replace the rochet by a surplice—the liturgical vestment in the administration of the Sacraments—or he must put on the surplice over the rochet. The reply to our correspondent's question regarding the dress of a canon when he administers Baptism solemnly is, that he should wear only the surplice and stole, or the surplice and stole over the rochet.

4. From the principles laid down in reply to the preceding question, it follows that a canon assisting at a marriage which is not immediately followed by the Nuptial Mass, should vest, as we have seen he should, when administering Baptism solemnly.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87, nn. 8, 9, 10.

² Merati, par. 2., tit. 10., n. lv. Bourbon, n. 230, &c.

³ O'Leary, *loc. cit.*, p. 87, n. 9. Bourbon, *loc. cit.*

5. Canons are allowed to wear rochet and cappa, or mozzetta, but without stole, when preaching in their own churches only.¹

THE TITULAR OF A CHURCH TO BE COMMEMORATED IN THE 'SUFFRAGIA'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Are the secular clergy in Ireland bound in the recitation of the office to the *commemoratio de patrono vel titulari ecclesiae* amongst the *suffragia*?

A SUBSCRIBER.

According to the general rubrics of the Breviary all the clergy, whether secular or regular, who are legitimately appointed to officiate in a church, are bound to make in the *suffragia* the commemoration of the patron or titular of that Church. The words of the rubric are:—

Commemorationes communes seu Suffragia de Sanctis . . . dicuntur in fine Vesperarum et Laudum . . . et illis adjungitur commemoratio de patrono vel titulo ecclesiae, etc.²

Writing on this rubric, De Herdt says:—

Certum est de praeceptio in suffragiis fieri debere commemorationem titularis in cujus honorem ecclesia est dedicata vel saltem benedicta, sive sit sanctus, sive persona divina, seu aliquod mysterium, ut SS. Trinitas, Spiritus Sanctus, Corpus Christi, SS. Salvator, etc., etiamsi contraria vigeat consuetudo, aut commemoratio in suffragiis fiat de patrono loci vel religionis.³

The general law, then, as announced in the rubrics of the Breviary, and proclaimed by the interpreters, is that the commemoration of the patron or titular of a Church must be made in the *suffragia*, by all who are *legitime adscripti* to that Church. And why should the secular clergy in Ireland be excepted from the obligation of this law? The general rubrics of the Breviary and of the Missal form a very strict code of ecclesiastical laws, and are absolutely universal in their application. They bind, therefore, in the remotest parts of Ireland, indeed of the world, as strictly as they do in Rome itself, and without a special dispensation no one may deviate from them.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ O'Leary, *loc. cit.*, Martinucci, lib. viii., cap. viii., n. 13, etc.

² Titul. 35, n. 1.

³ *Sacr. Lit. Praxis.*, tom. 2, n. 369.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NEW CATECHISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with great interest, in the two last numbers of the I. E. RECORD, the admirable letters relating to the forthcoming issue of a new Catechism ; and believing, as I do, that its use will not be confined within the limits of Dublin Diocese, I look forward with delight to the approaching time when a much-needed *desideratum* will be supplied.

With several of the views put forward by your learned correspondents I am in thorough accord ; but from some of them I am inclined to dissent. The idea of adding a dozen or more questions, with Scriptural answers, is an excellent one ; but, instead of placing them at the end as an appendix, I would prefer that they be distributed through the body of the text, wherever they might be fittingly inserted. Questions on doctrinal matters should, whenever convenient, be answered, partly or entirely, in Scriptural language. When this is done, the answers carry with them far greater weight ; the children become familiar with the leading texts that demonstrate dogmatic or moral truths ; and a ready proof is ever after available, either to guide the learner or to refute the gainsayer. I would urgently recommend that at the end of the Catechism there would be inserted three or four pages of indulgenced prayers, such as may be had on leaflets from Catholic publishers. The more prayers are learned in childhood, the more will be recited in later years. Children who attend convent schools are taught many indulgenced aspirations ; but the majority of Irish children do not receive a convent education, and unless they find indulgenced prayers in their Catechism, they are not likely to seek or to learn them elsewhere. Teachers find it the most effectual way of making children learn the Catechism by appointing a small number of questions for each day's lesson. Five questions, with answers of ordinary length, form a suitable lesson for children of average intelligence. If, therefore, the questions were divided into groups of five, and numbered on the margin 1, 5, 10, 15, &c., the teacher would thereby be greatly facilitated. In the National Catechism, generally used since the Synod of Maynooth, we have

definitions of the theological virtues, but no short acts of them suitable to the capacity of children. This is a serious omission, especially in a catechism whose chief feature, and whose chief fault, are its prolixity. Neither is there any enumeration of the Mysteries of the Rosary, the daily prayers of lay or cleric; nor of the Eight Beatitudes, the summary of Gospel morality; nor of the Seven Spiritual and the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy, the special test that will determine the lot of every soul when cited to judgment. All of these will, it is hoped, find a place in the pages of the new Catechism. Children learn these enumerations very quickly, and remember them very easily, because they partake of the form of a school rhyme.

The accuracy of certain words in the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed has been called in question; but, I think, without sufficient reason. It is said that '*crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus*' should be translated, '*was crucified, died, and was buried.*' The current translation, both on the title of ancient and venerable usage and grammatical accuracy, is, to my mind, preferable, and should not be altered. Deponent verbs like '*morior*' usually carry with them an active signification: but not unfrequently, in classical as well as ecclesiastical Latin, they are used in a passive sense. The question then arises: Should we interpret '*mortuus*,' in the case under consideration, in the passive voice? I answer that we should; for, in the first place, it is bracketed with and between the two passive verbs, '*crucifixus*' and '*sepultus*,' and it would be contrary to the rules of language to insert an active verb between two that are evidently passive. In the second place, '*mortuus*' signifies a continued state of death, as the word '*dead*' implies, and not a transient act merely, as '*died*' expresses. For we know from the inspired narrative that '*crucifixus*' means an agony of three hours; '*sepultus*' means an entombment of nearly forty hours; and '*mortuus*' means a continued state of lifelessness for fully forty hours. '*Died*' would not accurately express this continued state, whereas '*dead*' correctly does. Furthermore, the reality of our Lord's death is more emphatically declared in the old form, '*dead*,' than it would be in the new one suggested; and the ground is thus more effectually taken from under the feet of rationalists, who advance the fanciful theory of suspended animation to explain away the miracle of the Resurrection. In contending that '*mortuus*' should be rendered by the word '*dead*,' we may refer to a

parallel case in St. John xi. 14 : 'Lazarus mortuus est.' In every version of the Douay Bible these words are translated : Lazarus is dead. Why not, in this case, say 'Lazarus died' ? Because it would not adequately convey the idea expressed in verses xvii. and xxxix. of the same chapter, that Lazarus was already a corpse for four days in the grave. Therefore, as the death of our Lord is the corner-stone of Christianity, the word 'dead' is preferable to any other, because it more forcibly announces this fundamental truth.

Another expression in the Creed is brought forward for amendment. One of your reverend correspondents states that 'rose again' is incorrect, because implying that our Lord rose a second time. No such implication is, however, suggested by the word 'again.' The obvious meaning is that He rose again to life, and not rose again—that is, a second time—from the tomb. But what removes all ambiguity, and places the old translation beyond all controversy, is that in the Apostles' Creed it is not 'surrexit,' but 're-surrexit,' occurs ; and this latter word has only the one unquestionable meaning : He rose again.

Amendments in the wording of the Lord's prayer are suggested, and, if adopted, they would hardly, I think, be improvements. 'Forgive us our debts' would not impart the real meaning of the fifth petition. In modern English this word has divested itself of its ancient meaning, and now signifies something due, and not sins. In the Lord's Prayer it is sins in general that are meant, and not merely sins against justice. This is apparent from St. Luke's narrative of the *Pater Noster*, where, in the Greek original, he uses the word ἀμαρτίας, properly rendered in the Vulgate by 'peccata.' Hence the word 'debts,' according to its modern acceptation, would not correctly express the intended meaning.

Exception is also taken to the word 'trespasses' in the Lord's Prayer, as clumsy and out of date. This word is an old Norman one, derived from *trespasser*, and literally means 'passing beyond the bounds of law.' It is true, that it has a restricted legal meaning ; but it must also be admitted that it still retains its original signification of a moral offence. Until the latter meaning of the word becomes obsolete, it seems better not to trespass against the usage of centuries by substituting another term, while expunging 'trespass.' I am not an advocate for change ; but, if one were made at all, I would suggest that the wording of this

petition might be: 'Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us.' Still the old maxim seems, in this case, to be a wise one: 'Let well enough alone.'

There is a word in the Lord's Prayer which seems fairly open to criticism. It is the word 'daily' in the fourth petition. St. Mathew relates the prayer in chapter vi. of his Gospel, and St. Luke gives it in an abridged form in chapter xi. of his. The Greek version of both evangelists contains the same words: *ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον*. The Vulgate translation for *ἐπιούσιον* in St. Mathew is 'superstancialem,' while in St. Luke it is 'quotidianum.' These words are not certainly identical in meaning either in Latin or in English. Are we then to conclude that one of them is erroneous? Certainly not. But it follows that the original word has two distinct and natural meanings, and a different one is given to it in each of the two evangelists. It is not unusual in Scripture, as well as in our own language, for words to bear two or more meanings which must in individual cases be gathered from the context. Now, it seems that the primary meaning of *ἐπιούσιον* is found in St. Mathew, and the reference is to the Blessed Eucharist, and the secondary one is found in St. Luke, where the reference is to corporal food, *panem quotidianum*. The most learned commentators thus interpret the varied translations of this word in the Vulgate.

In the other six petitions of the Lord's Prayer we supplicate, primarily at least, spiritual blessings or deprecate spiritual evils, but 'daily bread' is a temporal blessing, and does not harmonize with the principal meaning of the petitions that either precede or follow it. Our English version of the Lord's Prayer is all taken from St. Mathew, except the one word 'supersubstantial,' and there does not appear any valid reason why this important word should make room for one borrowed from another evangelist. If the prayer were taken in its entirety from the one source, I would not recommend for English use such a puzzling and polysyllabic word as 'supersubstantial.' A more intelligible equivalent should be employed. The petition might be rendered: 'Give us this day our heavenly bread,' or 'our living bread,' or "the bread of life," as our Lord Himself described His promised gift.

It has been suggested that the present might be an opportune time for shortening the Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, read before the public Masses on Sundays and holidays. I consider

that the proposed change would not be expedient. All the charts containing the existing form of the Acts would then have to make way for others with shorter formulas, and the faithful would reasonably murmur against the abandonment of prayers handed down through two languages for four generations. Complaints are sometimes heard that the sermon or some religious function is too long, but no one ever heard it said that the Acts are too long or wearisome. It seems indeed that their very length has several advantages, one of which is, that persons coming late to Mass may, however, arrive before its commencement, owing to the long prayers being read as a preparation. In spite of every warning to the contrary there will, especially in country districts, be always some who reach the church only when the Acts are nearly ended, and feel at ease when they are so fortunate as to miss no part of Mass.

I have not seen a proof of the new Catechism, but I have learned from those acquainted with its contents and capable of forming a sound judgment on its merits that it has the three essential qualities of such a work, namely, brevity, simplicity, and accuracy. Such a Catechism will be an inestimable boon in most dioceses of Ireland, and its publication will be cordially welcomed by clergy, catechists, and children.

ARMACANUS.

DOCUMENTS

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION ON THE PROHIBITION AND
CENSURE OF BOOKS

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII
CONSTITUTIO APOSTOLICA DE PROHIBITIONE ET CENSURA LIBRO-
RUM

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Officiorum ac munerum, quae diligentissime sanctissimeque servari in hoc apostolico fastigio, oportet, hoc caput atque haec summa est, assidue vigilare atque omni ope contendere, ut integritas fidei morumque christianorum ne quid detrimenti capiat. Idque, si unquam alias, maxime est necessarium hoc tempore, cum, effrenatis licentia ingeniis ac moribus, omnis fere doctrina, quam servator hominum Iesus Christus tuendam Ecclesiae suae ad salutem generis humani permisit, in quotidianum vocatur certamen atque discrimen. Quo in certamine variae profecto atque innumerabiles sunt inimicorum calliditates artesque nocendi : sed cum primis est plena periculorum intemperantia scribendi, disseminandique in vulgus quae prave scripta sunt. Nihil enim cogitari potest perniciosius ad inquinandos animos per contemptum religionis perque illecebras multas peccandi. Quamobrem tanti metuens mali, et incolumitatis fidei ac morum custos et vindex Ecclesia, maturrime intellexit, remedia contra eiusmodi pestem esse sumenda : ob eamque rem id perpetuo studuit, ut homines, quoad in se esset, pravorum librorum lectione, hoc est pessimo veneno, prohiberet. Vehemens hac in re studium beati Pauli viderunt proxima originibus tempora : similique ratione perspexit sanctorum Patrum vigilantiam, iussa episcoporum, Conciliorum decreta, omnis consequens aetas.

Praecipue vero monumenta litterarum testantur, quanta cura diligentiaque in eo evigilaverint romani Pontifices, ne haereticorum scripta, malo publico, impune serperent. Plena est exemplorum vetustas. Anastasius I scripta Origenis perniciosiora, Innocentius I Pelagii, Leo magnus Manichaeorum opera omnia, gravi edicto damnavere. Cognitae eadem de re sunt litterae

decretales de recipiendis et non recipiendis libris, quas Gelasius opportune dedit. Similiter, decursu aetatum, Monotheletarum, Abaelardi, Marsilii Patavini, Wicleffi et Hussii pestilentes libros, sententia apostolicae Sedis confixit.

Saeculo autem decimo quinto, comperta arte nova libraria, non modo in prave scripta animadversum est, quae lucem aspexissent, sed etiam ne qua eius generis posthac ederentur, caveri coeptum. Atque hanc providentiam non levis aliqua caussa, sed omnino tutela honestatis ac salutis publicae per illud tempus postulabat: propterea quod artem per se optimam, maximarum utilitatum parentem, christianae gentium humanitati propagandae natam, in instrumentum ingens ruinarum nimis multi celeriter deflexerant. Magnum prave scriptorum malum, ipsa vulgandi celeritate maius erat ac velocius effectum. Itaque saluberrimo consilio cum Alexander VI., tum Leo X. decessores Nostri, certas tulere leges, utique congruentes iis temporibus ac moribus, quae officinatores librariorum in officio continerent.

Mox graviore exorto turbine, multo vigilantius ac fortius oportuit malarum haereseon prohibere contagia. Idcirco idem Leo X., posteaque Clemens VII. gravissime sanxerunt, ne cui legere, neu retinere Lutheri libros fas 'esset. Cum vero pro illius aevi infelicitate crevisset praeter modum atque in omnes partes pervasisset perniciosorum librorum impura colluvies, ampliore ac praesentiore remedio opus esse videbatur. Quod quidem remedium opportune primus adhibuit Paulus IV. decessor Noster, videlicet elencho proposito scriptorum et librorum, a quorum usu cavere fideles oporteret. Non ita multo post Tridentinae Synodi Patres gliscentem scribendi legendique licentiam novo consilio coercendam curaverunt. Eorum quippe voluntate iussuque lecti ad id praesules et theologi non solum augendo perpoliandoque Indici, quem Paulus IV. ediderat, dedere operam, sed Regulas etiam conscripsere, in editione, lectione, usuque librorum servandas: quibus Regulis Pius IV. apostolicae auctoritatis robur adiecit.

Verum salutis publicae ratio, quae Regulas Tridentinas initio genuerat, novari aliquid in eis, labentibus aetatibus, eadem iussit. Quamobrem romani Pontifices nominatimque Clemens VIII., Alexander VII., Benedictus XIV., gnari temporum et memores prudentiae, plura decrevere, quae ad eas explicandas atque accommodandas temporum valuerunt.

Quae res praeclare confirmant, praecipuas romanorum Ponti-

ficum curas in eo fuisse perpetuo positas, ut opinionum errores morumque corruptelam, geminam hanc civitatum labem ac ruinam, pravis libris gigni ac disseminari solitam, a civili hominum societate defenderent. Neque fructus fefellit operam, quam diu in rebus publicis administrandis rationi imperandi ac prohibendi lex aeterna praefuit, rectoresque civitatum cum potestate sacra in unum consensere.

Quae postea consecuta sunt, nemo nescit. Videlicet cum adiuncta rerum atque hominum sensim mutavisset dies, fecit id Ecclesia prudenter more suo, quod, perspecta natura temporum, magis expedire atque utile esse hominum saluti videtur. Plures Regularum Indicis praescriptiones, quae excidisse opportunitate pristina videbantur, vel decreto ipsa sustulit, vel more usque alicubi invalescente antiquari benigne simul ac provide sivit. Recentiore memorin, datis ad Archiepiscopos Episcoposque e principatu pontificio litteris, Pius IX Regulam X magna ex parte mitigavit. Praeterea, propinquo iam Concilio magno Vaticano, doctis viris, ad argumenta paranda delectis, id negotium dedit, ut expenderent atque aestimarent Regulas Indicis universas iudiciumque ferrent, quid de iis facto opus esset. Illi commutandas, consentientibus sententiis, iudicavere. Idem se et sentire et petere a Concilio plurimi ex Patribus aperte profitebantur. Episcoporum Galliae extant hac de re litterae, quarum sententia est, necesse esse et sine cunctatione faciendum, ut *illae Regulae et universa res Indicis novo prorsus modo nostrae aetati melius attemperato et observatu faciliiori instaurarentur*. Idem eo tempore iudicium fuit Episcoporum Germaniae, plane petentium, ut *Regulae Indicis . . . recenti revisioni et redactioni submittantur*. Quibus Episcopi concinunt ex Italia aliisque e regionibus complures.

Qui quidem omnes si temporum, si institutorum civilium, si morum popularium habeatur ratio, sane aequa postulant et cum materna Ecclesiae sanctae caritate convenientia. Etenim in tam celeri ingeniorum cursu, nullus est scientiarum campus, in quo non litterae licentius excurrant: inde pestilentissimorum librorum quotidiana colluvies. Quod vero gravius est, in tam grandi malo non modo connivent, sed magnam licentiam dant leges publicae. Hinc ex una parte, suspensi religione animi plurimorum: ex altera, quidlibet legendi impunita copia.

Hisce igitur incommodis medendum rati, duo facienda duximus, ex quibus norma agendi in hoc genere certa et perspicua

omnibus suppetat. Videlicet librorum improbatæ lectionis diligentissime recognosci Indicem; subinde, maturum cum fuerit, ita recognitum vulgari iussimus. Praeterea ad ipsas Regulas mentem adiecimus, easque decrevimus, incolumi earum natura, efficere aliquanto molliores, ita plane ut iis obtemperare, dummodo quis ingenio malo non sit, grave, arduumque esse non possit. In quo non modo exempla sequimur decessorum Nostrorum, sed maternum Ecclesiae studium imitamur: quæ quidem nihil tam expetit, quam se impertire benignam, sanandosque ex se natos ita semper curavit, curat, ut eorum infirmitati amanter studioseque parcat.

Itaque matura deliberatione, adhibitisque S. R. E. Cardinalibus e sacro Consilio libris notandis, edere *Decreta Generalia* statuimus, quæ infra scripta, unaque cum hac Constitutione coniuncta sunt: quibus idem sacrum Consilium posthac utatur unice quibusque catholici homines toto orbe religiose pareant. Ea vim legis habere sola volumus, abrogatis *Regulis* sacrosanctæ Tridentinae Synodi iussu editis, *Observationibus*, *Instructione*, *Decretis*, *Monitis*, et quovis alio decessorum Nostrorum hac de re statuto iussuque, una excepta Constitutione Benedicti XIV. *Sollicita et provida* quam, sicut adhuc viguit, ita in posterum vigere integram volumus.

DECRETA GENERALIA

DE PROHIBITIONE ET CENSURA LIBRORUM.

TITULUS I.

DE PROHIBITIONE LIBRORUM.

CAPUT I.—*De prohibitis apostatarum, haereticorum, schismaticorum, aliorumque scriptorum libris.*

1. Libri omnes, quos ante annum MDC aut Summi Pontifices, aut Concilia oecumenica damnarunt, et qui in novo Indice non recensentur, eodem modo damnati habeantur, sicut olim damnati fuerunt: iis exceptis, qui per hæc Decreta Generalia permittuntur.

2. Libri apostatarum, haereticorum, schismaticorum et quorumcumque scriptorum hæresim vel schisma propugnantes. aut ipsa religionis fundamenta utcumque evertentes, omnino prohibentur.

3. Item prohibentur acatholicorum libri, qui ex professo de

religione tractant, nisi constet nihil in eis contra fidem catholicam contineri.

4. Libri eorundem auctorum, qui ex professo de religione non tractant, sed obiter tantum fidei veritates attingunt, iure ecclesiastico prohibiti non habeantur, donec speciali decreto proscripti haud fuerint.

CAPUT II.—*De Editionibus textus originalis et versionum non vulgarium Sacrae Scripturae.*

5. Editiones textus originalis et antiquarum versionum catholicarum Sacrae Scripturae, etiam Ecclesiae Orientalis, ab acatholicis quibuscumque publicatae, etsi fideliter et integre editae appareant, iis dumtaxat, qui studiis theologicis vel publicis dant operam dummodo tamen non impugnentur in prolegomenis aut adnotationibus catholicae fidei dogmata, permittuntur.

6. Eadem ratione, et sub iisdem conditionibus, permittuntur alia versiones Sacrorum Bibliorum sive latina, sive alia lingua non vulgari ab acatholicis editae.

CAPUT III.—*De Versionibus vernaculis Sacrae Scripturae.*

7. Cum experimento manifestum sit, si Sacra Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti, quam utilitatis oriri; Versiones omnes in lingua vernacula, etiam a viris catholicis confectae, omnino prohibentur, nisi fuerint ab Apostolica Sede approbatae, aut editae sub vigilantia Episcoporum cum adnotationibus desumptis ex Sanctis Ecclesiae Patribus, atque ex doctis catholicisque scriptoribus.

8. Interdicuntur versiones omnes Sacrorum Bibliorum, quavis vulgari lingua ab acatholicis quibuscumque confectae, atque illae praesertim, quae per Societates Biblicas, a Romanis Pontificibus non semel damnatas, divulgantur, cum in iis saluberrimae Ecclesiae leges de divinis libris edendis funditus posthabeantur.

Haec nihilominus versiones iis, qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam, permittuntur: iis servatis, quae supra (n. 5) statuta sunt.

CAPUT IV.—*De Libris obscenis.*

9. Libri, qui res lascivas seu obscenas ex professo tractant, narrant, aut docent, cum non solum fidei, sed et morum, qui huiusmodi librorum lectione facile corrumpi solent, ratio habenda sit, omnino prohibentur.

10. Libri auctorum, sive antiquorum, sive recentiorum, quos classicos vocant, si hac ipsa turpitudinis labe infecti sunt, propter sermonis elegantiam et proprietatem, iis tantum permittuntur quos officii aut magisterii ratio excusat: nulla tamen ratione pueris vel adolescentibus, nisi solerti cura expurgati, tradendi aut praelegendi erunt.

CAPUT V.—*De quibusdam specialis argumenti libris.*

11. Damnantur libri, in quibus Deo, aut Beatae Virgini Mariae, vel Sanctis aut Catholicae Ecclesiae eiusque Cultui, vel Sacramentis, aut Apostolicae Sedi detrahitur. Eidem reprobationis iudicio subiacent ea opera in quibus inspirationis Sacrae Scripturae conceptus pervertitur, aut eius extensio nimis coarctatur. Prohibentur quoque libri, qui data opera Ecclesiasticam Hierarchiam, aut statum clericalem vel religiosum probis afficiunt.

12. Nefas esto libros edere, legere aut retinere in quibus sortilegia, divinatio, magia, evocatio spirituum, aliaeque huius generis superstitiones docentur, vel commendantur.

13. Libri aut scripta, quae narrant novas apparitiones, revelationes, visiones, prophetias, miracula, vel quae novas inducunt devotiones, etiam sub praetextu quod sint privatae, si publicentur absque legitima Superiorum Ecclesiae licentia proscribuntur.

14. Prohibentur pariter libri, qui duellum, suicidium, vel divortium licita statuunt, qui de sectis massonicis, vel aliis eiusdem generis societatibus agunt, easque utiles et non perniciosas Ecclesiae et civili societati esse contendunt, et qui errores ab Apostolica Sede proscriptos tuentur.

CAPUT VI.—*De Sacris Imaginibus et Indulgentiis.*

15. Imagines quomodocumque impressae Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, Beatae Mariae Virginis, Angelorum atque Sanctorum, vel aliorum Servorum Dei ab Ecclesiae sensu et decretis difformes, omnino vetantur. Novae vero, sive preces habeant adnexas, sive absque illis edantur, sine Ecclesiasticae potestatis licentia non publicentur.

16. Universis interdicitur indulgentias apocryphas, et a Sancta Sede Apostolica proscriptas vel revocatas quomodocumque divulgare. Quae divulgatae iam fuerint, de manibus fidelium auferantur.

17. Indulgentiarum libri omnes, summaria, libelli, folia, etc., in quibus earem concessionem continentur, non publicentur absque competentis auctoritatis licentia.

CAPUT VII.—*De libris liturgicis et precatoriis.*

18. In authenticis editionibus Missalis, Breviarii, Ritualis, Caeremonialis Episcoporum, Pontificalis romani, aliorumque librorum liturgicorum a Sancta Sede Apostolica approbatorum, nemo quidquam immutare praesumat: si secus factum fuerit, hae novae editiones prohibentur.

19. Litaniae omnes, praeter antiquissimas et communes, quae Breviariis, Missalibus, Pontificalibus ac Ritualibus continentur, et praeter Litanias de Beata Virgine, quae in sacra Aede Lauretana decantari solent, et litanias Sanctissimi Nominis Iesu iam a Sancta Sede approbatas, non edantur sine revisione et approbatione Ordinarii.

20. Libros, aut libellos precum, devotionis, vel doctrinae institutionisque religiosae, moralis, asceticae, mysticae, aliosque huiusmodi, quamvis ad fovendam populi christiani pietatem conducere videantur, nemo praeter legitimae auctoritatis licentiam publicet: secus prohibiti habeantur.

CAPUT VIII.—*De Diariis, foliis et libellis periodicis.*

21. Diaria, folia et libelli periodici, qui religionem aut bonos mores data opera impetunt, non solum naturali, sed etiam ecclesiastico iure proscripti habeantur.

Curent autem Ordinarii, ubi opus sit, de huiusmodi lectionis periculo et damno fideles opportune monere.

22. Nemo e catholicis, praesertim e viris ecclesiasticis, in huiusmodi diariis, vel foliis, vel libellis periodicis, quidquam, nisi suadente iusta et rationabili causa, publicet.

CAPUT IX.—*De facultate legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos.*

23. Libros sive specialibus, sive hisce Generalibus Decretis proscriptos, ii tantum legere et retinere poterunt, qui a Sede Apostolica, aut ab illis, quibus vices suas delegavit, opportunas fuerint consecuti facultates.

24. Concedendis licentiis legendi et retinendi libros quoscumque prohibitos Romani Pontifices Sacram Indicis Congregationem praeposuerunt. Eadem nihilominus potestate gaudent, tum Suprema Sancti Officii Congregatio, tum Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide pro regionibus suo regimini subiectis. Pro Urbe tantum, haec facultas competit etiam Sacri Palatii Apostolici Magistro.

25. Episcopi alique Praelati iurisdictione quasi episcopali

pollentes, pro singularibus libris, atque in casibus tantum urgentibus, licentiam concedere valeant. Quod si iidem generalem a Sede Apostolica impetraverint facultatem, ut fidelibus libros proscriptos legendi retinendique licentiam impertiri valeant, eam nonnisi cum delectu et ex iusta et rationabili causa concedant.

26. Omnes qui facultatem apostolicam consecuti sunt legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos, nequeunt ideo legere et retinere libros quoslibet, aut ephemerides ab Ordinariis locorum proscriptas, nisi eis in apostolico indulto expressa facta fuerit potestas legendi et retinendi libros a quibuscumque damnatos. Meminerint insuper qui licentiam legendi libros prohibitos obtinuerunt, gravi se praecepto teneri huiusmodi libros ita custodire, ut ad aliorum manus non perveniant.

CAPUT X.—*De denunciatione pravorum librorum.*

27. Quamvis catholicorum omnium sit, maxime eorum, qui doctrina praevalent, perniciosos libros Episcopis, aut Apostolicae Sedi denunciare; id tamen speciali titulo pertinet ad Nuntios, Delegatos Apostolicos, locorum Ordinarios, atque Rectores Universitatum doctrinae laude florentium.

28. Expedit ut in pravorum librorum denunciatione non solum libri titulus indicetur, sed etiam, quoad fieri potest, causae exponantur ob quas liber censura dignus existimatur. Iis autem ad quos denunciatio defertur, sanctum erit, denunciantium nomina secreta servare.

29. Ordinarii, etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicae, libros, aliaque scripta noxia in sua Dioecesi edita vel diffusa proscribere, et e manibus fidelium auferre studeant. Ad Apostolicum iudicium ea deferant opera vel scripta, quae subtilius examen exigunt, vel in quibus ad salutarem effectum consequendum, supremæ auctoritatis sententia requiri videatur.

TITULUS II.

DE CENSURAE LIBRORUM.

CAPUT I.—*De Praelatis librorum censurae praepositis.*

30. Penas quos potestas sit sacrorum bibliorum editiones et versiones adprobare vel permittere ex iis liquet, quae supra (n. 7) statuta sunt.

31. Libros ab Apostolica Sede proscriptos nemo audeat iterum

in lucem edere : quod si ex gravi et rationabili causa, singularis aliqua exceptio hac in re admittenda videatur, id nunquam fiet, nisi obtenta prius sacrae Indicis Congregationis licentia, servatisque conditionibus ab ea praescriptis.

32. Quae ad causas Beatificationum et Canonizationum Servorum Dei utcumque pertinent, absque beneplacito Congregationis Sacris Ritibus tuendis praepositae publicari nequeunt.

33. Idem dicendum de Collectionibus Decretorum singularum Romanarum Congregationum : hae nimirum Collectiones edi nequeant, nisi obtenta prius licentia, et servatis conditionibus a moderatoribus uniuscuiusque Congregationis praescriptis.

34. Vicarii et Missionarii Apostolici Decreta sacrae Congregationis Propagandae Fidei praepositae de libris edendis fideliter servant.

35. Approbatio librorum, quorum censura praesentium Decretorum vi Apostolicae Sedi vel Romanis Congregationibus non reservatur, pertinet ad Ordinarium loci in quo publici iuris fiunt.

36. Regulares, praeter Episcopi licentiam, meminerint teneri se, sacri Concilii Tridentini decreto, operis in lucem edendi facultatem a Praelato, cui subiacent, obtinere. Utraque autem concessio in principio vel in fine operis imprimatur.

37. Si Auctor Romae degens librum non in Urbe sed alibi imprimere velit, praeter approbationem Cardinalis Urbis Vicarii et Magistri Sacri Palatii Apostolici, alia non requiritur.

CAPUT II.—*De censorum officio in praevio librorum examine.*

38. Curent Episcopi, quorum muneris est facultatem libros imprimendi concedere, ut eis examinandis spectatae pietatis et doctrinae viros adhibeant, de quorum fide et integritate sibi polliceri queant, nihil eos gratiae daturus, nihil odio, sed omni humano affectu posthabito, Dei dumtaxat gloriam spectaturos et fidelis populi utilitatem.

39. De variis opinionibus atque sententiis (iuxta Benedicti XIV praeceptum) animo a praeiudiciis omnibus vacuo, iudicandum sibi esse censores sciant. Itaque nationis, familiae, scholae, instituti affectum excutiant, studia partium seponant. Ecclesiae sanctae dogmata, et communem Catholicorum doctrinam, quae Conciliorum generalium decretis, Romanorum Pontificum Constitutionibus, atque Doctorum consensu continentur, unice prae oculis habeant.

40. Absoluto examine, si nihil publicationi libri obstare

videbitur, Ordinarius, in scriptis et omnino gratis, illius publicandi licentiam, in principio vel in fine operis imprimendam, auctori concedat.

CAPUT III.—*De libris praeviae censurae subiiciendis.*

41. Omnes fideles tenentur praeviae censurae ecclesiasticae eos saltem subiicere libros qui divinas Scripturas, Sacram Theologiam, Historiam ecclesiasticam, Ius Canonicum, Theologiam naturalem, Ethicem, aliasve huiusmodi religiosas aut morales disciplinas respiciunt, ac generaliter scripta omnia, in quibus religionis et morum honestati specialiter intersit.

42. Viri e clero seculari ne libros quidem, qui de artibus scientiisque mere naturalibus tractant, inconsultis suis Ordinariis publicent, ut obsequentis animi erga illos exemplum praebeant.

Idem prohibentur quominus, absque praevia Ordinariorum venia, diaria vel folia periodica moderanda suscipiant.

CAPUT IV.—*De Typographis et Editoribus librorum.*

43. Nullus liber censurae ecclesiasticae subiectus excudatur, nisi in principio nomen et cognomen tum auctoris, tum editoris praeferat, locum insuper et annum impressionis atque editionis. Quod si aliquo in casu, iustas ob causas, nomen auctoris tacendum videatur, id permittendi penes Ordinarium potestas sit.

44. Noverint Typographi et Editores librorum novas eiusdem operis approbati editiones, novam approbationem exigere, hanc insuper textui originali tributam, eius in aliud idioma versioni non suffragari.

45. Libri ab Apostolica Sede damnati, ubique gentium prohibiti censeantur, et in quodcumque vertantur idioma.

46. Quicumque librorum venditores, praecipue qui catholico nomine gloriantur, libros de obscenis ex professo tractantes neque vendant, neque commodent, neque retineant: ceteros prohibitos venales non habeant, nisi a Sacra Indicis Congregatione veniam per Ordinarium impetraverint, nec cuiquam vendant nisi prudenter existimare possint, ab emptore legitime peti.

CAPUT V.—*De poenis in Decretorum Generalium transgressores statutis.*

47. Omnes et singuli scienter legentes, sine auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae, libros apostatarum et haeticorum haeresim propugnantes, nec non libros cuiusvis auctoris per Apostolicas

Literas nominatim prohibitos, eosdemque libros retinentes, imprimentes et quomodolibet defendentes, excommunicationem ipso facto incurrunt, Romano Pontifici speciali modo reservatam.

48. Qui sine Ordinarii approbatione Sacrarum Scripturarum, libros, vel earundem adnotationes vel commentarios imprimunt, aut imprimi faciunt, incidunt ipso facto in excommunicationem nemini reservatam.

49. Qui vero cetera transgressi fuerint, quae his Decretis Generalibus praecipuntur, pro diversa reatus gravitate serio ab Episcopo moneantur; et, si opportunum videbitur, canonicis etiam poenis coerceantur.

Praesentes vero litteras et quaecumque in ipsis habentur nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis aut obreptionis sive intentionis Nostrae vitio aliove quovis defectu notari vel impugnari posse; sed semper validas et in suo robore fore et esse, atque ab omnibus cuiusvis gradus et praeeminentiae inviolabiliter in iudicio et extra observari debere, decernimus: irritum quoque et inane si secus super his a quoquam, quavis auctoritate vel praetextu, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari declarantes, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Volumus autem ut harum litterarum exemplis, etiam impressis, manu tamen Notarii subscriptis et per constitutum in ecclesiastica dignitate virum sigillo munitis, eadem habeatur fides quae Nostrae voluntatis significationi his praesentibus ostensis haberetur.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae constitutionis, ordinationis, limitationis, derogationis, voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire.—Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo sexto, VIII. Kal. Februarias, Pontificatus Nostri decimo nono.¹

A. CARD. MACCHI,

A. PANICI, *Subdatarius*.

VISA—De Curia I. De Aquila e *Vicecomitibus Reg. in Secret.*
Brevium.

L. ✕ Plumbi.

I. Cugnonius.

¹ In hisce documentis, data computatur, non a die prima Januarii, sed a die Incarnationis idest a die 25 Martii. Unde praesens Constitutio fuit promulgata die 24 Januarii. 1897.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

GRANIA WAILE. A West Connaught Sketch of the Sixteenth Century. By Fulmar Petrel.

RARELY have we read a more entertaining book than *Grania Waile*. The sympathy of the author with his subject, the stirring events he narrates, the varied scenes he describes, and above all the intense interest that must ever attach to the heroine of the story, make this volume one of the most pleasing sketches that can fall into the hands of an Irish reader. But is the book a history or only a tale? It is both in one; and the narrative is written with such spirit as to carry us on captive from page to page with much indifference as to whether the story is perfect in every detail of construction or not.

Several characters stand out with more or less boldness from the author's pages. But from the first page to the last the portrait is one of Grania. So it should be. The side figures of action ought to be the side figures of history; and the O'Malleys, Bourkes, and O'Flaherties, all own the sway of Grania at this period. As coming in from sea, the mariner nears the myriad low-lying islands of Clew Bay and looks back on Knockmore in Innish Clare, rising high over the main in graceful strength; he has in sight no inapt type of the heroic maiden whom Fulmar Petrel has so well portrayed.

The story opens with the appearance of a poor widow within the castle bawn on Clare Island, bewailing the loss of her lambs that had been carried away by eagles.

'On the castle steps were two young girls to whom the tale was told and to whom the poor widow looked for pity if not for help. They were eager to learn all details, more particularly the elder of the two. She was tall and well knit; her dark eyes, almost shrouded by the raven locks which fell in a heap on her shoulder, sparkled at this moment with indignation, and one might be at a loss to interpret their full meaning, were it not for those expressive lips, where sympathy and determination were strongly combined. Her face was of that type of beauty which was sure to awaken intense interest because of the soul which every feature expressed. At this time she must have seen

eighteen summers ; and the flaxen-haired girl, who with tears in her eyes listened to the tale of woe, and clung to her cousin for support, was about four years younger.

The elder maiden was Grace, daughter of Owen O'Malley, Chieftain of the Owles and Lord of the Isles of Aran, called also Dhudharra, or the "Black Oak." This Clare Island was an outpost of his territory. The younger girl was Eileen, Grace's foster-sister, daughter of Robert O'Malley, who was the chief of the island.

Although her home was on the mainland, Grace, as was customary in those days, was placed out with foster-parents ; and, as the times were troubled, her father had selected the household of her kinsman, living on this remote island, as a home for his only girl. Here, while sharing the pursuits of the islanders, she learned the use of the sail and the oar ; and while listening to tales of wild adventure on the wide, restless ocean, she acquired a deep love for all things pertaining to the sea.'

Grace's descent on the eagle's nest, and the conflict of the brave girl with its fierce tenants, are described with great power. As she ascends Knockmore for this hazardous trip, which no man would undertake, she rests for a little with her young cousin, and faces eastwards to watch the glow of the sunrise.

'Clew Bay lay beneath them ; the islands at its head shrouded in grey mist, above which the sky blazed in saffron-coloured light. Higher up a number of golden cloudlets floated out of the mists, as it were, and against the glory of the dawn the dark conical peak of Croagh Patrick stood up clear and sharply cut. Away further to the south, Mulreea, the highest peak in Connaught, had caught the golden tint of the dawn, as had Slievemore and the other peaks of Achill to the northward. As the girls watched, the sun rose, and transformed the steel-blue waters of the bay into a floor of shining gold . . . A new day had commenced—a day to be remembered by Grace through a long, eventful life.'

The 'tyrant brood' was slain, and Grace returned from fosterage in Clare Island to Kilmena Castle, with a well-marked temple scar which the mother eagle had imprinted in the first great conflict of the girl's life. Already she could trim a sail, or handle an oar, or grasp the helm. But that passionate love of the sea that afterwards helped so much to build her power on the waves had yet to grow. The possessions of her sept, its traditions and occupations, and her political career, as years went on, turned familiarly with the great ocean in ardent life-lasting

fellowship. The scene on shore as she landed from Clare Island was worthy of Clan Umalia.

'Close to where they landed, the shore presented a busy scene. A fine vessel had been built from planks obtained from a captured cargo, and timbers sawn from oak-trees, felled on the slopes of Croagh Patrick. Her fine lines and clean run, showed that speed had been aimed at, while her top-sides, bulging out at water-line, then falling in, and rising high fore and aft, into a forecastle and poop, gave her safety in rough water, and clear room to work the guns for which her bulwarks were pierced. Men were at work tarring her sides, and carpenters were preparing her spars; while further on along the beach, two smaller boats were being built for fishing purposes.'

The command of the Western seas, which the O'Malleys held, gives them a place of unique interest in the history of Irish clans. They were, indeed, a sea-power of no small strength. From Cape Clear to the Scotch islands they carried freight and fought battles. And if they sometimes pillaged from the sea, in Desmond or Tyrconnell, it was a time when Tyrconnell and Desmond practised raids from a basis of operations on land, that can be little applauded as the O'Malley incursions. The war-condition of the country at that period explains such things as well as the general attitude towards 'prizes' at sea. Cargoes belonging to the English enemy were not spared, and in Grania's time, Umalia was strong enough to make the Western seas rather uncomfortable for even the battle-ships of Queen Elizabeth. Grace's first acquaintance with war on the ocean came when she succeeded in hiding herself in her brother Teige's ship, as he went to rescue a French vessel consigned to him, that had been captured by pirates off Boffin.

'She had often argued to herself on similar lines, but now her idea had advanced a step, and she came to the conclusion, that although she was only a woman, she would go too. And she quickly made her plans. She knew well that if she spoke of her idea to anyone, she would only be laughed at and hindered. Undoubtedly, there was danger in the enterprise; but this only fired her imagination, and rendered her more anxious to share it. . . At this moment, Grace came out from her lair, and to the utter amazement of her brother took her place beside him on deck. . . "The O'Malleys" was shouted from a man on the bowsprit. . . Some of them afterwards said that they would not have given in, only that they saw standing at the tiller of the galley, a tall slight girl, clad in dark yellow, which made them think that O'Malley's own daughter was on board.'

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is the "launch" of the "Dhudarra," with the important gathering of the Clans, Celtic and Norman, which it occasioned. On the eve of that long-expected event Grace discourses thus to peace-loving Eileen on the words of a Spanish friar:—

'He says, and I quite believe him, that people must fight for what is right, or our holy religion would be lost, and God would hate us. And you, and I, and all our people around us would be hunted from our homes. There are bad people in the world to be put down, and the English are the worst. All they have got they have taken by murder and robbery, and it is a good thing for anyone to take it from them. Oh! I wish I were a man!'

'The Mendicant' is a capital spy for that period, and the capture of 'a prize' in Donegal Bay, near Innish Murray, involves a sea encounter in which Teige O'Malley receives a mortal wound.

'Overpowered, as he now most certainly was, the English captain hauled down his flag, and stepping forward over the gory deck, craved the lives of his crew from O'Malley. O'Malley, ghastly pale, his saffron doublet clotted with blood, gives his word for their safety. They numbered fifteen weather-beaten men, and three fair-haired youths, while twenty lay dead or dying about the decks. Five men of the galley's crew were killed, and O'Malley and several others were badly wounded.'

The friar who assists at the marriage of Richard Bourke, nicknamed the Devil's Hook, a kinsman of MacWilliam Eighter, Grace's second husband, performed the ceremony from a very sordid motive. But the tone of the book towards the clergy is not unfriendly; and in such times it scandalizes no one to have it suggested that with much trouble a clergyman could be found who would risk celebrating a mixed marriage for one who said he would 'bait the hook.' Bourke failed in his promise, and hence his name.

The 'Storm' and the 'Wreck' show our author at his best. 'Fulmar Petrel' is a real stormy petrel. Every creek and harbour, every rock and bar, that Grania's fleet ever touched, are as familiar to him as the highways by our houses are to the rest of us; and no matter how the wind shifts, or on what coast the storm blows, he knows how to set his sails, and hold the helm to best advantage. Does he think Grace O'Malley excelled him in navigation?

After the burial of Teige in storm-swept Erris and her marriage engagement with Donal O'Flaherty she sails south for Westport.

'The frowning headland of Achill now loomed up off their port bow, its dark cliffs rising two thousand feet above the surge at their base. In their middle height the dark crags were diversified by strips of grass of moist green ; while aloft in the mountain's crown the heather and yellow bog-grasses had caught the golden glow of the setting sun. The dark sea rolled beneath with uneasy swell, and as the wind had dropped, the sails of the vessels flapped heavily against the spars. The night came on, and the stars shone out, and Grace, peering down into the dark depths, saw many a creature drift by like a globe of living light ; and, again, as the night wind, charged with the scent of the heather, came in puffs from Slievemore, the sails swelled out, and shoals of fish flashed like sheets of molten fire as they darted from the bows. She looked up at the huge cliffs towering into the sky, appearing spectral in the starlight, and that strange love of the sea stole over her more powerfully than ever. Never before had it been so overwhelming. One part of her nature was absorbed by it. To be the Queen of the Sea was a passion which grew with her life, which moulded her whole history, and only died with her death.'

Near Clare Island her party had a skirmish with a great battleship, the 'Antelope,' belonging to another queen, whom she was to visit in later years. It was only, however, after her marriage with Donal O'Flaherty, of Bunowen, that she got command of her father's galleys, and became a power on the coast. The book brings down her story to the death of Donal, a few years later, at the battle of Kilmury, on Avonmore, in the arms of victory. At the age of twenty-four she is back again in Clare Island, a sorrow-stricken widow, with her two infant boys ; 'but her life was like one of those cyclones which strike on our wild western shores, and the tranquillity which she now enjoyed was but the lull that almost invariably heralds in the full development of the tempest.'

We hope Fulmar Petrel, true to his name, will not dread the 'tempest.' If he does for the second part of Grania's career what he has done for the first in this delightful volume the life of one of the most remarkable of Irish heroines will be rescued from the caricatures that hostile writers have made current for three centuries. No doubt the undertaking is more difficult. From the period of Grace's marriage with Bourke, the

interplay of different motives in her policy and the causes which led some important operations apparently at least in favour of the enemies of her cause are not easily explained. But if the author, making due account of her difficulties, brings to his task the same keen insight into events, the same warm sympathy with and genuine appreciation of his subject, that delight the reader of this volume, we may well hope for a sound interpretation of her whole life. For one thing, he has already broken the virago mould in which her figure was cast for us so often by the unfriendly artist. It would be a fitting coincidence, if by the time her island is transformed under the auspices of the Congested Districts' Board, the history of her whole career were presented in its true light.

We think *Grania Waile* a most interesting story-book for a parochial library, although it is a pity it does not give us a glimpse of Grace at her prayers.

AN EX-RECORDER.

MISSA SOLEMNIS in Hon. Smi. Cordis Jesu, for mixed voices and orchestra or organ. By Ig. Mitterer, op. 70. Innsbrück: Johann Gross.

THE Sacred Heart Society of the Tyrol celebrated last year the centenary of its foundation, and for this occasion Mitterer composed a festal Mass for mixed voices and orchestra, which must be pronounced as one of the most remarkable church compositions of recent date. The work is thoroughly modern in character, melodious, and full of sensuous harmony. Though contrapuntal devices are made use of sparingly, the part-writing is very fine, as may be expected from a man who masters counterpoint so well as Mitterer does. But it appears from this Mass what a danger orchestral accompaniment is for a church composer. Even Mitterer, who is as orthodox in his other compositions as any of the Cecilian composers, here goes to the very limit of what can be allowed for the Church.

The orchestral writing is for two clarionets, two horns, two trumpets, trombone, and string quintet, to which a flute and tympani may be added *ad libitum*. Though evidently conceived with orchestral accompaniment, and likely to produce its best effect with it, the Mass will undoubtedly sound very well also with an organ accompaniment, which the author has himself provided, and which is printed separately. Perhaps a good player might add to this organ accompaniment from the

orchestral score ; but he should imitate the composer in avoiding everything that is not congenial to the nature of his instrument. The organ accompaniment gives also some indications as to the voice parts, but not enough for conducting. So an organist who is also conductor should have the orchestral score before him—rather an inconvenience. Both instrumental and voice parts are printed. The work has not yet been put on the German Cecilian catalogue. Hence, if to be performed in the diocese of Dublin it should first get the approval of the Diocesan Commission.

H. B.

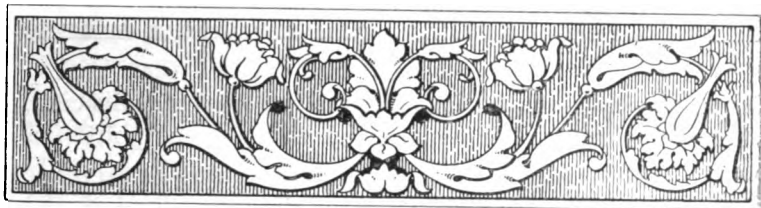
THREE DAUGHTERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By Mrs. Junes Browne. London : Burns & Oates, Ltd.

FROM the perusal of this book we have carried away the impression that the writer is a lady of exalted piety and refined sentiment, with considerable powers of composition ; but we have failed to discover proof or promise of the genius that would ensure success. No doubt the story is edifying, and we would be the last to say that it is devoid of merit ; but, if we gauge the public taste aright, we fear it is not such as will make headway in the scramble for patronage. Did it contain more action and character and less sentiment we should have better hope of its success.

MIRLI'S RING AND THE MYSTERIOUS SHRIEKS. By Margaret E. Merriman. London : The Catholic Truth Society. 1896.

THIS is one of the Catholic Truth Society's shilling volumes, and the two stories it contains are well written and pleasant to read. *Mirli's Ring* is a Swiss rustic tale the main incidents of which, the writer assures us, are literally true, the names only of persons and places being changed. 'The Mysterious Shrieke,' the scene of which is laid in an Australian town, leads up to an interesting solution of strange occurrences that seemed at first to promise mystery enough for a good ghost story.

P. J. T.



BISHOP DOYLE AND HIS BIOGRAPHERS

THE worship of heroes was probably the first of all idolatries, as it is certainly the most respectable, seeing that any man has more in him that is godlike than all matter, sidereal and terrestrial. At the same time, man and woman-worship has run into more insane excesses than any other, on the principle that the 'best corrupted is the worst.' The work of making and decorating heroes, once in the hands of poets, painters, and sculptors, has in our time fallen into those of the biographer, and it is a pity that so many seem to have little idea of the difficulties of their task, which, in fact, are greater than those of ancient makers of gods and goddesses, who were pretty well unrestrained in their efforts to give 'local habitations and names,' to their own ideals. Evidently it is owing to this want of diffidence on the part of the biographer, that his efforts are so often unrequited, and he is pained and astonished to find that people who had better opportunities than himself of knowing his hero, declare that they cannot recognise the portrait. We have had an instance on a gigantic scale in Mr. Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*: one which will probably be a warning to biographers for many a long day. Although it would be unjust to place the biographers of Bishop Doyle on the same level, it is clear that they have laid themselves open to the accusation of constructing their hero, and that on lines which are open to discussion. Both Mr. Fitzpatrick and

Mr. MacDonagh¹ are evidently of opinion that Bishop Doyle was a great bishop because he was a politician, whereas my contention is, that he was a great politician because he was a bishop.

No Christian will object to the proposition that the standard or ideal of the minister of Christ ought to be higher than that of the layman ; from which it follows that to say a Churchman is first a statesman, then a bishop, is to reduce him to a lower level. Indeed, if we substitute the word Christian for Catholic, I believe the best and wisest men in this Empire would cordially agree with Lord Denbigh's political profession when he said, 'First a Catholic, and then an Englishman.' Such was certainly the mind of Edmund Burke from youth to old age : in 1757, when he wrote, 'The first beginnings of civility have been everywhere made by religion,'²—and, in 1796, when contemplating the possibility of the establishment of godless schools, he declares:—'Better this island should be sunk to the bottom of the sea than that (so far as human infirmity admits) it should not be a country of religion and morals ;'³ and no one doubts that the religion to which he alluded was the religion of those who teach 'that their God is love, the God whom we adore in human form ;'⁴ and that Burke would have cordially agreed with Cardinal Newman, that 'The men in Europe who now talk bravely against the Church, owe it to the Church that they can talk at all ;' and with Lord Macaulay, 'If it were not for the Christian religion, Europe would now be made up of beasts of burden and beasts of prey,' which is very generally confessed to be the case during all temporary accesses of modern revolutionary heathenism.

It seems from the following announcement, that

¹ *Life of Bishop Doyle*, Fitzpatrick, New Edition. Dublin, Duffy, 1880.
Bishop Doyle, Michael MacDonagh, London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.

² *Abridgment of English History*, p. 165.

³ *Regicide Peace*, p. 347. (Payne's ed.)

⁴ *Impeachment of Warren Hastings*. Life by P. Burke, p. 216.

Mr. Fitzpatrick does not hold to this necessary predominance of Christianity in the politics of Christendom :—

That most intricate questions of ecclesiastical polity are interwoven with the life of Bishop Doyle, I am aware. But I have yet to learn that they are beyond the power of a layman to grasp and unravel. . . . Dr. Doyle's life being intensely political, it is the province of a layman rather than of a priest to follow it. . . . I may further add, that, no doubt, in many estimations it will be deemed desirable that the historian should not be committed to the jealousies, or to the circumscribed and technical views which are apt to grow up in all professions.¹

Churchmen will hardly accept these views in this absolute form, even in the case of professional ecclesiastical politicians, such as Richelieu and Wolsey, but certainly they will not hold in that of Bishop Doyle. What these 'circumscribed and technical views,' in the ministry of the Catholic Church may be, I do not pretend to understand; and I imagine they were not very clear to Mr. Fitzpatrick, for he certainly gives no evidence that they stood in the way of the Bishop of Kildare. The narrowness and obstinate adherence to old prejudices with which he had to contend were in society, not in the Church, and it was his religion which raised him above them. When, more than seventy years ago, a Catholic bishop not only professed, but succeeded in convincing Protestants of his genuine conviction of their honour and sincerity, he merely carried into public life the Catholic doctrine of the security of natural virtue within its own limits, and its fundamental identity in all men. It is, indeed, a weak guide and much in want of assistance, and to give light and support to its uncertain steps is one of the greatest works of genius in those to whom God has given the plenitude of natural virtue; for as *The Imitation of Christ* tells us: 'As a man is interiorly, so he judges exteriorly;' and the same idea lies in the line :—

Virtue and goodness to the vile are vile.

The man who sees and loves God in everyone is not necessarily good-humoured, pleasant, and popular; in fact, it

¹ Pref. to first Edition. New Edition, p. xiv.

is rather the other way, and his indignation will probably be as fiery as his love. We have seen, how for a time, Bishop Doyle was the idol and undisputed leader of the people, and the bold and yet pacific conqueror of their rulers: 'The approbation of Dr. Doyle,' said O'Connell, in 1828, 'will bring to our cause the united voice of Ireland:'¹ a few years later and he was on the way to that comparative oblivion which has so long rested on his memory. How was it that such a man sank under the charge of venal adulation of power; an imputation so fatal to all popular leaders? If an answer can be given to this question, it will be a useful lesson in our own times. To some extent it may have been owing to that daring indifference to his own reputation which was seen when he declined to take the trouble of correcting the report of his answers before the Parliamentary Commissions; but this will not explain how it was that his former devoted admirers did not come forward in his defence. The real explanation is to be found in his bold enunciation of new principles of political conciliation and moderation, which are only now beginning to work as a bond of union amongst Christians of all denominations. He was in advance of his age; and it was the misfortune rather than the fault of inferior men that they did not understand him. It was a strange announcement, in days when a sort of armed neutrality was the most that could be hoped for amongst the religious bodies of the Empire, to hear a Catholic bishop declare before the British Parliament:—

I have stated at different times, and I state now, that from my infancy I never felt a dislike to a man on account of his religion. I have long had amongst my most early and intimate friends, and I still have, members of the Established Church, and other Protestant communities, in whom I confide, and whom I love as much as I do any people upon the earth; and if I had to choose a friend to whom I would confide my life, or my honour, whether amongst people high in station or low, I should, at least, amongst those high in station, prefer some of my Protestant friends to any others in the world.²

¹ Fitzpatrick, ii. 76.

² Fitzpatrick, ii., p. 389.

His letter on the death of Lord Donoughmore (Hely Hutchinson) is in the same spirit:—

The good works of your brother were not confined to individuals, to a city, or to a shire; they extended to all men; they were concentrated upon us—the Catholics of Ireland. We were the inheritance, and he was the hereditary advocate of a poor and an oppressed people. He knew the unmerited wrongs we suffered; he communed with us in all our disappointments and trials, he ate with us the bread of affliction, and he made all our grievances his own.¹

If ever there was language from the heart it is this, and it reveals to us how it was that the Bishop of Kildare was so great a conqueror in the lists of honour and chivalry, whenever he met 'foemen worthy of his steel.' But, alas! when it came to practical politics, in which noble principles are compelled to hover and temporize; where, as Burke says:—'The *major* makes a pompous appearance; but it is the little *minor* of circumstances which carries the day,' Bishop Doyle, like Burke himself, 'too fond of the right to pursue the expedient,'² found that he was alone, and so far a-head of his own followers, that as they could not make out what he was doing, they suspected that he was pursuing some private end of his own; and then began that process of sifting, not unlike what goes on at a canonization, which public characters must pass through on their way to fame.³

We will now turn our attention to the only re difficulties in the Life of Bishop Doyle.

First comes his own confession, that in his youth at Coimbra, before he had finished his classics, he found himself in the midst of disciples of d'Alembert, Rousseau, and Voltaire, and 'prompted to inquire into all things, and to deliberate whether I should take my station

¹ Fitzpatrick, vol. i., p. 465.

² Goldsmith, *Retaliation*.

³ At the canonization of St. Vincent de Paul, Benedict XIV., then Prosper Lambertini, was *Promotor Fidei* (*Advocatus diaboli*), and the ordeal was terrific. When the battle was won, the General of the Lazarists said so to the accuser. 'Ah!' said Lambertini, 'I knew your glorious father would come out all the brighter from the midst of these fires.'

amongst infidels, or remain attached to Christianity, . . . but, even then, when all things which could have influence on a youthful mind combined to induce me to shake off the yoke of Christ, I was arrested by the majesty of religion.' He goes on to say that he carefully studied, and passed in review before his mind all the religions of antiquity, from Moses to Numa and Plato, the religions of the East, the Koran, Jewish history, and that of Christ, His disciples, and the Church, and concludes:—'I did not hesitate to continue attached to the religion of our Redeemer as alone worthy of God; and, being a Christian, I could not fail to be a Catholic.'¹

The whole letter is well worthy of study, and certainly gives the impression that his trial of faith was altogether from without. There is nothing in it, or in his subsequent writings, to show that the New Philosophy itself made the least impression on his mind. His own view that the fault which he confesses was that of recklessly aiming at impartiality: making his mind, so to speak, a *tabula rasa*—is confirmed by his own words in the same letter when he says, 'Since I became a man, and was enabled to think like a man, I have not ceased to give thanks to the Father of Mercies, who did not deliver me over to the pride and presumption of my own heart.' It is clear, therefore, that he did not think that he had been cast off by God; and that he merely accuses himself of want of reverence for divine truth: as, late in life, speaking of his constitutional absence of fear, he said that he had not fear enough even of his God.

If it is said that it is unnecessary to defend this youthful 'thinker,' when so many old heads were turned, I answer, that there are two reasons for doing so: one intellectual, the other moral. To be deluded, even for a day, by those whom Burke calls 'the jays and magpies of philosophy,' would be for ever a blot on his intellectual character. It is plain from the line of his investigations, that it was not to the consideration of the impudent sophistry of the *Philosophes* that he directed his attention, but rather to that world-wide

¹ *Letters to a Friend in England*, p. 55.

revolt against God and Revelation which had culminated in the French Revolution, which Carlyle calls the last act of Protestantism; while if we accept Fitzpatrick's language about his 'tottering conviction,'¹ and MacDonagh's, that 'he caught the contagion,'² the idea is likely to be fostered that Bishop Doyle belonged to what is called the 'liberal' school of theologians.

This charge is one from which the modern political churchman can hardly escape. Liberality is man's noblest quality; but, at the same time, it is the one which most requires guidance, lest in his ardour man becomes liberal with things which are not his own. Now religion is certainly one of those, and the two most serious difficulties in the life of Bishop Doyle—his project for the union of Christians, and his views on mixed education must now be faced.

I confess that I cannot get a clear idea of his plan of union; and, what is more, it does not seem that it was clear to himself. In his letter to Mr. Robinson,³ in 1824, thrown off in great haste, he says:—

It may not become so humble an individual as I am to hint even at a plan of effecting so great a purpose as the union of Catholics and Protestants in one great family of Christians; but as the difficulty does not appear to me at all proportioned to the magnitude of the object to be attained, I would presume to state, that if Protestant and Catholic divines of learning and conciliatory character were summoned by the Crown to ascertain the points of agreement and difference between the Churches, and that the result of their conference was made the basis of a project to be treated on between the heads of the Church of Rome and of England, the result might be more favourable than at present would be anticipated.

Again, at a meeting of a mixed deputation of Catholics and Protestants,

It was observed that some Catholics were exceedingly anxious lest he contemplated a compromise of their faith in his project of union; here the Bishop smiled, and said, 'I am too good a *Papist* to compromise anything; and if I sought to do so, there

¹ *Life*, i., p. 23.

² *Bishop Doyle*, p. 23.

³ Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Lord Ripon.

is not an old woman, or a young child in the diocese who would not see my error, and abandon it. No good can ever be affected by compromise, and the nature of truth is to be unchangeable, and not to ally itself with error.' ¹

From the last sentence it is clear that his idea was that Catholics were to remain as they were, having all they wanted, and that large-minded Protestant statesmen, under the sanction of the Crown, might frame some sort of Bill for general agreement, which might be useful and agreeable to Protestants, and do no harm to Catholics; for he declared that he believed the English people at that time would change their religion as easily as in the time of Queen Mary. Twenty years later, when the eloquence of Newman and the poetry of Keble had invested Protestantism with vitality and dignity, which it never possessed before, or can hope for again, this idea would, probably, never have entered his mind; but certainly it had some show of plausibility in days when the English king was in the full enjoyment of his authority, as head and centre of the English Church: the clergy represented by men like Dr. Routh at Oxford, and Sidney Smith in London, while the apathy of the bishops was only exceeded by the ignorance of their flocks.

The third and last difficulty we have to meet in the life of Bishop Doyle are his views regarding mixed education; and certainly, when seen in the light of the experience of the last seventy years, they are a reproach to his judgment, and a proof that he was not wiser than his generation in everything. He had been educated at a mixed school himself at a time when Protestantism had practically no existence in Ireland, save that which politics gave it; ² and he seems to have had no experience of that herey in league with infidel and immoral principles which now prevails even amongst the humblest classes, and to have carried with him through life that good-humoured contempt for Protestantism which is traditional in Ireland, and as there were few more fiery or uncompromising assailants of Protestantism when

¹ Fitzpatrick, i., pp. 331, 344.

² 'A good Irish Protestant,' said O'Connell, 'is a man who hates the Papists, and never goes to church.'

it took the shape of 'Bible Societies' or the 'New Reformation,' it is impossible to reconcile his approval of mixed schools on any other supposition than his belief that Catholic children would get the best of it in the contest.

Mr. Fitzpatrick's indifference to order, dates, and references makes it hard to follow the sequence of Bishop Doyle's ideas on this subject. In Vol. I., we have some very confused paragraphs about Bishop Doyle's *possible* concurrence with Cardinal Wiseman and Archbishops Murray and Crolly, on the question of the 'amended statutes' of the Queen's Colleges in 1845, for which we sorely want references; then the writer quotes Bishop Doyle as follows:—'I do not know any measure which would prepare the way for a better feeling in Ireland than uniting children at an early age, and bringing them up in the same school, leading them to commune with one another, and to form those little intimacies and friendships which often subsist through life;' but in a note Fitzpatrick gives an extract (Dec., 1831) containing the bold declaration that 'should bad men attempt to corrupt the education of youth, we are no dumb dogs who know not how to bark; we can guard our flocks, and do so easily, by the simple process of excluding the Commissioners and their books and agents from the schools.' In 1824 he writes:—

In a mixed community such as ours, where mutual harmony and good-will are to be promoted, and children of different creeds to be educated together, let intruders of no defined creed, whose only religion seems to consist of anti-Catholic zeal, and a senseless enthusiasm about Bible-reading—let such intruders be excluded; and let men of fixed and known principles, eminent for their knowledge and moderation, as well as their love of order and attachment to the State; let such persons be commissioned to dispense the public bounty in a way calculated to promote a well-ordered system of education; a system which *not only will not interfere with the religious opinions of any, but which will secure the religious instruction of all.*¹

The following shows that the spirit of compromise was

¹ *Letters to a Friend in England*, vi., p. 139. The Italics of this very utopian sentence are the Bishop's own.

as alien to his mind in the matter of Christian education as in that of the union of the Churches:—

Were we combined for the destruction of the faith of Christ, and unable to effect our purpose by argument and opposition, what means could we resort to more efficacious than to exclude it from our schools—to prevent the tender child to lisp his prayer, and recite his Creed, and learn the commands of his God from that master or mistress who is to him a parent and a model, and instructor in all things else he has to learn—to let his passions grow and shoot and bloom, and choke the little bud of virtue which has been scarcely planted, and still requires to be watered in his heart—to cause him to hear the voice of God, inviting him to come and seek for wisdom, and partake of refreshment for his wearied soul—to cause him to hear this voice for the first time amidst the tumult of his passions, the noise of the world, and the seductive allurements of a seductive pleasure. Have pity on our youth, O God, have pity on them. . . . Let us keep the fountain clear which His Blood has sealed, and not expose our holy religion to the danger of being polluted at its very source. Let us not suffer to go loose upon society the mere animal man, who, destitute of education, is like a savage; nor again, give him instruction that, as a fox tutored in low cunning, wiles, and craft, he may steal upon our simplicity, trade upon our piety, or filch from us our property or good name.¹

If it is impossible to reconcile the ideas in these extracts, it is easy to see that it is in the last that the master spirit of his soul shines out. We could not have clearer evidence of the proposition with which I started, that Bishop Doyle was made by his faith. Without its unchanging infallible guidance, he would have been a visionary and an enthusiast; the victim of that simplicity which is inherent in the highest forms of speculative genius. Such minds are too great for vulgar life. It is only in the Catholic Church that they can find their sphere, and become practical. There is no sign that Bishop Doyle ever met his match amongst men, much less his master. All his life he went his own way, and the wonder is that he made so few mistakes. Moreover, his mistakes are one secret of his attractiveness. He was Irish in every sense of the word,

¹ Fitzpatrick, i., p. 324.

with all the glories and all the imperfections attached to the name.

It is agreed [says Bishop Milner] amongst intelligent and liberal observers, that the Irish are both remarkably quick and remarkably clear in their conceptions, and that they acquire sciences and arts in less time than the English do. But they are probably behind-hand with our countrymen in intense application, to gain a perfect mastery of the science or art which is to be attained, and in that depth of judgment which is, perhaps, their characteristic. For, next to the omnipotent decrees of Providence, it is depth of judgment which regulates the destiny of the world.¹

Of his countrymen, Bishop Doyle himself writes :—

The Irish are, morally speaking, not only religious, like other nations, but entirely devoted to religion . . . they are more sanguine than the English, less mercurial than the French ; they seem to be compounded of both these nations, and more suited than either to seek after, and indulge in, spiritual affections.²

Bishop Milner was one of Ireland's truest and wisest friends, and his advice, as well as his reflections, will be always valuable. Writing to a friend in Waterford, nearly ninety years ago, he says :—

Circumstances, then, my dear sir, have certainly been irritating ; the times are critical and eventful ; but, for heaven's sake, keep yourselves cool. A great part of your past miseries have been owing to the intemperate warmth of some of your countrymen. Be patient ; for it is unquestionably better to 'bear the ills we have than fly to others we know not of' . . . If I had the voice of thunder, I would cry throughout your island, at this moment in particular : 'Irishmen, be cool ; command your temper. Your evils are working their own cure ; they cannot last but for a little time longer.'³

The Bishop of Kildare was not always cool ; neither had he always command over his fiery and loving heart. It may be said that he was cool in great battles, and impatient at little obstacles in times of peace. Certainly, compared with Bishop Milner, on the question of mixed education, he was

¹ *An Inquiry. Letters from Ireland*, p. 41. Keating, London. 1808.

² *Letters to a Friend in England*, p. 58.

³ *An Inquiry. Letters from Ireland*, p. 242.

an illustration of what the latter calls Irish inferiority of judgment. In the work quoted Bishop Milner writes:—

To speak the plain truth, then : We wish our youth in general to be educated apart, precisely for the opposite reason to that which makes you wish them to be educated at the universities. You desire them to be sent there in hopes that by associating with other youths, whom you call more liberal, we more lax, they may lose their religion. We wish to keep them at a distance from such society, for fear of the same consequence. We have proof, indeed, that this consequence does not always follow ; but we have also proof that it frequently does follow. In fact, the Catholic religion being more strict and rigorous, both as to belief and practice, than that of the Establishment, it is, of course, ridiculed by members of the latter as being superstitious. Now, the imputation of this blind and grovelling vice is what few young men of spirit can submit to ; hence they are under a continual temptation, when intimately and continually mixed with Protestant companions, of deserting their faith.¹

Although a patient study of the life and writings of Bishop Doyle reveals that his whole spirit was opposed to compromise in religious matters, it is very likely that his trumpet's uncertain sound has had an evil effect on many minds during the long contest which has gone on in Ireland regarding mixed education. The mistakes of great men are our best warnings, when we discern the fallacies from whence they spring. Experience, bought at a great price, has now taught Catholics the principles enunciated by Cardinal Newman, and illustrated with all the fertility of his genius, that education, in its true sense, as the development and formation of mind and character is never safe or successful save under the rule of religion. No one has stated this more forcibly than Bishop Doyle when he writes :—

In every state, whether Christian or Pagan, the instruction of youth has been confided to the minister of religion ; for those who are esteemed capable of preaching truth and morality to the community at large, must be deemed most fit to regulate the education of children ; he to whom the father looks as an instructor for himself, must, in his opinion, be the very person to whom he would commit the care of his child.²

¹ *Ib.*, p. 25.

² *Letters to a Friend in England*, vi., p. 132.

Bishop Doyle had political and social pacification on the brain. He saw that without peace between honest and sensible men of the three nations in Ireland, as they have been called, Catholic, Established Protestant, and Presbyterian, this harmony was impossible, and to this strong passion of his soul we must attribute his uncertain, contradictory utterances on the subject of mixed education. We may add, that as in youth he was himself an instance of what he styles the influence of 'the genius of the place,' and the example of companions; the fact that this made so little impression on him, must be attributed to that fault which he recognised in his own disposition, in its excess of 'security which is mortal's chiefest enemy.' As long as the young are learning *sub tutoribus et actoribus*, whether at school or the university, their minds, as a rule, if they are to learn anything, must be in the position of passive recipients; and as to the formation of those friendships between members of different religions, so important in mixed societies, to which Bishop Doyle refers, they can be deferred to the time when education, and its controlling influences are at an end, and they go forth equipped for the battle of life, and capable of making wise decisions.

One point which is misleading remains to be noticed in the biographies before us. Both writers are enthusiastic admirers of their hero, but their ardour has led them too far when they paint him as a reformer of the Irish clergy, for the simple reason that in his time, as a body the clergy were not in need of reform. Fitzpatrick's *Life of Bishop Doyle* is, perhaps, the best Irish Church history of the first years of this century, which, if they were not so near us, would be counted the most glorious period of her national life since the ninth century, when the heathen began his work of destruction, which other heathens have continued. To say that this history is the best, is however, moderate praise, seeing that so little has been done by others. It is a serious matter therefore when Messrs. Fitzpatrick and MacDonagh set to work to depict the life, manners, and policy of the bishops and clergy of this momentous period, painting their hero as if he was a being different in kind from the rest of the

clergy. He was a vigorous administrator, and a great missionary bishop, ruling about one twenty-fourth part of the Catholics of Ireland in a country diocese ; but there were bishops equally vigorous and devoted before his time, and during his time. They who are familiar with the lives of Bishop Hussey, of Waterford ; Bishop Murphy, of Cork, or Bishop Egan, of Kerry, are naturally indignant at the caricatures these writers give us, as unreal as they are ludicrous, of aged prelates 'grasping a crozier with enfeebled hand,' while their priests were farming or hunting.¹

It is to be hoped that the resurrection of Bishop Doyle foreshadowed by his appearance in the 'New Irish Library,' although in so one-sided and inadequate a form, will stir up some competent writer to give us his real life, or at least to balance it by the lives of some of his contemporaries. It is a task demanding even more prudence and discrimination than a life of Cardinal Manning. When the Cardinal flung himself into political life, Gallicanism, with its half-hearted obedience to the Vicar of Christ, was dead, and the new era begun, in which the Church goes forth to the conquest of the world, perfect in all those degrees of subordination, which in the moral order reveal the unity of God. Things were very different when, four years after the fall of Napoleon, Bishop Doyle began his political work. To whom in the past, or in his own time, was he to look for example or for guidance? Abroad the old state of things, when kings controlled even the sacristies, had for a time returned. In the British Empire alone, the bishop was as independent as any other man, and it is Bishop Doyle's great glory to have been, perhaps, the first bishop in Europe, who without fear, faced the terrible problems of the Revolution. In his public career, the praise of Bishop Milner is enough ; that he was 'celebrated for the splendour of his talents, and especially for his political sagacity:'² it is as great a mistake to make him master in everything, as to imply that his fellow-bishops were masters in nothing ; and if his estimate of the dominion of the Vicar of Christ was far below that

¹ Fitzpatrick, i., 104. MacDonagh, p. 36,

² *Life of Milner*, Husenbeth, p. 493.

which is now universal in the Church, how many bishops at the time had ideas much more exalted ?

Eighteen years after Bishop Doyle's death, and still eighteen before the Vatican Council, were they all prepared for the teaching of Cardinal Newman in his *Irish University Discourses*, when he said :—

Deeply do I feel, ever will I protest, for I can appeal to the ample testimony of history to bear me out, that, in questions of right and wrong there is nothing really strong in the world, nothing decisive and operative, but the voice of him to whom have been committed the keys of the kingdom, and the oversight of Christ's flock. That voice is now, as ever it has been, a real authority, infallible when it teaches, prosperous when it commands, ever taking the lead wisely and distinctly in its own province, adding certainty to what is probable, and persuasion to what is certain. Before it speaks, the most saintly may mistake ; and after it has spoken the most gifted must obey.¹

Had Bishop Doyle reached his sixty-sixth year he would have met Cardinal Newman in Ireland. Would they have agreed ? Probably we may answer in the affirmative, for they were both men who loved truth better than themselves, and better than their own devices, and so they were not ashamed to change their minds : '*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*,' said the former in his youth ; and 'In a long course of years I have made many mistakes,' said the latter in his old age.

Of necessity this study is confined to the public life of Bishop Doyle. It is only indirectly that the splendour of his fiery love of God and man shines out like that of St. Charles Borromeo, who said that a good bishop should court death for his flock. This age of ours has got criticism on the brain. It costs less than study, and it is intoxicating equally to reader and critic. Everyone and everything now, past, present, and future, are summoned to the bar of the professional critic, and morning and evening verdicts are given, and sentences passed, to be reversed on the morrow. This may suit people whose one end and object

¹ *University Discourses*, p. 22. Dublin: Duffy, 1852. Truly styled 'Their Charter,' by the students in 1879: better call them the Charter of the intellectual liberties of Christian Ireland.

is to get over time and life as fast as they can, and who find that liberty uncontrolled by principle is the easiest road to this consummation. But serious men, without, as well as within the Church, are of a different way of thinking; and they refuse to allow the heroes of their race to be served up in minced meat for the critical or political table. And a hero indeed, by nature and grace, was James Kildare and Leighlin. I have ventured to liken him to St. Charles, who was consumed by his own fires at the age of forty-six. A comparison of the closing scenes of their lives will, I think, bear me out. Both faced the foe until they fell, and both died as penitents: St. Charles in his cuirass of hair, and Bishop Doyle, at his own request, received his last Communion on the cold hard bed of the floor of his own room.

W. B. MORRIS.

THE RISE OF MONASTIC LIFE

A.D. 340

A NEW volume on the monastic life¹ will be suggestive of some remedies, from a Christian standing-point, of some problems which are before the world. Those very problems, which are the long catalogue of human ills, lay open to the eyes of Christ when, on the Mount, He spoke of riches through poverty, domination through meekness, happiness through grief, repletion through hunger.

Europe, as it now stands, was built up by this divine law of contraries. Christendom was formed whilst Rome, its capital, was smouldering; its stones were barbarians, hewn and polished into sons of Abraham by monks. This can be proved only by one deeply versed in heathen knowledge, which, viewed by itself, means nothing, but taken in its context is a torch in the hands of faith. The *Pax Romana* has about it an incompleteness which vanishes when it is

¹ *The Monastic Life, from the Fathers of the Desert to Charlemagne.* By T. W. Allies, K.C.S.G. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1895.

considered as a figure and type of Christian fulness, the *Pax Christiana*. Old Rome gathered up in its mighty hand the forces of heathen civilization. Affiliation to it was the only passport to greatness and prosperity. The city which held itself aloof was outside the pale of society, an alien, and for its people there was neither present nor future. Rome considered herself the one way to power. By me, she said, and by me alone, shall kings reign. She gathered peoples and nations to her bosom by assimilation, drawing throughout her huge empire the mystic boundaries which constituted the Roman citadel and *ager*, and conferred the proud rights of Roman citizen. Yet, in multiplying the likeness, Rome remained one and indivisible. There were not two Romes; the second would have been death to the first. It was the same with Christian Rome: Constantine called his city *Nova Roma*; but it was not Rome at all. Constantinople became the city of human ambition, and left Rome, in its ruins, to spiritual conquests. The very rule of Constantine altered with his residence, and he began at once to be an Oriental sovereign.

Monastic life was a contribution of the far East to the Roman emporium. The life-giving herb had been discovered in Egyptian solitudes, and it was brought to Rome at a moment of crisis. After centuries of persecution, the Christian people for the first time tasted peace, in virtue of Constantine's edict. The year 314 thus inaugurated a new state of things. If the Christians had been called upon to die for their faith, they were now to live for it. Constantine became sole ruler in 323, and he lost no time in making his personal influence felt. His first gift to the Church was the Council of Nicea, which sat in 325. Equally significant was the act by which he left smouldering Rome to Peter in the person of Pope St. Sylvester, and took the seat of Empire with himself to *Nova Roma*. Constantinople, the fair city which he founded, soon became synonymous with decadence; but during the years of the expiring Western Empire its power was often matched against that of Rome. Its see was raised to a patriarchate, founded on the imperial dignity, and sharing its ephemeral

fortunes. Heresy and disunion shook the throne of Constantine, for, if his sons succeeded to his inheritance, they had neither his faith nor his genius.

The Christian fathers at Nicea legislated against heresy, which in the spiritual order is revolt. They strictly defined the dogma attacked, and communicated a new impulse to the mainsprings of life, without which the venerable assembly would have spoken in vain. At that time the Egyptian desert was flowering with the prayer and toil of Paul and Anthony, the hermits. Having studied God in complete solitude, they revealed the knowledge they had thus gained, Paul to Anthony, Anthony to numerous disciples, amongst whom was St. Athanasius. It was Athanasius who brought the new science to Rome, about 340. Rome knew the higher life of the counsels in isolated instances, it might be called, unscientifically; for confessorship had prepared the way for martyrdom. Athanasius headed the ranks of those whom heresy had tortured. Arian fury would not have spared his life. In the midst of hairbreadth escapes he found time to do more than compose two treatises of rare genius. He wrote the life of Anthony, the man distinguished 'solely for his piety.'¹ It was the book which moved Augustine to conversion, blinded as he was by sin rather than by Manicheism. Athanasius wished to perpetuate the lessons of Anthony's life, as best calculated to cope with the altered state of things, and the dangers of peace. Through him the seal of Rome was set upon Monasticism as an institution.

The example of the Egyptian hermits burst forth into the cenobitic life, and produced some of the great centres which created perfect monks, even before St. Benedict's day. The science of the perfect monk may be resumed in one word of the Spanish saint, *Solo Dios basta*.² Turning their backs upon cities, they went out to God and solitude; and it must be noted that solitude was sometimes a condition of finding God. St. Chrysostom has painted, in his graphic and

¹ Διὰ δὴ μόνην θεοσεβειανω, Περὶ Ἀντωνίου, 504.

² Page 120.

beautiful language, the corruption of Antioch. The same was true in various degrees of Rome, Alexandria, and Carthage--of any centre, in fact, which revelled in Roman civilization; that is, had learned its vices. The greatest men in the Christian hierarchy and literature, therefore, 'embraced the offspring of the desert fathers.' Basil and Augustine adopted the 'common life' in their own abodes, and shaped it according to their respective rules. 'For the first time it was profitable to temporal interests to become a Christian.'¹ The new institution provided against one of the evils arising from the incipient union of the Church and the secular power. Courtier bishops, or men too weakly cast to retain their independence, were replaced by monks who carried their strong and holy traditions into their episcopal lives. Lérins, Marmoutier, and Bangor, amongst others, were training-ground for those admirable pastors who showed forth the Christian teaching in their example, which is a voice 'louder than any trumpet.'² Lérins furnished numerous French churches with 'their most illustrious bishops.' The great monastery of Marmoutier was founded by St. Martin of Tours. Bangor, in Wales, with its nine hundred monks, emulated Irish Bangor. These men, living for God alone, prepared the future Christendom, and raised the edifice of political on the basis of spiritual unity.

Still the glories of Lérins and Marmoutier might have dimmed, and monastic life have become local and special to a very chosen few, had not the rule of St. Benedict given shape and consistency to the whole institution. If it needed one thing in order to live, it was the stamp of unity.

Benedict was born in 480; consequently his spiritual sons were in readiness to take possession of Gaul with the Franks and of Britain with the Saxons. The misery of Europe was complete. The Western Empire was collapsing, a ruin amidst ruins, and everywhere Roman society was giving way to barbarian invasion. The devastating hordes were opposed by the men of peace, for *pax* was the watchword of

¹ Page 116.² St. Chrysostom.

Benedict. The conversion of Clovis, in 496, and of Ethelbert, a century later, marked epochs. At the end of the sixth century the numerous monasteries in Gaul had accepted the Benedictine rule, which was an admirable blending of wisdom, human and divine. It subdued without killing the natural man, and has probably been the finest contribution to what our modern scientists are pleased to call 'the survival of the fittest.' Mortification wisely practised meets hygiene half-way, and when it is combined with labour, mental or manual, it tends to prolong life to its natural span. In the titles of their chosen retreats the monks set on record the well-spring of their joy. Mr. Allies has ingeniously put them together to tell their own tale: the 'fair place,' the 'good place,' the 'beautiful place,' the 'joyous place,' the 'sweet valley,' the 'good harbour,' the 'sweet rest,' the 'blessed valley,' the 'bird's nest,' the 'sweet fountain,' the 'gate of heaven,' the 'crown of heaven,' 'God's portion,' 'God's brightness,' the 'harbour of sweetness,' the 'blessed meadow,' the 'rest,' the 'comfort,' the 'joy,' are some of the most striking.¹ The hand was at work, the heart in heaven in those houses; and this made them the abodes of a happiness, which is not generally at home in this world. Tilling the soil and the finer occupations of the scriptorium were bricks in the building of Europe; and, if Mr. Allies is to be trusted, there were no heartier or more finished masons than the monks.

The meeting between Pope St. Leo and Attila, the Scourge of God, recounted in a previous volume,² was strangely typical. Unarmed and undefended, the Pope left a smouldering city to confront the barbarian, and he spoke to Attila as one 'having authority.' If Attila bent to Leo, the fierce Totila was no less softened by Benedict. The process of converting and civilizing the descendants of both Attila and Totila fell to the monks, for in the designs of Providence those very barbarians were to reconstitute the fortunes of Europe.

¹ Page 203.

² *The Throne of the Fisherman built by the Carpenter's Son.*

The conquests of the Church symbolized in Pope St. Leo and Benedict were moral, and in striking contrast to those of old Rome. For instance, whilst Roman legions were victorious from sea to sea, Roman legislation totally failed to produce domestic life. The Church founded the Christian family through a sacrament. 'Until death do us part' had been the secret yearning of the Roman matron, who wrote *uni viro* on her tomb. If Christian marriage was the bulwark of society, monastic life was the fortification of the bulwark itself. To those valiant enough to give up all worldly joys for Christ's sake, it showed forth a new home as much more blessed than the family home as divine love is greater and more blessed than human affection.

The conversion of the Saxons by monks is an idyll in monastic annals. Religion and poetry meet and embrace. The noblest in the land, not the bruised hearts whom the world rejected, chose God for their inheritance. Ethelreda, alone, confutes Protestant prejudice. A queen for twelve years, a wife only in name, she esteemed herself happy when at last she was able to turn her back upon the court, and to exchange her crown for the veil of religion.

These new forces of the Christian faith were fully required in order to beat off the impetus of Mahommed's flood. Under Roman legislation it would have swept away the poor semblances of morality which remained. The false prophet had no greater opponent in the world than Benedict, who, a man of peace, furnished other men with the internal armour and breast-plate of resistance. Mahommed pandered to every illicit desire of fallen nature, whereas the rule of Benedict converted man into an angel. 'The harem fought the monastery,'¹ and the monks in their meekness were the army who broke the victorious course of the Crescent. From the beginning of his labours on the *Formation of Christendom*, the philosophy of history has ever been the salient feature of Mr. Allies' writings. He throws a light on the dullest page of petty struggles or uninteresting personalities. The dreary story of barbarian

¹ Page 481.

invasions, sapping at the sources of life and society, acquires a new significance, for 'from these undisciplined, regardless raiders the forming of Christian nations began.'¹ The long travail of three hundred years was inaugurated by Pope St. Leo going out to meet Attila, and persuading him by earnest words not to erase Rome from the face of the earth.

Those three hundred years of mysterious growth from Attila to Charlemagne culminated in the definite formation of Christendom, which is the union of Christian nations under one head. The successor to the effete Western Empire was chosen by Pope St. Leo III., the successor not only to Empire, but the founder of the Christian State, which was a creation of the Church. The fortunes of *Nova Roma* exhibited a State on the heathen lines. From the beginning it was a perfect type of Erastianism, and so it continued to the end, hostile to the Pope, and seeking every opportunity of reducing him to the rank of its first subject. There are instances on record of Popes sent to *Nova Roma* to bide the Emperor's pleasure. Could the Pope's moral liberty of action have been taken away, the Church would have become the handmaid of imperial power, national instead of universal. Such slavery would have been her funeral knell.

It would certainly seem that there is no longer an ideal Christian state. The battle-field has changed, and with it, the forces of Christendom, which now lie in the heart of the Christian people, scattered over the world. Absolute monarchy is not the evil—if it be an evil—to be feared, but absolute democracy, a cruel tyrant when he takes for his device *ni Dieu ni Maitre*. Christendom, then, as it now exists, the union of all the faithful under one head, must produce a democracy which shall not be all bad. Some ardent spirits may speak of an ideal democracy, but that is hardly possible. Humility is at the basis of Christian law, and there is no humility in democracy.

This volume on the *Monastic Life* completes the history

¹ Page 475.

of the foundations, or as the author calls it, of the *Formation*.¹ It traces back to the Christian life and spirit whatever we may now possess of order and stability, government and morality. The thought of Christendom is familiar enough to most men, yet, in these stirring nineteenth century days of progress, who stops to consider its builders—Popes and Monks?

'Αληθής.

IRISH EXILES IN BRITTANY

I.

THE story of the Exiles of Erin, in its general outline, has been well told by many brilliant pens. Their footsteps have been traced with loving care by writers whose hearts burned with sympathy for the heroism and manifold sufferings of their dispersed brethren, and the record of this saddest outcome of our national sorrows has an assured place in the historical literature of our people. Those who follow in this work may therefore restrict themselves to the particular facts they wish to illustrate, assuming as securely established the great principles which explain the exodus of Irishmen from their native land, and which interpret, in a way honourable to our national sentiment, the historic facts from which this sad necessity arose.

There is an aspect of history in which a nation's sufferings are a dishonour to its name; defeat is a stain upon its standard, and overthrow is a sufficient reason to bring contempt upon its children. The school which holds this view logically is bound to laugh at the fall of peoples who have failed in securing power for their race, and have been beaten in the struggle for existence; the 'survival of the fittest' is taken in this context to mean the victory of those who have succeeded, no matter what the motive or the means of their success may have been. But this cannot be a true canon of

¹ *The Formation of Christendom*, by T. W. Allies.

history; it would consecrate all the successful crimes of which there are so many in the story of the nations, and against such a view the conscience of the world revolts. The true criterion of the relative worth of nations, as of men, must be found in their ideals; those who serve higher principles, no matter what their economic failure, must be adjudged a higher place than they who have served lower ones, no matter how great their political success. This is an extension of the principles which underlie our judgments of individuals, and must be true of the *ens morale* resulting from their aggregation. We do not judge a man by his stature, and a Napoleon with his diminutive figure was worth a thousand grenadiers of the guard; our friends and our heroes are those whose minds were filled with higher principles, and whose hearts are consecrated to such service. Expanded to the proportions of a nation, this would mean that great armies and clever policy do not constitute its worth. Such strength may sustain the greatest crimes, and consequently its true value must be known through the analysis of the purposes to which it has been devoted.

Such an inquiry favours Irish history; it makes its sorrows almost joys, and lines all its clouds with sunshine. It is better die for a truth than live for a falsehood; it is better die in exile in the service of God than live at home chained to false altars built by the enemies of His Church; and, when this choice was proposed to our forefathers, they were given the supreme grace to choose what was the better of the two, and spurn with sublime contempt what was infinitely the worse. In this way one sees how the exiles of Erin, in their deepest distress, were victors in a very true sense; in their apparent overthrow they preserved their faith and their honour inviolate, their sufferings being not the measure of their weakness, but the fire-test of their heroic devotion and supernatural strength.

These reflections sustained my national pride when I first met with the annals of the Irish in Brittany. They are not such as would awaken pleasurable thoughts in the heart of one whose historic school was that of the late Mr. Froude; they are a sad story of broken lives; homeless outcasts, whose

wretchedness seemed a miserable setting for a picture in which there was so much nobleness and real grandeur. But all their weakness and poverty is forgotten when we recall their lives before they had fallen into this sad condition, and it becomes the source of our pride and pleasure that we have common name with those who played such a noble part in the great drama of our national history.

While I have entitled this paper the 'Irish Exiles in Brittany,' I do not propose to follow their history through the full extent of this province. The resources at my command confine me to the diocese where I write, and I shall be obliged to leave the fuller treatment of my theme to another time, and probably to other hands. I have found it no easy task to collect the documents which sustain my narrative; indeed, I could not have succeeded had I been left to my own researches. I have, it must be confessed, little talent, and scarcely enough of leisure to devote to the searching of archives and the laborious collation of authorities which is a necessary foundation of solid history, and could not have undertaken the task of weaving together the many threads of which the chronicle of our people in Brittany is composed had I not been helped by other hands. My thanks are due in a special way to the Very Rev. Canon Delorme, of Nantes, who has devoted many years to the collection of facts and documents bearing upon my subject, and has with great courtesy placed all his laborious work at my disposal.¹ The nature of his labour will not appear at once from the reading of the results; this is a necessary adjunct of historical studies. To verify a date there is often need of weeks of searching, and the correct form of a name sometimes entails the writing of half-a-dozen letters. The ease with which I can use his hardly-won material shows how much more pleasant it is to spend a fortune than to make it. I hope this acknowledgment will suffice to mark my sense of the great kindness of this estimable priest and learned archæologist, who already assured on many titles of the honour

¹ I wish also to acknowledge, in a very special way, the kind offices of M. l'Abbé Delanoue, Vicar of St. Donatien, Nantes.

and esteem of his own people, has earned the gratitude of the Irish race by his devotion to the memory of the exiles of Erin who in the past made their home in Brittany.

II.

The earliest emigration from Ireland to Brittany, according to the best authorities,¹ took place during the course of the sixteenth century, and the numbers were increased towards its close when the storm of religious persecution raged more fiercely at home. This latter period synchronized with the terrible excesses of the Elizabethan period, when flight was the only safety for those who preserved the ancient faith. The first of those confessors to touch the coasts of America was the Right Rev. Adam Magauran, Bishop of Mayo, who was preconized to that see on 25th July, 1585, in succession to the Right Rev. Patrick O'Hely, who had been put to death for the faith.² The new pastor endeavoured to fill the arduous position to which the Holy See had called him, and held the field for some short time. But two years after his creation he was compelled by the terrible circumstances of the period to relinquish the work, and his crozier became the staff of the pilgrim. No more venerable figure could be imagined to lead the sad procession which was to follow. Venerable from his years as from his high ecclesiastical position, he so touched the hearts of the authorities in this good city of Nantes, that they, in an instrument still to be seen in the Communal archives,³ endeavoured to provide for his more urgent needs. It would be hard to conceive a more pathetic document than that in which the public charity of the city is registered; it gives in its simple phraseology a touching picture of the broken and desolate old man, and enables us in some way to realize the terrible sufferings of those who, in the day of national trial, preserved the faith to our race. The following is an authentic copy taken from the Municipal Archives:—

A Révérend Père en Dieu, Adam Evesque de Majone au royaume d'Ibernye ou Irlande, six escus sol à lui ordonnés par

¹ *Annals de Bretagne*, 1894, p. 524.

² Brady: *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii., p. 156.

³ *Inventaire des archives Comm.*, c. 127, 1586-1589.

aumosne que la ville lui aurait faicte en consideration de sa pauvreté et de sa vieillesse et de son exil et banissement de son pays, par la force et la violence des hérétiques du dit pays d'Irlande ou d'Ibernye et de la Royne d'Angleterre qui l'auroit chassé, spolié et mis hors de son pays et bénéfice, et pour lui donner moyen de s'en retourner à ses affaires.

This is the only mention of Dr. Magauran that I can find in the archives of Nantes ; it is certainly honourable to him, and does not discredit the hospitality of Brittany. The alms given to him does not appear to be very generous, even taking into account the changed values of currency, but it marks a municipal act of sympathy with his sorrows, his years, and his sacred cause. In this respect it is significant of the Catholic spirit of this city, which during its history has been always noted for its piety and religious zeal.

The venerable exile doubtless met with many other sympathizers on the banks of the Loire, who enabled him to realize the wish of the City Fathers, and gave him the further means needed for his return to his flock and pastoral duties. But his subsequent history is clearly outside the scope of this paper, which professes to deal only with the Irish exiles in so far as they had associations with the province of Brittany.

The seventeenth century brought with its opening days a renewal of the worst features of persecution to the Irish people. The executioner was once more active in his propaganda of the principles of the Reformation, and the gallows dripped with the blood of the confessors of the faith. Yet this process could not well reach the great body of the people ; it was reserved for the leaders of the Church, and for the more distinguished laymen who bravely held the faith of their fathers. For the rest a substitute for capital punishment was found in confiscation of estates for those who were wealthy, and imprisonment and torture for those who were not favoured with the goods of fortune. Soon the prisons were filled with the refractory Celts, who could not be induced to deny their faith, and the authorities began to complain of the expense of sustaining enemies of the Queen's Government. To meet this condition of things it was

enacted that all guilty of professing the Catholic belief, who did not hold property to a certain amount, should be compelled, three months after their arrest, to either embrace the Anglican Creed or quit the Kingdom.

It goes without saying what the issue of this decree was ; the Irish Catholics gave up home and country, and became outcasts rather than deny what was deeper in their hearts than even the love of fatherland. In their search of a new home, numbers of these exiles came towards the coasts of France, and, as a French authority tells us, 'Brittany was invaded, and taken in assault by an army of mendicants.' The strangers seem to have justified this description ; they became, according to a very sober and careful historian, a source of public danger. They carried things with a high hand, considering their situation. They overran the country, and in the villages near the coast forcibly lodged themselves in the homes of the natives. The result of this action may be easily foreseen. Brittany forgot its generosity, and endeavoured to defend itself from what really appears to have been a species of hostile invasions. Parliament was appealed to, and it was enacted 'that the public be forbidden to bring the Irish into Brittany,' and ordered 'that this decree be published especially in the maritime towns.' The lower authorities took in hand the enforcement of this law, and our poor countrymen had evidently a very hard time of it. Public opinion was aroused, not unnaturally one would say, against them, and every city took measures to hinder their coming inside the corporate boundaries. The history of the Breton Parliament puts their case in words which I shall cite as they stand, in the hope that their severity may be, in some sort, veiled by their foreign dress : 'On se mit à les traquer comme vagabonds.'

In these very extreme circumstances our poor countrymen turned to Nantes in the hope of better treatment. In this they were emboldened by the fact that some Portuguese refugees had recently come to this city, and against the protest of the authorities had been sustained by the royal power. The King took them under his protection and safeguard, and the city was compelled to submit to their

presence. If the Irish exiles looked for such good fortune, they were disappointed in it, and the royal authority put no stay upon the vigorous measures of the corporation against them. The city fathers would have nothing of them, as will be seen by the following ordinance dated May 15, 1605 :—

Pour le regard des Irlandais qui sont à présent vagans et en grand nombre par ceste ville et forsbourgs, lesquels a esté proposé de chasser et d'envoier, ladite assemblée a advisé et delibéré, afin de purger la ville de telle sort de gens et esviter aux inconveniens de maladie, qu'ils seront chassez et envoyez par mer en quelque vaisseau ou navire aux despans de la ville, aux lieux où il sera advisé par le corps de ladite ville. Et pour cet effet, y sera employé jusques à la somme de huit à neuf cents livres, si tant en faut, des deniers de la ville de toute nature.

It would be difficult to fancy a more energetic document than this ; the strangers were looked upon as a danger to the public health, and the city desired to be free of them as if they were an epidemic ; they were to be hunted and deported at the public expense, and thrown finally upon the first land that would be weak enough to suffer their presence or good enough to succour their misery. The determination of the civic authorities is further and practically shown by the sum voted for this purpose, which points also to the numbers which the Irish immigration must have reached at this juncture. Without means or friends it remained only to the exiles to bow before this storm, and we find them in a short time disperse through the other sections of Western France.

Towards the year 1622, the tide of Irish immigration again set in towards Brittany, and the new-comers became noted for the same spirit as had brought upon their fore-runners the anger of the people and the rigour of the law. The account of their progress through the province reads like an inroad of a hostile force, and certainly did not become the position of those who, at most, could but reasonably ask for asylum from a sympathetic people. The minutes of the Breton Parliament speak of them in this way :—

Ils courent le país et font degast universel en telle sorte que lesdits habitants du país ne pouvant les contenter sont contrainctz de quicter et abandoner leur maisons, ce qui peut causer, oltre

la perte du bien, de grandes malladyes : et sobz ce prétexte, les ennemys du roy pourroient faire des entreprises sur ses places et serviteurs.¹

It is hard to explain this mode of action on the part of our expatriated countrymen, and certainly no one can complain that the Bretons took extreme measures to defend themselves. The result was that the Irish had to leave the country and seek asylum in other parts. Some few succeeded in settling in Nantes, as there is on record that letters of naturalization were obtained for some who became citizens of this city between 1622 and 1628.² What the reason of this better treatment may have been, we have no evidence to satisfactorily establish. It may be that those favoured ones were of gentler condition than those others who make such a sorry figure in the annals of Brittany, and they, perhaps, gave security by their social standing and intelligence for the right use of the citizenship they acquired. From the year 1628 to 1651 there is no record of a similar privilege having been accorded to persons of Irish birth or lineage.

Towards the year 1649, an incident occurred which shows the exiles in a better light and proves the hospitable spirit with which the City of Nantes was always ready to receive those who were worthy of its good-will. Some nuns arrived from Ireland, and took up their residence at Richebourg, one of its environs. They became at once an object of interest to the authorities, who, hastened to inform them that all strangers, of whatever condition, needed the permission of the Corporation to permanently fix their residence within the city jurisdiction. An inquiry was at once instituted, and the Commissioners appointed made the following interesting report to the Corporation on July 17th of the above year :—

Ce jour, Messieurs de la Grunerre Rabeau, sous-Maire et Touraine, procureur syndic, ont fait leur rapport au bureau comme ils ont, en consequence de leur commission, descendu, lundi dernier onzieme de Juillet, présent mois et an, au logis où

¹ Arch. du Parlement : Minutes de grand^e chambre, 1622.

² Archives depart. Nantes.

sont logées les religieuses de Richebourg. Auquel logis, ils auroient veu soeur Marie-Baptiste, Superieure et Catharine de Roches, agée de environ 14 ans, interprette, par la bouche de laquelle, ladite Superieure leur auroit dit qu'elles sont huit religieuses de l'ordre de Sainte Elizabeth, reformé, venues d'Irlande dans un vaisseau que commandait un nommé le Prince d'un port et havre de l'entrée de cette rivière de Loire. Estant pressées par les gens de guerre parlementaires ennemis de la religion Catholique, elles avoit en dessein de passer du lieu où elles estoient dans un autre lieu plus seur, où il y a des religieuses de leur ordre. Mais elles n'avoient pu, à cause que lesdits gens de guerre tenoient la campagne et occupirent les chemins et passages, et ainsi avoient esté contraintes de se jeter dans le vaisseau dudit Prince pour éviter la furie dudit ennemis. Elles estoient arrivées au Croisic¹ il y a environ six à sept mois, d'où elles s'estoient rendues à la Fosse;² et de là avoient esté reçues pas la damoiselle de Moire, veufve, dans sa maison, en ceste ville de Nantes, rue de Verdun. Et environ la feste de Pasque estoient venues demeurer dans la maison de la Brigollière où elles sont à présent. Laquelle maison avait esté louée pour deux ans qui ont commencé à la feste de Noël dernière, par feu Monsieur l'Archidiacre à Monsieur Sanguin. Elles ont veçu et vivent encore par les charités des gens de bien de ceste ville et forsbourgs, où elles ne desirent point s'habituer en communauté, ni y demeurer qu'en attendant qu'il plaise à Dieu leur donner la paix et la liberte de retourner en leur pays où elle souhaitent s'en aller sitost qu'elles sauront qu'il y a seureté. Elles vont ouÿr la messe en l'église des Peres minimes et sont ouyes en confession par un religieux Recollet de leur país qui est venu avec elles et est à présent demeurant dans une maison du meme forbourg de Richebourg où elles sont. Elles ont prins une servante pour achepter ce qui leur est nécessaire pour vivre et ladite Catharine pour leur servir d'interprette. Ladite Catharine n'a ni père ni mère et est venue en ce país depuis les quatre ans derniers du pays d'Irlande d'où elles est native et qu'elle a demeurér longtemps à la Fosse avec sa deffunte mère en la rue des Capucins et que sa dite mère décebdá quinze jours ou environ avant l'arrivée desdites religieuses. Qu'il est vrai qu'elles ont fait demander à Monsieur¹ de Nantes permission de faire dire la messe dans la maison où elles sont, afin de n'estre point obligées de sortir et d'observer en quelque façon le voeu de closture, qu'elles ont fait; à quoi mon dit sieur³ de Nantes auroit respondu qu'il y pourvoiroit.

This document under its archaic form and cold legal

¹ A town on the estuary of the Loire.

² A quarter of the city near the river.

³ Monseigneur, the Bishop of Nantes.

directness tells a story that is very creditable to these poor religious. It shows them reduced to the last extremity of want, living on alms begged in a foreign city, and at the same time living up to the exigencies of their rule and solicitous for its observance under circumstances in which even a very rigid theology would have left them a large measure of liberty. We are not told what was the issue of this municipal inquiry; we do not know whether they had to suffer like their less worthy compatriots the sentence of banishment, but we may assume from the countenance given them by the bishop that they remained unmolested until a favourable turn in affairs enabled them to return to their native land. In point of fact, Travers, in his history of Nantes,¹ says there is no further mention of their names in the archives of the city, and subjoins to the account above given that the religious soon after left Brittany for Ireland.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century a great and favourable change took place in French sentiment with respect to the Irish exiles in France. The severity of the early days of the century was laid aside, and honour and hospitality were freely and nobly given to the refugees. Many things contributed to this new policy: the character of the strangers was far other than that of those who first felt the weight of persecution and defeat, and, then, perhaps, the political situation of the time explains a great deal of the new policy. Of the political sympathy between France and the Royalists in Ireland we need not speak; it is an historical fact which may be assumed in these pages; but to investigate the character of the new *immigrés* is part of our purpose in compiling these notes. They were the victims of the Cromwellian *regime*, and counted among their numbers some of the most distinguished Irishmen of that day. Bishops, priests, and nobles were obliged to fly from home, and on their arrival in France they at once in public estimate rose to the dignity of martyrs to an noble and just cause, and confessors of the true religion common to both peoples.

¹ *Histoire de Nantes*, iii., p. 341.

They had, for the most part, lost all in the battle for life and liberty, and were suppliants for even the necessities of food and clothing. In a manuscript history¹ of Nantes we read of them :—

Beaucoup de ces braves champions de la fidélité et du malheur étaient dans le plus grand dénuement. Les prêtres qui les accompagnaient furent réduits à vivre d'aumônes et de faibles honoraires dont on retribuait quelques actes de leur ministère.

Reduced to such straits these great sufferers for a lost cause did not appeal to France in vain ; means were lavished on them by the generosity of the King and the people, and these favours were repaid by the loyal service they gave to their generous patrons. During the Fronde troubles the King was touched by the fidelity to the throne evinced by the Irish exiles, and ordered the sum of £1,200 be placed yearly at the disposal of those who were at Bordeaux alone.² Parliaments followed the royal example, and some of the grants to individuals surprise one by their amount ; the historian Hamard gives an instance of a bishop who was given annually over 3,000 fr.³ In this way Bretons generously made amends for the rigorous treatment with which the earlier Irish exiles had been received in Brittany.

When the Jacobite cause was finally overthrown in 1689 and 1690, France became the rendezvous of all those who still followed the royal fortunes. James II. passed through Nantes in 1689, and made some stay in the Chateau of this city. He was received with more honours than he deserved ; as the historian of the time says : ' Il fut reçu au bruit d'artillerie, la millice bourgeoise étant sous les armes.' His coming had the very happy result of bringing still more honour and public consequence to his Irish followers, many of whom chose Nantes and Brittany as their second home. Their descendants are still to be met in Nantes, and retain a warm love for the

¹ *Bibliothèque Publique de Nantes.*

² Louis XIV. en fut tellement touché que le 22 Novembre, 1653, l'accorda à ceux de Bordeaux la somme de douze cents livres, par chacun an. *Histoire Card. de Sourdis.* Ravalen, p. 77.

³ Il y eut un évêque qui chaque année recut jusqu' à trois cents pistoles.

land of their ancestors, which most of them have never seen. But their names will always remind them of their past associations with Ireland, and the Dillons and M'Carthys among them will never succeed in obliterating their Hibernian origin. Many of them have reached high positions in the Church and army, and their characters reflect much of the splendid spirit which lifted their fathers into name and honour in the olden days.

I have gathered these authentic particulars of the Irish exiles in Nantes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and venture to think the record will not be wanting in interest to all who cherish the memories of those who played such a characteristic part in our history. I hope at some future time to continue the narrative of the seventeenth century when the interest will be increased by reason of the personages concerned, and of the very notable facts associated with their names. This interest is largely, if not entirely, of an ecclesiastical nature, as might be conjectured from the causes which made exile a sad necessity for those much-tried men. They had won name and reverence at home because of their splendid work in the sanctuary, and this *rôle* they continued to play in the years they were forced to spend abroad. Many of them rest in the soil of Brittany, and their graves are unknown and forgotten, but enough remains of their history to prove that their lives were not unworthy of the best traditions of their native country.

A. WALSH, O.S.A.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF 'THE IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

IV.

IN my last communication I put forward the overwhelming evidence of contemporary witnesses in favour of à Kempis as the author of *The Imitation*. If space permitted I might have added considerably thereto, but this seemed needless in view of the personal and domestic nature of the testimony adduced, which came largely from those who either knew Thomas himself, or were intimate with his companions. Before leaving this subject I may observe that Thomas is the *only* candidate in whose favour a *single* contemporary witness can be produced.

If I stopped here I believe no rational person could doubt his authorship; but, for reasons already named, and to complete the statement of his case, I think it well to show something of the *External Evidence* of the various manuscripts in the same direction, and also the *Internal Evidence* which the book itself similarly offers.

II.—*External Evidence of Manuscripts*

This branch of the controversy covers so wide a field that it would be impossible to treat it fully in the present essay, and I must confine myself to little more than an abstract of the conclusions to which it inevitably leads. I shall commence with a few observations touching the age of the manuscripts. This is a matter of necessity, in order to demolish certain baseless fabrics erected by à Kempis' adversaries with the design of invalidating his claims.

In the first place, I may state, with what I am satisfied is incontrovertible certainty, that *no manuscript of 'The Imitation of Christ' has ever been produced of an age antecedent to the mature manhood of Thomas à Kempis—that is to say, the first third of the fifteenth century.* We may find many efforts made to discredit this statement, but not one is in the slightest degree worthy of credence.

The various manuscripts, numbering four hundred and twenty, may be classified into those which are dated and those without date. The earliest dated manuscript, worthy of confidence, is that from Hattem, near Zwolle, and it bears the record 1424. Let it be remembered that at this period à Kempis was forty-four years of age.

There exists one manuscript bearing the dates 1384 and 1385, to which I must allude at some length, for the purpose of showing that it is not worthy of the smallest confidence.

The codex in question is named the 'Paulanus'; it comes originally from the Benedictine monastery of Wiblingen, and now belongs to that of St. Paul, in Carinthia. Oddly enough it has only recently been brought prominently to light. Dom Wolfsgruber, in his work on John Gersen, gives a description of the manuscript and a facsimile of the two last pages. He writes with praiseworthy caution, and candidly avows that there are many difficulties connected with it! As the foregoing dates, referring to a period when à Kempis was a child, would, if genuine, manifestly displace him, I felt convinced that a thorough investigation of this manuscript should be made, all the more so as I demonstrated in my essay of 1887 that the account given of it by its sponsor, Dom Wolfsgruber, of Vienna, is most unsatisfactory. Accordingly I wrote to Dom Augustine Duda, the Abbot of St. Paul's, asking permission to examine the codex, and to photograph such portions as I deemed necessary.

In due course my request was granted, and in the autumn of 1889, properly equipped, I made the journey—six days from Dublin—and was most kindly received. It gives me great pleasure to record here the perfect freedom I was allowed at St. Paul's, both by the Reverend Abbot, and Dom Achatz, the Hofmeister of the monastery, and to state my conviction of the good faith and love of truth with which they permitted me to examine and photograph the manuscript, for whose shortcomings they certainly are in no way accountable. It came to them from Wiblingen, after many vicissitudes, for preservation and safe keeping, and involves them in no responsibility whatever. I have pub-

lished the result in the *Précis Historiques*, Brussels, May, 1890, and shall here merely record it in a few words :—

First. The writing of the Paulanus manuscript shows it to belong to the sixteenth century, about one hundred years after the death of à Kempis !—

Secondly. The dates are all clumsy forgeries !—

Thirdly, exeat the Paulanus manuscript for ever.

Respecting the undated manuscripts it will be necessary to consider their value in the controversy with some care. À Kempis' adversaries made vigorous efforts to turn their uncertain ages into weapons against him, with what result we shall soon see. I need not, in these days of more perfect information and knowledge, allude to the wild statements of enthusiasts like Dom Cajetan and De Grégory, who were foolhardy enough to attribute the Arona and Avogadro manuscripts to the thirteenth century. No one hears of such eccentricity now without a smile ; but there are still to be found theorists—like Wolfsgruber, Puyol, Loth, and others—who would argue that some of the undated manuscripts of *The Imitation* may belong to the end of the fourteenth or first years of the fifteenth centuries ; in other words, to a period when Thomas à Kempis was too young to have been the author. This theory must be first discounted, and then weighed against the positive facts which point to him as the author.

The consideration of the undated manuscripts of *The Imitation* brings us at once to the subject of paleography,—the science of determining the age of an undated manuscript, from its style, writing, abbreviations, &c. Obviously if one single manuscript of *The Imitation* could be definitely proved to have been written at the end of the fourteenth, or the very commencement of the fifteenth century, the claims of Thomas à Kempis should be abandoned at once and for ever ; *but this is exactly what has never been done, despite all efforts.* For centuries his adversaries have searched the libraries of Europe, but their long-wished-for manuscript *has not been found.* Not a single manuscript of *The Imitation* which has been put forward by à Kempis'

adversaries as of date excluding his authorship has stood the test of paleographic science, or been shown to be earlier than his middle age. I may here observe that the claims made for the Italian codices named above, in this connection, are thus annihilated.

It is a very significant fact that Father Denifle, who, as subarchivist of the Vatican Library, must have exceptional knowledge of dated Italian manuscripts of all ages, and therefore be an excellent judge of those which are not dated, asserts positively that every single one of the manuscripts of *The Imitation* put forward by the Gersenists belongs to the fifteenth century, and not the earliest portion of it. Let it be clearly understood and remembered, anent the arguments of those who contend for an imaginary author of the thirteenth century, that, while the libraries of Europe are filled with manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, not a solitary codex of *The Imitation of Christ* has been examined by this highly skilled expert, Father Denifle, which he does not declare to belong to the fifteenth century and not the commencement of it!

In fine, *it may be confidently repeated that not a single manuscript of 'The Imitation,' dated or undated, can be shown to be antecedent to à Kempis' middle age.*

Taking the manuscripts of *The Imitation*, dated and undated, as a whole, they offer a very remarkable subject for study and analysis. In number they amount at present to about four hundred and twenty, and their derivation and origin may be roughly stated as follows:—Twenty-five belong to France, nineteen to Italy, fifteen to England, while the rest—just three hundred and sixty-one—appertain to Germany, and especially the lower district of Germany, including Holland and the Low Countries, which formed part of Germany at the period when *The Imitation* appeared. Further, when we come to examine each manuscript carefully, we find that about sixty point to Thomas à Kempis by indications more or less definite, and the great preponderance of the whole show contact and amity between Windesheim and the various monastic institutions from which they emanate.

Thus à Kempis' candidature is supported, in the manuscripts by an irresistible mass of probability.

This subject, if fully worked out, would need thirty or forty pages to develope, and this I cannot give at present; neither is it necessary, because anyone who chuses can read Father Becker's essay on the subject, which I merely epitomize. His research, with the pitiless logic of fact, leaves no room for doubt as to the origin of *The Imitation* in the heart of the school of which Thomas was the recognised exponent, historian, and writer.

Let me revert for a moment here to à Kempis' own manuscript of 1441, already quoted. The four first essays in that codex are the four books of *The Imitation*, followed by nine other treatises, which have come down to us as his undisputed works. If, then, we reject Thomas as the author of *The Imitation*, we must accept the impossible theory that he deliberately placed in front of his own compositions four treatises which he knew were not-his! The idea is too absurd for consideration.

To conclude this subject of the evidence of the manuscripts, I would urge that it bears irresistibly in favour of à Kempis, and this is most significant when we remember all the circumstances of the case—his obscurity, the anonymous appearance of the book, the ignorance of the world at large as to its origin, and the spirit of indifference of the Windesheimers as to any claim for its paternity. Let it be borne in mind, too, that as à Kempis is the *only* candidate for whom a *single* contemporary witness can be cited, so also he is the *sole* one in whose favour any manuscript can be produced which was written either during that candidate's lifetime or shortly after his death.

III.—*Internal Evidence.*

When we come to examine *The Imitation* closely, we find so many internal evidences which point to Thomas à Kempis as the author, that the main difficulty lies in knowing where to commence their description.

In the first place, as regards the style in which the book is written. It is needless to observe, to those who are

familiar with Thomas' works, that *The Imitation* constitutes less than *one-tenth* of the whole. Between it and the rest there is so remarkable a similarity of thought, language, and idiom, that it seems impossible to doubt that all are the product of one mind and the work of one hand. This point has been developed by many early writers upon the subject, such as Rosweyd, Heser, and Amort; and later authorities, especially Malou, Hirsche, Spitzen, and Becker, have taken great pains to clear it up, and with remarkable success. The works of the four last-named authors are easily accessible to all.

To instance the similarity of thought and choice of subjects Malou gives a list of the parallelisms existing between *The Imitation of Christ* and the other works of à Kempis, such as the *Sermons to the Novices*, *The Soliloquy of the Soul*, *The Garden of Roses*, and *Valley of Lilies*. Some years ago I translated à Kempis' *Manuale Parvulorum*, and in the second edition gave a table of the similar passages found in it and in *The Imitation*. These are but selections from the many which might be offered. The opponents of à Kempis will argue that this merely proves his familiarity with *The Imitation*; but such a plea cannot stand. If he quoted *The Imitation* verbatim, it might be said that he copied from it, but was not its author. This he never does. He only develops in his other works the ideas contained in *The Imitation*, but in no instance refers to it. The inference is obvious. Some of à Kempis' adversaries lay stress upon the *supposed* inferiority of his other writings as compared with *The Imitation*. This argument is partly baseless and wholly inapplicable. It would appear that many who rely on it have not studied his compositions attentively. To those who have done so the conclusion is totally different. Rosweyd, one of the most erudite scholars of his time, profoundly versed in this subject, gives us his opinion in what I hold to be an aphorism. He says, 'As a rose has the perfume of a rose, so also *The Imitation of Christ* is like to the other writings of Thomas à Kempis.' Alban Butler, the author of *The Lives of the Saints*, unquestionably a very competent judge, denies the asserted inequality of many of

the acknowledged works of à Kempis as contrasted with *The Imitation*, and specially instances *The Three Tabernacles* and the treatise *On True Compunction*. To these I might add very many other productions of the holy Canon of Agnetenberg. Coustou, a skilled expert on this point, is of the same opinion. So also is Milman. Last, but certainly not least, I may mention Dr. Carl Hirsche, one of the most learned judges on this subject of modern days. This author, the discoverer of the peculiar punctuation adopted by Thomas both in *The Imitation* and in his other works, after an exhaustive investigation of them all, has arrived at the definite conclusion that he, and he alone, could have been the author of the great book.

Taking this argument at its fullest value, and admitting that some of à Kempis' works do not equal *The Imitation*, I would ask the question,—Are all authors even in their various compositions? Beyond question we must admit they are not. Few would compare St. Augustine's *City of God*, St. Thomas of Aquin's *Summa Theologica*, or St. Francis de Sales' *Introduction to a Devout Life*, with their other works; or, to come to an example in our own language, no one familiar with the works of John Bunyan would attempt to contrast *The Pilgrim's Progress* with the rest of his productions. In like manner we admit the obvious fact that à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* is his masterpiece, embodying not alone his own ascetical knowledge, but also the accumulated wisdom of the 'School of Windesheim,' from which it will be seen he borrowed largely.

While *The Imitation* comprises all the spirituality of the school which Thomas represented, his other works were written, doubtless often comparatively hastily, for different audiences, and more as dissertations on the principles inculcated in his great *chef d'œuvre*. Even so, many of them, I assert confidently, are quite worthy of the author of *The Imitation of Christ*.

We shall next allude to the peculiarities of diction which we find both in *The Imitation of Christ* and in à Kempis' other works. Wonderfully touching and epigrammatic as

its language undoubtedly is, no one would venture to hold it up as a model of classical Latinity. On the contrary, it is so manifestly uncouth that attempts have been made, very unsuccessfully, to amend the text. Sebastian Castellio's paraphrase is the most widely known of these efforts. The peculiarities of the original depend greatly on certain unusual elements, including a number of barbarisms, Italianized words, words used in a peculiar sense, and abundant Dutch idioms.

My object in dwelling upon these topics is to impress upon my readers the facts : first, that we find certain very marked singularities in the language of *The Imitation* ; secondly, that these same traits appear in all the other works of à Kempis ; and, finally, that from thence we are led to infer that he was the author.

One characteristic of the language of *The Imitation* is the presence of barbarisms. For example, the word *alta* is used to signify *sublime*, *tenere* in place of *aestimare*, *redient* for *redibunt*, *totum* for *omne*, and so on interminably. Now, we find the same rare terms, used in the same sense, throughout à Kempis' other works. To argue that this parallelism is the result of accident is to adopt an utterly untenable position.

Again, the author of *The Imitation* frequently uses Italianized words, such as *regratiari*, *pensare*, *querulando*, *sentimenta*, *bassare*, &c. An attempt has been made to utilize this fact as an argument that the author was an Italian ; but if this be true, Thomas à Kempis must have been an Italian, because we find all his writings filled with these words !

We notice the frequent occurrence of the word 'devotus' in *The Imitation* and in à Kempis' other works. Despite all cavil, the peculiar sense in which this word is constantly used in designating the members of 'The Modern Devotion' is very characteristic, and significant of the common authorship of all the works in question.

I have stated that the language of *The Imitation* partakes largely of a Dutch character, both in conception and idiom. It is needless to observe how important a corroboration this

offers in favour of Thomas. A German by birth, while still a boy he came to Holland, where he remained for the rest of his life. Naturally, he came to speak, think, and write as a Dutchman. This peculiarity of the Latinity of *The Imitation*, while it bears witness in favour of a Kempis, especially when coupled with other evidence, is sufficient to annihilate the claims of Gerson, or of the imaginary Italian Benedictine author. An erudite Frenchman like Gerson could not have written Latin full of Dutch idioms, not one of which is to be found throughout his voluminous writings, and such a feat would have been equally impossible for an Italian. This philological aspect of the subject is one which could not be satisfactorily treated in the present sketch, but I shall give a few illustrations.

The only language into which *The Imitation* can be translated literally is the Dutch. Let us take a few examples of the Flemish idioms which pervade the book from cover to cover. If a Dutchman wishes to say that he knows a book *by heart*, he says, 'van buiten,' that is, *outside*. Now, we find the author of *The Imitation* turns this phrase into Latin—barbarous no doubt, but a literal translation—as follows:—'Si scires totam Bibliam *exterius*.' This expression is untranslatable into French or Italian;—it must be rendered by a paraphrase. Again, to express *indifference* in good Dutch, one says, to see a thing with an *even countenance*, 'Met een gelijk aengezicht.' The author of *The Imitation* translates this phrase literally:—'Ita ut una *aequali facie* in gratiarum actione maneas.' This expression, like the foregoing, cannot be translated into French or Italian except by a paraphrase. The same idea of not caring about a thing is expressed in Dutch as *not falling upon it*—'Ik val daer niet op.' Now, we find the author of *The Imitation* adopts this precise phrase in the following barbarous Latin:—'Verus amator Christi *non cadit super* consolationes.' Here, again, his words are untranslatable into French or Italian. I might pursue this argument to the extent of filling a volume, but that is at present out of the question.

This appears to be a suitable time to touch upon the

literary structure of *The Imitation*, and to note the origin of the book, and the sources from which it is drawn, with a view to indicate its authorship. A lifelong study has led me to the knowledge that it is a compilation, and this we know is the sense in which it is spoken of by Busch and Ryd, two Windesheimers whose evidence I have quoted as knowing à Kempis personally.

First of all, and above all, the book is saturated throughout with the Sacred Scripture. No one can read many sentences in it which do not recall passages in the Old and the New Testament. It reflects them like a mirror, and applies them with unmatched deftness to meet the wants and soul-yearnings of humanity. All this is evident to the many who know the Bible well. Be the quotations direct or paraphrastic, there they are at every step.

Echoes of passages and thoughts of the spiritual writers who preceded it reverberate throughout the wondrous book. The author draws from St. Augustine, from St. Gregory the Great; St. Bernard is evident on every page; St. Francis of Assisi appears too; likewise St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bonaventure, and the Roman Missal. He also recalls the Pagan classics, Aristotle, Ovid, Seneca, and Lucian, and we find remarkable coincidence between some passages and Dante.

Still, various as are the sources of *The Imitation*, it becomes manifest, on close investigation, that it is mainly drawn from three fountains.

I shall now allude briefly to these, especially with a view to indicate the probabilities of à Kempis' authorship. These three fountains are :—

First, the Holy Scriptures.

Second, the writings of St. Bernard.

Third, the spiritual works of the school of Windesheim.

(1) As regards the Scriptural lore of *The Imitation*, the edition which first demonstrated this element, in an extended fashion, is that attributed to Cardinal Enriquez, and published in Rome in 1754 and 1755. Many modern editions follow on the same lines, amongst which I may refer to those of Rivington and Parker. This point still needs con-

siderable expansion. Some years ago I worked at it with diligence, and with the result that I verified about three times as many Scriptural allusions as Enriquez.

Let us now see how this Scriptural origin of *The Imitation* favours à Kempis as the author. The Bible in his time, before the invention of printing, was a comparatively rare book, yet we find *all* his works replete with Scripture and the praises thereof, and we know that *he copied out the Old and New Testament in full for the use of his convent*, and was thus of necessity specially familiar with it. His manuscript still exists. It was long missing, but I understand, upon the authority of Father Becker, and Dr. Pohl, Director of the Thomas Gymnasium, at Kempen, that it has been found in the Library of the Grand Duke of Darmstadt.

(2) As regards the influence of St. Bernard in the inspiration of *The Imitation*, I was first led to investigate this point by finding in Busch's *Chronicle* record of the fact that St. Bernard's words were greatly esteemed by the Windesheimers, especially by Gerard Groot and Florentius Radewyn; and further, that Vos Van Huesden and the brothers John and Thomas à Kempis had made copious extracts from the writings of the great Abbot of Clairvaux. Thus guided, I studied the works of St. Bernard closely, with the result that I found in them *a singular resemblance in thought to the 'Imitation.'* I have an edition (Mabillon's) marked to prove this. As an illustration I give in my essay of 1887 (Appendix C) a chapter of *The Imitation*, with the similar passages in St. Bernard. Beyond cavil, this fact confirms the claims of à Kempis, because we have evidence of his special familiarity with St. Bernard.

(3) To conclude the subject of the internal evidence we shall now glance at a very striking and potent argument in favour of the general belief that Thomas à Kempis was the author of *The Imitation*. It is well known that he was the most prolific and representative writer of the 'School of Windesheim;' and therefore, assuming that he was the author, we should naturally expect to discover in the book traces of the teaching of that institution. Now this is

precisely what we do find. If we place the spiritual works of the Windesheimers side by side with *The Imitation*, we find that the latter reproduces them abundantly, often sentence for sentence, and word for word. From this we are drawn irresistibly to the conclusion that the author of *The Imitation* borrowed copiously from the writings of the 'school of Windesheim.' What could be more natural than that he, Thomas à Kempis, the leading exponent of that school, should put forth in his great masterpiece the doctrines with which he was so familiar?

The process of tracing the teaching of Windesheim into *The Imitation* was long since commenced, and has been elaborately worked out by Amort, Malou, Santini, Spitzen, and others, and more especially by Becker. For a full exposition of this topic I would refer to the works of the writers named. The limits of this essay allow me to give but a few illustrations. I shall place sentences from the Windesheimers side by side with quotations from *The Imitation* :—

JOHANNES VAN SCHOONHOVEN.

In primis ergo scire debes, quod vita nostra in peregrinatione hac non potest esse sine periculo et tentatione, quia, ut dicit B. Job, *militia est vita hominis super terram.*

Pax est in cella, foris autem non nisi bella.

Nemo secure apparet, nisi qui libenter latet. Nemo secure praeest nisi qui libenter subest. Nemo secure loquitur, nisi qui libenter tacet.

Humilitas, ut dicit S. Bernardus, virtus est, in qua quis in sui verissima cognitione sibi vilescit.

GERARDUS GROOT.

Semper debes niti aliquod boni notare et cogitare de alio.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI.

Quamdiu in mundo vivimus sine tribulatione et tentatione esse non possumus. Unde in Job scriptum est : *Tentatio est vita humana super terram.*

In cella invenies quod de foris saepius amittes . . . Mane cum eo [Jesu] in cella, quia non invenies alibi tantam pacem.

Nemo secure apparet, nisi qui libenter latet. Nemo secure loquitur, nisi qui libenter tacet. Nemo secure praeest nisi qui libenter subest.

Qui bene seipsum cognoscit, sibi ipsi vilescit.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI.

De se ipso nihil tenere, et de aliis semper bene et alte sentire :

Quanto plus homo scit se distare a perfectione tam prope est perfectioni.

. . . Item, secundum Bernardum, nullum verbum proferas, de quo multum religiosus vel scientificus appareas.

Maxima tentatio est non tentari.

FLORENTIUS RADEWYN.

Quam bene vobis est et quam secure statis, quod potestis sic vivere sub obedientia.

Semper sis vigilans circa tentationem et motus passionum.

EPISTOLA DE VITA ET PASSIONE DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI.

(Used as a spiritual handbook by the Congregation of Windesheim, at the recommendation of Vos van Huesden.)

Ama nesciri et ab aliis contempti opta.

Ante initium operis propone qualiter te vis habere.

Qui autem student magis videri subtiles quam esse humiles, et plus quaerunt scire quam bene vivere, cito extolluntur et sunt carnales.

. . . quamvis haberet et sciret omnem Bibliam, et Scripturam, et Legem unquam positam aut conscriptam, id minime sufficeret.

Qui in tribulatione sunt et angustia, noli negligere eis servire et consolatorius esse.

Audiam quid loquator in me Dominus.

magna sapientia est et alta perfectio.

Nunquam ad hoc legas verbum ut doctior aut sapientior possis videri.

Sunt tamen tentationes homini saepe valde utiles, . . . quia in illis homo humiliatur, et purgatur, et eruditur.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI.

Multo tutius est stare in subiectione quam in praelatura.

Ideo unusquisque sollicitus esse deberet circa tentationes suas.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI.

Ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari.

Bonus et devotus homo opera sua prius intus disponit quae foris agere debet.

Quia vero plures magis student scire quam bene vivere, ideo saepe errant et pene nullum, vel modicum fructum ferunt.

Si scires totam Bibliam exterius et omnium philosophorum dicta, quid totum tibi prodesset?

Et cum tentato noli duriter agere, sed consolationem ingere.

Audiam quid loquator in me Dominus Deus.

It seems to me that I have already adduced sufficient evidence in support of the claims of the holy Canon of Mount St. Agnes to satisfy all reasonable people, and to justify my contention, and moral certainty, that he was the author of *The Imitation of Christ*. However, before proceeding to discuss the positions of the other two candidates, John Charlier de Gerson, and the so-called Abbot Gersen of Vercelli, I shall briefly recapitulate the proofs I have advanced in favour of à Kempis.

First. We have seen the overwhelming testimony of the witnesses who knew Thomas *personally*, and the widespread acknowledgment of his claims during his life, and immediately after his death, especially by those intimate with his associates.

Secondly. The external evidence of the manuscripts in his favour.

Thirdly. The internal evidence of the book itself, its peculiarities of language, common to it and the rest of à Kempis' writings; the literary construction of the book itself, and its derivation—from Scripture, St. Bernard, and the writers of Windesheim—with all of which we know he was specially familiar.

Let me here add, that of all the asserted authors of *The Imitation* the only one in whose favour a particle of internal evidence can be produced is Thomas à Kempis.

If all these accumulated arguments do not suffice I am at a loss to know what could do so.

In my next communication I shall discuss the position of the great Chancellor Gerson in reference to *The Imitation of Christ*.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

MODERN SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

PART I.—MATTER

INTRODUCTORY

THE series of articles which, through the kindness of the Editor of the I. E. RECORD, will appear under the above heading, have no pretensions to either originality, completeness, or depth. They are, in fact, little more than gleanings from a very desultory course of reading. They have grown out of notes made with a view to some discussions at a clerical conference. Indulgent friends were kind enough to say that the notes, if published in some form, would prove useful, partly as supplying an order of thought on a rather complex subject, and partly as a handy summary of the opinions of some of the leading godless philosophers of our time. The original form of *notes* has, on advice, been more or less retained. This will explain the abrupt and often scrappy style of the paragraphs in many places. This inconsecutive style, though not in itself to be commended, may in the present case lighten the labour of reading, and afford facilities for reference.

The scope of the articles is limited to one particular aspect or school of materialism, viz., the so-called scientific materialism, of which Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer in England, and Virchow, Häckel, Vogt, Du Bois-Reymond, and Weismann on the Continent, may be regarded as the chief exponents. Though as philosophers these men cannot be regarded as by any means profound, yet they have done and are doing more mischief than much abler thinkers. Just because their philosophy is of a light—often, if you will, a superficial—kind, it is more generally read and more easily assimilated. Therefore they must not be merely despised because they are superficial, but rather feared because they are popular. Mill is, no doubt, as a lion in the path for the student; but

Huxley and Tyndall and Darwin are a greater danger to the people.

The strength of these men lies in their familiarity with the natural sciences. They dazzle the ordinary reader with illustrations, analogies, generalizations, &c., from these sciences. Their misleading theories are decked out in a bewildering array of the most beautiful facts of nature. Their knowledge appears prodigious. The heavens and the earth seem to them an open book, out of which they read such marvellous lessons that the bounds of fact and fancy become confused, and speculation passes for science. Some of these men too—notably Tyndall and Huxley—have a remarkable trick of style, which imparts to their philosophy some of the charm of fiction. Matter and style combine to form a sort of romance of science. Wonders follow wonders, linked by glowing sentences, until the common things of earth are so clothed in mystery and beauty that they almost begin to seem not quite unworthy to take the place of God. Traces of this power of word-painting will be met with even in the short extracts given in these pages.

The ordinary reader, especially if he be young and enthusiastic, is liable to be dazzled by all this brilliancy, and to let pass unchallenged the lop-sided illustration, or defective analogy, or unwarrantable generalization, by which he is lured into what seems a strong net of proof, and is really but a web of words. The glowing periods cover the limping logic, and sound becomes an excellent substitute for sense.

Their analogies in particular are always to be suspected. Their formula for conclusion by analogy would seem to be—when two things resemble, or appear to resemble each other in one or two points, they may be at once assumed to be altogether alike. Thus crystalline force is structural, and so is vital force; therefore these are alike in kind, and only differ in complexity. It would, of course, be equally reasonable to say that because a hodman hoists bricks, and so does a steam crane, man and crane are machines identical in kind, and differing only in complexity. This particular kind of fallacy, resting on false or defective analogy, is

perhaps more common than any other in the writings of this school. It will, therefore, require constant watching.

Our immediate object in these articles necessitates another limitation of their scope. We do not purpose stating a counter philosophy. That is sufficiently provided elsewhere. Here we shall have quite enough to do to dog the steps of these mischievous writers, taking as far as possible their own brilliant statements of their theories, and trying to show how little of solid reason and how much of contradiction, assumption, distortion of fact, and dishonest argument lies behind their glittering style. This will account for the numerous extracts with which the articles may perhaps seem overloaded. But it is always more satisfactory, when possible, to have an adversary's views in his own words. Indeed some of the views of these scientific philosophers are so extraordinary that nothing less than their own very words would make them seem credible utterances of sane men. The extracts have been selected with a good deal of care, and though short, they will, it is hoped, be found to give in each case the essence of the writer's view on the particular point under discussion.

The works, essays, articles, &c., from which the quotations are taken should be read by those who desire to make themselves familiar with the subject. It will be seen that they are not numerous. In Tyndall's case most of them are embodied in the second volume of his *Fragments of Science*. Dr. Elam's *Winds of Doctrine* (only 160 pp.) is excellent. Another small volume—*Biology and Transcendentalism*, by the Rev. Joseph Cook, a Boston minister—supplies a lot of information all round the subject. *Modern Ideas of Evolution* is a good and safe book to put into the hands of general readers. Father Gerard's *Science and Scientists* (Catholic Truth Society) will admirably suit for the same purpose.

It need hardly be said that this subject, and especially this aspect of it, has strong claims on the attention of the clergy. Its mischievous literature is being carried by the periodical press into every town and village where there is a reading-room or railway book-stall. Everyone who reads anything more serious than a newspaper or a novel is liable

to meet with it, and, if off his guard, to be half overcome before he knows he is being attacked. Here is where the priest, with his trained mind and wider knowledge, might step in and save. His people, accustomed to 'seek the law at his mouth,' will hearken to him with an attention they will give to no other. He must, however, show that on this, as on more strictly religious topics, he speaks out of an abundance of knowledge far beyond their own, and with a keenness and accuracy of analysis for which their education has not in most cases prepared them. The sources of such knowledge are to hand, the study light and attractive, the danger great and increasing, the need for guidance urgent. As in the multiplicity of books some may find rather a hindrance than a help, it is hoped that the compendium attempted in these articles will not be unwelcome.

WHAT IS MEANT BY MATERIALISM

Materialism is a system of philosophy which recognises the existence of nothing else but *matter*. Matter is the origin, principle, and source of everything that exists, from the dead stone to the living animal and the thinking man.

Matter is the origin of all that exists; all natural and mental forces are inherent in it. . . . Nature produced man by her own power, and takes him again.¹

I discern in matter the promise and potency of every form and quality of life.²

Not alone the more ignoble forms of animal life, not alone the exquisite and wonderful mechanism of the human body, but the human mind itself—emotion, intellect, will, and all their phenomena—were once latent in a fiery cloud. . . . At the present moment, all our philosophy, all our poetry, all our science, all our art—Plato, Shakspeare, Newton, Raphael—are potential in the *fires of the sun*.³

The existing world lay, potentially, in the cosmic vapour, and a sufficient intelligence could, from a knowledge of the properties of the molecules of that vapour, have predicted, say, the fauna of Britain in 1869 with as much certainty as one can say what will happen to the vapour of the breath in a cold winter's day.⁴

¹ Büchner, *Force and Matter*.

² Tyndall, *Belfast Address*, 1874.

³ *Scientific use of the Imagination*.

⁴ Huxley, *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 305.

Here on the very threshold of our subject we get a fair idea of what we are to expect from the scientific philosophers. Perhaps the first feeling we have on reading such extraordinary language is—Did they really mean it? And if so, were they in that state of exaltation which a coroner's jury would call 'temporary insanity'? For it is surely hard to conceive sane men talking like this to other sane men. Tyndall's 'fiery cloud' is portentous enough, but Huxley's jaunty prediction is nothing short of magnificent. It will be noted that these eloquent sentences embody mere *assertions* wrapt up in ornate language, decked with figures of speech, but destitute of the smallest rag of proof. Indeed the inherent absurdity of the statements precluded any attempt at proof.

Father Dalgairns, in his sketch of theories of matter, directs attention to the contrast between 'shallow men' who 'know all about matter and space,' and 'the master-minds of a whole century occupied in fathoming the depths of the subject, and successively failing.'¹ History repeats itself in the persons of our self-styled 'philosophers' talking as glibly of the 'potentialities' of matter as though its ultimate particles were as visible as brickbats, while of these same ultimate particles and their 'potentialities' master-minds like Faraday and Cardinal Newman confess they know nothing.

The most remarkable public declaration in our day in favour of the materialistic philosophy was the famous 'Belfast Address' of Tyndall at the meeting of the British Association there in 1874. It will be found in his *Fragments of Science*, vol. ii. It may be regarded as a sort of gospel of modern scientific materialism.

Following the usual order of thought we now proceed to consider—(1) the materialistic views about matter; (2) about life; (3) about animals; and (4) about man. The last two sections, as the reader knows, are included under the name of Darwinism.

¹ *The Holy Communion*, third edition, p. 65.

NATURE OF MATTER

Though it is no part of our plan to state a philosophy of either matter, life, or mind, we may set down here a few guiding principles about matter, drawn almost exclusively from Father Dalgairns' historical sketch in his well-known work on the Holy Communion. Our extracts are necessarily both brief and broken.

1. What exactly do we mean by *matter* or *substance*?

Matter means the real external thing which remains the same in all changes of phenomena, and out of which they are all educed. . . . According to the latest views of scientific men, all these marvellous phenomena are attributed to the *matter*, and are drawn out of its latent powers.¹ . . . Matter is the hidden object which is the cause of all phenomena affecting the senses.²

In short, *matter is the invisible basis of phenomena.*

2. Is matter *in se* perceptible to the senses? Matter *in se* is altogether beyond the ken of sense. No instrument has ever been made, nor is there the least hope that an instrument ever will be made, capable of showing us the ultimate elements of matter. St. Thomas had said that *substance is discerned by the intellect, and not by sense.* 'Modern philosophy corroborates St. Thomas by establishing that the idea of substance comes not from experience, but from intuition.'³ Faraday says: 'All our perception and knowledge of the atom, and even our fancy, *is limited to ideas of its powers* . . . The powers we know and recognise in every phenomenon of the creation, *the abstract matter in none.*'⁴ And again: 'We know nothing of matter but its forces. . . . All the rest is only imagination.'⁵ It is of matter in this sense Cardinal Newman says: 'What do I know of substance or matter? Just as much as the greatest philosopher, and that is *nothing.*'⁶

In analyzing the idea of matter we perforce arrive at elements not derived from experience. Hence the failure of all attempts

¹ Page 55. The italics in every case are ours. ² Page 62. ³ Page 66.
⁴ Page 70, 71. ⁵ *Life of Faraday*, vol. ii., p. 177. ⁶ *Apologia*.

to explain it empirically.¹ . . . Sense can only tell us that the colour, taste, and smell of bread are there (in the Blessed Sacrament), which no one denies. It cannot inform us that the substance of bread lies under the appearances, *since it knows nothing of substance at all*. That these qualities are produced by a hidden substance is a truth furnished by the intellect, and of which sense knows nothing. It is folly, therefore, to appeal to the five senses to prove that the substance of bread lies there after the consecration, since *even before the miracle* they were incompetent to prove it.²

3. If matter *in se* so entirely evades our perception, how do we ascertain its objective existence? Its objective existence is a deduction from phenomena on the ground of the necessary connection of cause and effect.

Unless it were by virtue of a primitive law of our minds, it would be impossible for us to conceive the idea of substance. Sense and experience could never furnish us with it; they only tell us of *phenomena*, while *substance* is precisely that which lies underneath the appearances presented to sight, hearing, and touch. It is another shape of *the intuition of cause*, since it stands to the phenomena in the relation of cause to effect.³ . . . It is the external reality which is *inferred by the mind* to be the cause of impressions made on the sense.⁴

4. How can we form any rational conception of the *ultimate nature* of matter—a thing so hopelessly out of the reach of sense that its existence is purely inferential? By a further application of the principles of causation. A cause must be adequate to its effects. Here natural phenomena are the effects; from these we have to reason back to an adequate cause.

5. What are the most notable conceptions that have been from time to time formed of the ultimate nature of matter? A complete answer to this question must be sought in treatises on the subject. A compendious answer, up to a certain point, is supplied by Father Dalgairns in the chapter of his book from which we are here constantly quoting. We say, *up to a certain point*; for since Father Dalgairns concluded his sketch with the *force atom*, at least one other

¹ *Holy Communion*, p. 62.

² Page 61.

³ Page 60.

⁴ Page 62.

notable conception has been put forward, viz., Lord Kelvin's *vortex atom*, or *vortex ring* in an assumed perfect fluid universally diffused. An account of this latest attempt to provide an adequate cause for natural phenomena will be found in chapter XII. of Tait's *Recent Advances in Physical Science*. We cull out the following particulars regarding the *force atom* :—

Leibnitz framed the system which identifies the idea of *substance* with the idea of *force*.¹ . . . He defined its ultimate elements to be *simple, unextended forces*.² . . . The phenomena of the world are the result of the united action of these forces. They produce effects which impress upon our senses the feelings of resistance, colour, and the other phenomena which we call extension, solidity, and the various qualities assigned to bodies. . . . If anyone asks me how these heterogeneous forces can so act together as to form those bodies, I can only point to their Omnipotent Creator. Matter is unintelligible without creation. The energy of God's creative act still lasts within them. *Then* God bestowed upon them the power of being separate causes and ever active substances. *Then*, by a pre-established harmony, He contrived their future operations, so that they should all precisely correspond with each other, and act in unison, so as to produce upon our senses those united appearances.¹ . . . At this day some of the greatest names in various departments of science hold the view that the ultimate particles of matter are unextended. . . . So far from considering the reality of the external world to be imperilled, they unite in considering that *force without extension* is sufficient to account for all the phenomena of sensation, and to form a basis for the certainty of science.²

6. We have several times used the word *phenomena*, and therefore think it well to quote the following in explanation of it :—

Phenomena are *positive effects* upon our senses, caused by contact with these numberless forces of nature. Relatively true indeed they are, not absolutely; for they are the joint effect of the objects without us and of our organism. Therefore they only represent these objects as they appear to us, not as they are in themselves; yet inasmuch as the phenomena are really

¹ *Holy Communion*, p. 56.

² Page 62.

³ Page 93.

⁴ Page 68.

produced by the objects, they convey to us a true idea, though an imperfect one. They are God's signs by which He teaches the knowledge of His world.¹

MATERIALISTIC VIEW OF MATTER

The thought of the master-minds of all the ages may be said to have issued in the conception of matter outlined in the preceding points. Sad to say, it is, we are now assured, all absolutely worthless. Matter is not of this kind at all. 'Matter,' says Tyndall, 'has been defined and maligned by philosophers and theologians, who were equally unaware that it is, at bottom, essentially mystical and transcendental.'² What a sorry lot were those philosophers and theologians never to have even suspected this! Luckily for the credit of the human intellect, Tyndall & Co. were not left superfluously 'potential in the fires of the sun,' where they could be of little use, but by a merciful dispensation of atoms have been given to enlighten the world in a different way. Such intellectual farthing candles as St. Thomas, Leibnitz, Faraday, and Lord Kelvin may now, we suppose, be blown out!

But what is there, we ask, so entirely wrong about those ideas of matter? And we are told in reply that they give a quite inadequate account of the functions of matter. Matter as above described would be altogether incompetent to explain the phenomena of *life* and *mind*, which must somehow be got out of it. But *nemo dat quod non habet*—not even matter. Tyndall and his fellow-materialists are fully alive to the truth of Dr. Martineau's playful warning—'You will get out of your atoms by evolution exactly so much, and no more, as you have put into them by hypothesis.' Accordingly 'the promise and potency of life' has now to be put into the atoms by a process as summary as the stuffing of a Christmas turkey. A brand new definition, borrowed by Tyndall from Professor Bain of Aberdeen, is to do the work. And truly it was worth going all the way to N. B. for such a gem! Henceforth matter is 'a

¹ Page 64. We have ventured to break up one long sentence, and to substitute nouns for confusing pronouns.

² *Vitality*.

double-faced unity, having two sets of properties, or two sides—the physical and the mental.’¹ Behold what the philosophers and theologians had for centuries groped after in vain! With this talisman, Tyndall was ready for all sorts of philosophic knight-errantry. He would ‘exalt “brute matter” from its abasement.’ Spirit and matter are henceforth ‘equally worthy, equally wonderful—two opposite faces of the self-same mystery.’ He solemnly confirms their union with the usual text of Scripture, and ‘reveals the divorce hitherto existing between them.’² Matter, like the marble Galatea, seemed already to feel the first throbs of awakening life!

But there came a skeleton to the marriage feast! The human mind forbade the banns; and the high priest had to admit that the grand union was ‘unthinkable,’ and that ‘to try to comprehend it, is to attempt to soar in a vacuum.’³ Then, the magic definition had a suspiciously ‘ready-made’ appearance. One was forcibly reminded of Faraday’s patent recipe for turning out atoms that could be relied on—“To account for effects we have only to hang on to assumed atoms the properties, or arrangement of properties, assumed to be sufficient for the purpose.”⁴ We can fancy ourselves in the atomic dressing-room, seeing Professor Bain hang on the new ‘properties.’ But thankless ‘brute matter’ kicks; and we shall immediately find the worthy Professor much exercised to keep the new clothes on the old atoms. For the moment, however, he seems immensely satisfied—‘The arguments for two substances have, we believe, now entirely lost their validity.’ His one double-faced darling ‘would appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case.’⁵ This is useful, at least as showing us the very latest method of disposing of an adversary’s arguments. We have only to draw up a definition that will cut them out, and then calmly inform him that ‘his arguments have now entirely lost their validity.’

¹ *Mind and Body.*

² *Scientific use of the Imagination.*

³ *Belfast Address.*

⁴ *Life of Faraday*, vol. ii.

⁵ *Mind and Body.*

But the belief of ages was not to be so airily dismissed. If Tyndall, with the best intentions, found the 'double-faced unity' *unthinkable*, others could hardly be blamed if they found it absurd. So Professor Bain had to try to reconcile men's minds to the new view.

Extension is but the first of a long series of properties all present in matter, all absent in mind. *Inertia* cannot belong to a pleasure, a pain, an idea, as experienced in the consciousness. *Inertia* is accompanied with *gravity*, a peculiarly material quality. So *colour* is an utterly material quality; it cannot attach to a feeling properly so called, a pleasure or a pain. These properties are the bases of matter; to them are superadded *form*, *motion*, *position*, and a host of other properties expressed in terms of these. . . . Our mental and bodily states are utterly contrasted. Our mental experience, our feelings and thoughts have no extension, no place, no form or outline, no mechanical division of parts.

That is a fair statement of the difficulty; now for the solution. How does Professor Bain reconcile these contradictions?—'The only mode of union that is not contradictory is *the union of close succession in time*.' Here is something even more mysterious than the definition it is meant to explain. The whole question is about *one substance*—a 'unity.' This 'unity' has two sets of *inherent properties*, which admittedly cannot be present *together*. When one set is in, the other set is necessarily out. Yet both the 'ins' and the 'outs' are *inherent properties*, and inherent properties should be *always* present as long as the entity or unity continues to be what it is. Here, then, we have properties *that must be present and absent at the same time*—present *always* because they are inherent properties, and absent in turn to make way for each other! After this it may seem trifling to ask what becomes of the 'outs' while they are out? Do they, like our Parliamentary 'outs,' betake themselves to Opposition benches? And how do they get back again? And how are things so nicely balanced that they go on for ever succeeding without ever colliding? Or, look at it another way. The substance, with its

¹ *Mind and Body*.

physical properties present, is a *physical* entity; and the same substance, with its *mental* properties present, is a *mental* entity. It is admitted that the substance cannot be these two *at once*. How, then? 'By close succession in time.' But how can it be *two* things in 'close succession,' and all the time be *one* thing—a 'unity'? To fulfil the conditions, we should have *the same substance* closely succeeding to *itself*! But 'that way madness lies!' We had better give up trying to think the 'unthinkable.'

Here, then, we have the failure of the 'hanging on' process virtually admitted—the properties won't 'hang on' *together*. There is no way out of the difficulty but the old one; the two sets of contradictory attributes must have two distinct substances in which to inhere. Philosophers not at all of our way of thinking confirm this. Sir W. Hamilton's 'common measure' for mind and matter was 'the whole diameter of being.' Herbert Spencer says:—'Materialists are profoundly convinced that there is not the remotest possibility of interpreting mind in terms of matter.' These, with Tyndall's 'vacuum,' will reassure us for the present. The great revolution in human thought has not come off. 'Brute matter,' notwithstanding all efforts to exalt it, remains pretty much where it was, and philosophers and theologians may still go on 'defining and maligning' it with impunity. We are still left our double heritage of matter and mind, and the most 'unthinkable' thing associated with them is that anyone should say they are one.

To be continued.

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

ARE THOSE WHO CANNOT HEAR MASS ON SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS OBLIGED TO HEAR IT AT OTHER TIMES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you be kind enough to favour me, at your earliest convenience, with an answer to the following question :—

Ought a confessor to refuse absolution to a penitent who, though unable to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays during the year, is well able to hear Mass on some week-days in the year, but refuses to do so ?

WORKHOUSE CHAPLAIN.

The solution of this question mainly depends on the source of the obligation in virtue of which the faithful are bound to assist at Mass. We shall, therefore, before answering the question, consider *quo jure* this obligation arises.

The obligation of the faithful to hear Mass may, conceivably, arise—(1) from the natural law, or (2) from the divine positive law, or (3) from ecclesiastical law merely.

The natural law binds man to worship God, not merely with internal, but also with external acts of homage. The natural law, however, does not define the particular acts by which, or the time at which, external divine worship must be offered. '*Ex vi solius legis naturalis non est positive determinatus modus particularis adorandi Deum cultu externo, nec quoad genera actionum, nec quoad tempora vel alias circumstantias.*'¹ St. Thomas, indeed, seems to assert that sacrifice is obligatory *jure naturae*.² Suarez, however, understands him to mean that sacrifice '*licet non sit in rigore prae scriptum sola lege naturae, est adeo consentaneum illi, ut semper fuerit quasi de jure*

¹ Suarez, xiii. *De Virt. et Statu Relig.*, lib. i., cap. ii., 6.

² Vid. Quaest. 85, Art. 4.

*gentium, quod quodammodo naturalis dicitur.*¹ And Billuart, explaining the same doctrine, says that sacrifice is obligatory on all *jure naturae*, in the sense that, *in omni communitate [offerri debet] sacrificium pro omnibus*. We may, then, fairly assume—and it will suffice for our purpose—that there is no obligation, arising directly from the natural law, in virtue of which, each and every individual is bound to offer, or participate in offering, sacrifice. It is manifest, consequently, that the natural law cannot directly bind one to offer, or assist at, Mass. It obliges us to internal and external worship. But that external worship may be rendered either by assisting at Mass or by other external acts of homage:—

Multi sunt [writes Saurez] cultus externi, qui non sunt sacrificia nec oblationes externarum rerum, ut sunt genuflexio, tunsio pectoris, laudatio vocalis et similes. Possent ergo homines esse contenti similibus actionibus ad Deum adorandum sine aliis oblationibus; neque hoc haberet intrinsecam deformitatem ex vi legis naturae, ut per se constat, quia ex nullo principio ostendi potest intrinseca malitia in limitatione talium signorum cum negatione (ut sic dicam) aliorum.²

But, perhaps, there is an hypothetical obligation arising from the natural law. Once God has instituted a certain form of sacrifice, such as those of the Jewish dispensation or the sacrifice of the Mass, does that sacrifice *eo ipso*, independently of positive precept, become obligatory on those for whom it was instituted? In other words, does the natural law itself bind the faithful to assist at Mass, *i.e.*, in the hypothesis that the Mass is instituted by God? To us, the argument for such a hypothetical obligation appeals very strongly.

Man is bound to worship God externally. Sacrifice is the most natural and spontaneous external expression of man's homage to God, and of his dependence on Him; nothing else will account for the fact that sacrificial rites have found a place among all nations. When, therefore, God, by instituting a special form of sacrifice, desires the manner in which He desires to be worshipped, right reason would seem to oblige men not to disregard this indication of the

¹ Suarez, *De Virt. Relig.*, lib. i., cap. iii., 3.

² Suarez, *loc. cit.*

divine pleasure. Men ought sometimes worship their Creator by offering the sacrifice that He has instituted.

However, as we shall see, theologians of the greatest name refuse to recognise such an hypothetical obligation of the natural law. We may remark too, that a kindred controversy exists as to the obligation *posita institutione*, of receiving Confirmation or Extreme Unction. Theologians are found to affirm, and others to deny, a grave obligation hypothetically arising from the natural law,—with the result that, according to many theologians, no strict obligation of receiving these Sacraments can be enforced.

Apart from the natural law, the obligation to hear Mass must come either from the divine positive law or from the ecclesiastical law. Is there, then, a positive divine precept? Lehmkuhl is clearly of opinion that there is.

Qui per totum annum [he says] impediretur, quominus diebus Dominicis et festivis Sacro interesset, aliquoties id supplere deberet diebus ferialibus (v.g., ter quaterve) quia divina illa lex non est tempori determinato affixa, ut affixa est lex ecclesiastica.¹

We find that Marc² and Haine³ endorse the opinion of Lehmkuhl. Neither of these writers, however, states whether he relies on an express positive divine precept, or on that divino-natural precept of which we have spoken above. On the other hand, Ballerini, Gury, Aertnys, D'Annibale, Sabetti, Konings, and other modern writers, seem by their silence to deny the existence of this divine precept. Suarez discusses the question at some length. He admits that probable arguments in favour of a divine precept are derived from the institution of the Holy Sacrifice, and also from the words *Hoc facite*, &c., which were probably addressed, he thinks, not merely to the Apostles and their successors, but to the faithful generally. But he clearly enough conveys his mind, when he concludes with the following words:—

Quamvis haec [argumenta pro praecepto divino] quae probabilia sunt, non cogant ut simpliciter asseramus praeceptum hoc audiendi missam etiam in communi sumptum, esse de jure divino satis ad rem moralem est, quod sit valde consentaneum, licit absolute ecclesiasticum tantum sit.⁴

¹ Vid., vol. i., n. 567.

² Vid., i., n. 685, note.

³ Vid., i. q. 112.

⁴ Suarez, *De Sac. Missae*, Disp. 88, sec. i., 3.

Lugo disposes of the matter in similar terms:—

Quamvis vero [praeceptum audiendi missam] *non sit mere naturale aut divinum sed ecclesiasticum*; est tamen multum conforme legi naturali et divinae, supposita institutione hujus sacrificii et obligatione exhibendi cultum aliquem visibilem Deo.¹

So much for the authorities we have seen for and against a divine precept.

All, of course, admit that it is in virtue of the ecclesiastical law alone that the faithful are bound to sanctify Sundays and holidays by hearing Mass. As far as the natural and divine laws are concerned, the obligation to worship God may be fulfilled on other days equally well. Whether, apart from ecclesiastical law, the natural and divine obligation of worship can be fulfilled without offering or participating in offering the Mass, depends on the answer that we give to the question in dispute between Lehmkühl on the one side, and Suarez on the other.

And now we reply to the questions proposed. In other words, the question may be formulated thus: (1) Are the faithful bound by a natural or divine precept, as well as by the ecclesiastical precept, to hear Mass, so that one who cannot fulfil both obligations, by hearing Mass on Sundays and holidays, is bound if possible to hear Mass, at least a few times in the year, on week days, in order to fulfil the natural and divine law? and (2) is absolution to be refused to a person who refuses.

In our opinion there is, apart from the ecclesiastical law, a grave obligation, *jure divino aut hypothetico-naturali*, to hear Mass, at least a few times (three or four times, according to theologians) in the year. We base this opinion, not merely on the authority of the theologians above quoted for this view, but especially on the fact that the institution of the Holy Sacrifice of the New Law seems to us to carry with it a divine or hypothetico-natural precept, binding the faithful not to pass their lives without participating in the Sacrifice instituted for their use. But while this is our view, and while we would commend it as strongly as possible to our

¹ Lugo, *De Euchar.*, Disp. xxii., sec. i.; Conf. Elbel, *In Tertium Praecep. Decalogi*, n. 340.

penitents, we should not consider ourselves justified in refusing absolution to a penitent, *otherwise rightly disposed*, who might insist on following out the principles of Suarez to their logical conclusion. *Ex hypothesi*, it is impossible for him to comply with the ecclesiastical precept of hearing Mass on Sundays and holidays; there remains probably, according to Suarez, only the obligation of the natural and divine law to worship God sometimes, *cultu tum interno tum externo*. Assisting at Mass is *only one* of many ways in which external worship may be rendered to God. The man who makes use of vocal prayer and other such acts of external worship violates, in the opinion of Suarez and those who hold with him, no *certain* obligation, by refusing to assist at Mass. We could not strictly urge an obligation whose existence is denied or ignored by authorities of such repute.

DOUBTFUL BAPTISM AND THE IMPEDIMENT OF
'DISPARITAS CULTUS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Be so kind as to answer the following:—John, an infidel, marries Anne, baptized according to the rite of the Presbyterian Church, before a magistrate. John procures a divorce, and is now instructed with a view to marry a Catholic girl. Now, some canonists maintain that one must be certain of Anne's baptism before he can declare the first marriage invalid, and that in case of a doubtful baptism, as the Presbyterian, the Pauline dispensation must be made use of; others, however, hold that the presumption is in favour of the validity of the baptism, and the invalidity of the marriage. Having procured the sworn testimony of John's parents that he was never baptized, and the sworn testimony of Anne's parents that she was baptized according to the Presbyterian rite, can I marry them?

SACERDOS.

The salient points of this case are well and clearly put by our correspondent. John, an infidel, married Anne, a Presbyterian. The *fact* of Anne's baptism is certain; its *validity*, however, is doubtful, for it was administered according to the Presbyterian rite.¹

¹ Konings and Kenrick, writing with special knowledge of America, from which this question comes, declare the validity of Presbyterian baptisms doubtful. 'Baptismus aliquando dubius evadit ex levi ratione qua baptizandos,
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After some time, John sought and obtained a civil divorce. He is now about to become a Catholic and he wishes to marry a Catholic. Is he free to marry without further formality? or, is it necessary or desirable that he should have recourse to the Pauline *privilegium fidei*, in virtue of which a converted infidel is free to marry again, whenever the infidel partner of the first marriage refuses to be converted or to cohabit *sine contumelia creatoris*?

We may say, at the outset, that practically everything turns on the validity of the baptism of the parties. One's first duty, therefore, would be to verify the assertions that John had not been baptized; that Anne had been. And in the case of Anne it would, then, be necessary to examine, not merely the sufficiency of the rite observed in her sect, but also, if possible, the circumstances of her individual baptism. If, as a result of these inquiries, John is found to have been certainly unbaptized, and Anne doubtfully baptized, our correspondent's question legitimately arises.

We should observe, also, that whatever may be our correspondent's solution of the case, he ought not rely wholly on his own judgment, but ought to submit the circumstances to the Ordinary, who, in turn, may think it well to submit the case to higher authority.¹ We may now state what, in our opinion, the decision in the case would be.

Assuming that proper inquiries have been duly made, and that the facts are found to be as stated, John is, we think, free to contract anew; and that without invoking the *privilegium fidei*. If Anne had been validly baptized, then, of course, John's marriage with her would have been invalid, owing to the diriment impediment of *disparitas cultus*. For it should be noted that this impediment invalidates the marriage of any baptized person, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, with an unbaptized person. If, then, Anne's baptism were certainly valid, her marriage with John would have been, with equal certainty, invalid; and John would be now free to marry.

eosque persaepe plures simul aspersoria lustrant sectarum ministri, praesertim, Presbyteriani et Methodistæ; pellem, "enim probabiliter contingere debet aqua et fluere." Konings n. 1264, iii. A.B.

¹ *Vid.* Resp. S.C.S. Officii, 5 Feb., 1851.

On the other hand, if Anne's alleged baptism were proved to be certainly invalid, then her marriage with John was—if there existed no diriment impediment of the divine law or of the civil law—a valid marriage. It would have been the marriage of two infidels, over whom the Church could not claim jurisdiction. In this hypothesis, John's marriage with Anne would remain valid, in spite of the civil divorce and of his conversion. Apart from a special Papal dispensation, his only remedy, with a view to a second marriage, would be to rely on the *privilegium fidei*.¹ He might ask Anne *aut converti aut cohabitare sine contumelia creatoris*. If she consents, John's second marriage is, without a Papal dispensation, impossible during Anne's life: if she refuses, John may in virtue of the Pauline dispensation, contract a new marriage—which *eo ipso* dissolves the first.

The difficulty, however, of the present case is that Anne's baptism is neither certainly valid, nor certainly invalid; it is doubtfully valid. A corresponding doubt, consequently, seems to arise regarding the validity of her marriage with John. And, now, when John wishes to marry a Catholic, he is face to face with the fact that he is probably already married, and that there is, therefore, a probable diriment impediment of the divine law, *impedimentum ligaminis*.

It would, no doubt, be a perfectly safe course to take the precaution of asking Anne to resume cohabitation. If she refused, then, whether his first marriage was valid or not, John would be free to contract with another. If it was invalid he is already free; if it was valid he will be liberated by the Pauline dispensation. But this course might lead to very obvious difficulties, especially if Anne were unexpectedly to consent. The question then naturally arises, is there any need to fall back on this Pauline dispensation, or, is John free to contract without further formalities?

We may, we think, in reply, lay down the following propositions: (1) that Anne's baptism is *in ordine ad matri-*

¹ The marriage of infidels may be dissolved by Papal dispensation, on the conversion of one or both, *modo matrimonium non fuerit consummatum*; according to many, and rightly, we think, *matrimonium consummatum in infidelitate* can also be dissolved *modo non fuerit consummatum post baptismum receptum*. Ballerini—Gury, ii. 759; Gasparri, ii. 1108.

monium to be considered certainly valid; (2) that the marriage of John and Anne is to be considered certainly invalid *ob disparitatem cultus*; (3) that, therefore, no appeal to the *privilegium fidei* and no communication with Anne is necessary; that John is already free to marry. We give our reasons for these assertions.

We say that a doubtful baptism is *in ordine ad matrimonium* to be held valid. Even though the doubt may be such as to make re-baptism *sub-conditione* obligatory, a marriage, dependent for its validity or invalidity on the validity of the first baptism, is not affected.¹ This has been the invariable teaching of the Holy Office. Moreover, the validity of a marriage is not affected by a doubt about the baptism of one of the parties, whether the doubt arose *before* the marriage was contracted, or *after*. We give two out of many responses that might be cited on this point. In 1737, the Congregation had submitted to it the case of a woman married to a Catholic, who though herself brought up a Catholic, began, after her marriage, to doubt about her baptism, and it was asked, '*An Laura D. baptizari debeat sub-conditione in casu.*' The reply was '*affirmative, et secreto et sine præjudicio validitatis matrimonii.*' The baptism was thus declared doubtful, the marriage valid; though it was more or less probably a marriage between a baptized and an unbaptized person.

The same reply was given to a Vicar Apostolic in Japan, in September, 1868, in cases in which the doubt about baptism is antecedent to the marriage. It was stated that in certain cases there was a doubt about the baptism of persons about to be married, and at the same time, it was alleged there was a difficulty in removing the doubt. The question was then put—

1. Utrum in casu dubii de valore baptismi, qui ita baptismum susceperunt Japonenses ut Christiani vel infideles adhuc considerandi sunt? 2. Utrum si dubium de valore baptismi remaneat, et non visum sit opportunum solvere dubium de iis qui sic dubie baptizati sunt, in rebus quæ matrimonium spectant ac si vere et valide baptizati fuissent, judicandum sit vel non. The S. Cong.

¹ Conf. Lehmkuhl, ii., n. 752; Feije, n. 461; Gaspari, i. n. 597.

replied: 'Ad primum, generatim loquendo ut Christiani habendi sunt ii, de quibus dubitatur, an valide baptizati fuerint; ad secundum, censendum est validum baptisma in ordine ad validitatem matrimonii.'

There is no doubt, therefore, but we are justified in looking upon Anne's baptism as valid, *in ordine ad matrimonii validitatem aut invaliditatem*.

2. From this doctrine, our second assertion follows as a necessary consequence. *In foro externo*, at all events Anne's marriage with John is to be considered invalid *ob disparitatem cultus*. We say *in foro externo*, because *in foro interno*, the marriage, given due consent, and the absence of natural and civil diriment impediments, was valid in the event of Anne's baptism being *de facto* invalid. The parties in that hypothesis, were both unbaptized, and consequently were not affected by the merely ecclesiastical diriment impediment of *disparitas cultus*.

3. It seems to follow, therefore, that *in foro externo* it is unnecessary for John to rely on the Pauline dispensation. If his marriage with Anne is to be considered certainly invalid, then, his marriage with someone else would appear to be *per se* certainly lawful.

A case very similar to that proposed to us was put to the Congregation of the Holy Office in 1840. An Anglican married a woman who, according to his testimony, had not been baptized. The union proved unhappy, and he deserted his first wife, and married a Lutheran. He subsequently desired to become a Catholic, and the question arose, which of the women was to be considered his wife. The matter was referred to the Congregation, and the reply was that the first marriage was invalid *dummodo constet de non-collatione baptismi mulieris*, the second marriage valid *dummodo nullum aliud impedimentum obstat*.

We give the question and the reply:—

Vir quidam protestans Anglicanae sectae vult amplecti Catholicam religionem. In Anglia matrimonium fecit cum muliere quae ad sectam Anabaptistarum pertinebat et quae, prout ipse affirmat, nunquam baptizata fuit. Quum vero ipse baptismum a ministro Protestante Anglicano receperit, de validitate ejus

proprii baptismatis ratio quoque dubitandi gravis existit. Propter jurgia continua mulierem Anabaptistam vir praefatus deseruit venitque N., ubi matrimonium iterum fecit, sed cum muliere Lutherana. Quaenam ex istis mulieribus tanquam ejus uxor haberi debet? S. C. die 20 Jul. 1840 respondit: Dummodo constet de non collatione baptismi mulieris Anabaptistae primum matrimonium fuisse nullum: secundum vero, dummodo nullum aliud impedimentum obstet, fuisse validum.

If, therefore, John, having been first baptized, *had already contracted* a marriage with the Catholic girl, and inquired about his status, we might, adapting the response of the Congregation reply: '*Dummodo constet de non-collatione baptismi Joannis, primum matrimonium cum Anna fuit nullum; secundum vero, dummodo nullum aliud impedimentum obstet, fuit validum.*'

It is worth noting that in the reply just given, the Congregation asserts that, in the absence of another impediment, the marriage of this Anglican with the Lutheran woman was valid. There is no reference to the necessity or desirability of the Pauline dispensation.

We should not fail to note, also, that the Anglican contracted this marriage with the Lutheran woman at a time when he was, more or less probably, already the husband of the Anabaptist. Yet, in the face of this doubtful impediment of the divine law, the Congregation upheld the validity of the marriage.

Can we, however, give the same reply when there is question of *contracting* a marriage? Can John be allowed to contract a second marriage, though it is more or less probable that *in foro interno*, at all events, he is already married to Anne. We think that the principles involved in the reply of July 20, 1840, given above, necessarily cover the case of a marriage yet to be contracted. But, lest it may appear that the Congregation would have dealt differently with a marriage yet to be contracted, we give a reply of the same Congregation, July, 1830, which removes all doubt from our minds. A number of questions were put regarding the marriage of an unbaptized person with a heretic doubtfully baptized—the very case proposed to us. We give two

of the questions, with their answers, which bear on the matter in hand.

Matrimonium dubie baptizati cum non baptizata estne validum? Si affirmative ad primum poteritne pars dubie baptizata uti privilegio fidei post reiterationem baptismi; et vice versa poteritne pars non baptizata uti privilegio post baptismum, si pars dubie baptizata nolet converti aut pacifice cohabitare? S.C. Jul., 1880, respondit: 'Ad primum, matrimonium habendum esse uti invalidum ob impedimentum cultus disparitatis. Ad secundum, provisum in priori.'

The Holy Office, therefore, we have no doubt, would reply to our correspondent's question by saying that John's first marriage was to be considered invalid, and that consequently there is no need of recourse to the *privilegium fidei*.

All this seems undoubtedly true *in foro externo*. But is it true *in foro interno*? *In foro interno*, as we have seen above, John is possibly, or probably, the husband of Anne? Can he then *in foro conscientiae* disregard this probable impediment of the divine law. Judging by the terms of the reply just quoted, we think, he can. The Congregation was asked: '*Poteritne pars non-baptizata uti privilegio post baptismum, si pars dubie baptizata nolet converti aut pacifice cohabitare?*' The reply was *provisum in priori*, in which the invalidity of the marriage was asserted. Now, this reply would be quite insufficient and unsatisfactory, if the Congregation recognised any obligation, even *in foro interno*, of using the Pauline dispensation. In view of such an obligation, the reply, no doubt, would have been '*potest et debet uti privilegio saltem ad cautelam*.' From the terms in which the answer was given we think ourselves safe in asserting that John is free *tum in foro externo tum in foro interno* to marry the Catholic girl without using the Pauline dispensation *ad cautelam*.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

CEREMONIES OF HOLY SATURDAY MORNING

REV. DEAR SIR, --Please inform me in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD how I am to proceed with the blessing of the font and holy water for the faithful in a parish church where the ceremonies of Holy Week are not carried out. Of course, in churches where they are solemnly carried out, and in those smaller churches where there are not sacred ministers, the rubrics are clearly laid down in Baldeschi. What about the blessing of the Paschal candle which should be used? Is there not (unless I mistake) a general rubric with regard to the ceremonies of Holy Week, that unless you carry them out in their entirety the three days, you are not to begin them on Holy Thursday morning?¹

P. P.

This question should, we think, be regarded as merely speculative. For in every parish church the entire morning services of the last three days of Holy Week should be gone through, either solemnly, when the requisite ministers and choir can be conveniently had, or as prescribed for small churches by Benedict XIII., where three or four altar-boys can be procured. Now, there is no parish priest in Ireland who could not procure this number of altar-boys; and therefore, there is no parish priest in Ireland who should not have in his church, in obedience to the laws of the Church, for the edification, consolation, and spiritual advantage of his people, the touching ceremonies of the three most solemn days of the year. Just fancy Holy Thursday, the day on which we commemorate the institution of the Most Holy Sacrament, without Mass in the parish church, without communion for the faithful, without a word from the priest to remind the people of the great act of love commemorated on that day, with, perhaps, the church doors locked,

¹ We answered a precisely similar question in these pages just two years ago (see vol. xvi., pp. 356 *et seq.*); but as little notice seems to have been taken of the reply then given, and as the matter is, in our opinion, one of grave importance, we give a full reply to this question also.

so that the people cannot, if they would, even visit our Lord! This occurs, and the parish priest thinks he is discharging his duty to God, and to the people over whom he has been placed! But, as our correspondent rightly remarks, the morning ceremonies of this Holy Triduum are so intimately connected, that it is forbidden to celebrate those on Holy Thursday, unless they are to be followed by the ceremonies proper to the two following days. And should not the people be invited to come to the church on Good Friday morning, to meditate on the Passion and Death of their Saviour? And what form of devotion or of religious service will produce the same impression on them as the touching ceremonies wherein the Church mourns for her Spouse? We have seen a whole congregation shedding tears while the priest uncovered the cross, and during the subsequent adoration of this symbol of our redemption. The ceremonies of Holy Saturday are also most beautiful and most impressive. It is impossible not to feel a thrill of heavenly joy, when, after the mourning and desolation of the preceding days, the Mass of Holy Saturday begins. The lights, the flowers, the carpets, and the rich vestments, together with the music, and ringing of bells, which break forth at the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the simultaneous uncovering of the statues and paintings around the sanctuary makes one more vividly realize the glorious Resurrection of Christ, than do even the ceremonies of Easter Day itself.

But is there a law of the Church obliging parish priests to carry out the ceremonies of the Holy Triduum? There is, if a decree of a Roman Congregation issued with the authority of the Pope constitutes a law of the Church. In replying to a question similar to the present one in the April number of the I. E. RECORD for 1895, we reproduced the following decree:—

An Ecclesia Parochialis *omnino adigatur* ad functiones Sabbati Sancti juxta parvum Caerimoniale sa, me, Benedicti XIII. si sufficienti clero destituatur.

Affirmative, et servetur in omnibus solitum juxta parvum Caerimoniale Benedicti Papae XIII.

It is true that there is mention made in the decree only

of Holy Saturday, but from what has been already said regarding the interdependence of the functions of the three days, it follows that the obligation which this decree imposes extends to the functions of Thursday and Friday as well, since it is unlawful to celebrate the functions of any one of the three days unless they have been preceded or are to be followed by those of the other two. Hence a parish priest who can procure the assistance of three or four altar boys—and every parish priest in Ireland *can*, we maintain, procure such assistance—is bound to carry out the morning services of the Triduum of Holy Week. The ceremonies are simplicity itself;¹ and any intelligent boy can be instructed in his part of each morning's functions in a few minutes.

But if a parish priest neglects his manifest duty, and omits the functions of these days, what is to be said about blessing the font? The font cannot be blessed as a part of the function proper to Holy Saturday, and consequently need not be blessed at all so far as the rubrics of the missal and the decrees of the Congregation of Rites relating to this subject are concerned. But it may be necessary to bless the font on Holy Saturday for another reason. It is unlawful to use the old baptismal water after the holy oils blessed on the preceding Holy Thursday have been distributed to the clergy. Hence, if a parish priest who has omitted the morning functions of the Triduum receives the holy oils on or before Holy Saturday, he should bless the font on that day; but as the ceremony is wholly unconnected with the functions proper to that morning, he may bless the font in the evening as well as in the morning, and *must* bless it according to the form given in the Ritual. There is, therefore, no Paschal candle to be used, and consequently there can be no question of blessing one.

¹ See *The Ceremonies of Some Ecclesiastical Functions* (Browne & Nolan), in which the fullest instructions are given for the Holy Week Ceremonies in both large and small churches.

THE FUNCTIONS OF HOLY WEEK

REV. DEAR SIR,—Where, in small churches, oratories, &c., there is permission for the ceremonies of Holy Week to be carried out according to the directions of Benedict XIII.—

1. Can there be any justification for carrying them out with only one altar-boy?

2. May the celebrant dispense with canopy, cross-bearer, and acolytes in the procession of the Blessed Sacrament, and in removing the ciborium from the High Altar to the Altar of Repose?

3. May the blessing of the grains of incense and of the Paschal candle be lawfully omitted in any case?

C.C.

1. There can be no necessity, and consequently no justification.

2. He may not dispense with any of these except the canopy.

3. This blessing may be omitted for a sufficient reason; but it is hard to conceive whence a sufficient reason should arise.

WHAT IS MEANT BY A PRIVATE MASS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—An expression in the January number (p. 83), 'A Private or Low Mass,' suggests some questions to which I have long been seeking an answer:—

1. What is the exact and technical meaning of the term *Missa privata*?

Of the authors within my reach, Martinucci has nothing on the subject, and De Herdt and Wapelhorst do not go into it thoroughly. For either the *Divisio Missae* which they give does not profess to be adequate (and in that case they simply avoid the point of the question), or they lay down that every *Missa lecta* is also a *Missa privata*. But this cannot be admitted; for (amongst other reasons) *Missae privatae* are forbidden on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday. Yet the *Memoriale Rituum* of Benedict XIII., drawn up to regulate the liturgy in the smaller parish churches, clearly assumes that the Mass on these days will not be sung, but read only.

Since the term 'Low Mass' means simply a Mass *not sung*, it is plain that on the answer to the above question will depend

whether it can be used as exactly synonymous with *Missa privata*.

And that this subject has more than a theoretic interest will be seen by the answer to the

2nd. When the principal Mass in a parish (or, as in England, mission) church on a Sunday, is not sung, but *read* only, should the celebrant add the *Hail Mary*, &c., ordered by Pope Leo. XIII. to be said *post Missam privatam*?

Benedictine communities (I do not know the use with other religious) omit these prayers after their conventual Mass, even when it has been only a *Missa lecta*. I know two such communities where, on semi-doubles, there are two conventual Masses, the second—*de Requiem*—being sung, the first of the feast being only read; yet these prayers are omitted even after the first.

May we not say that the principal Mass in a parish church on Sundays, holidays of obligation, and even feasts of devotion, constitutes a class by itself, analogous to the *Missa conventualis*, and is not, therefore, a *Missa privata*?

AN IRISH PRIEST IN ENGLAND.

The phrase, *Missa privata*, or 'private Mass,' has two significations, one of which is opposed to 'public,' the other to 'solemn' Mass. A public Mass is that which is celebrated in a church or public oratory, and at which the general body of the faithful are invited, or expected, or at least free to attend; while a private, as contradistinguished from a public Mass, is one which is celebrated in a private oratory, or, if celebrated in a public oratory or church, is one at which the general body of the faithful are either not free or not expected, or at least not invited to attend. Of the distinction here given, Le Brun¹ writes:—

Jam inde ab annis 1200 et amplius missa quae in aliqua ecclesia, omnibus tum viris, tum mulieribus convocatis celebrabatur, missa publica dicta fuit, ut a missis secerneretur, quae nonnunquam privatae nuncupabantur, quippe quae in peculiaribus sacellis, aut pro defunctis, propinquis tantum et amicis accitis, aut in monasteriorum ecclesiis celebrarentur.

¹ *Explicatio Missae*, p. 3.

Another description of a private, as distinguished from a public Mass, is given by Merati.¹

Missa privata, prout distinguitur a publica, est illa in qua solus sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat.

Now, manifestly, the ordinary signification of the phrase, *Missa privata*, is neither one nor other of the two here given. For, to mention only one reason, there are evidently many Masses to which the title 'private' may be justly applied; but there are very few Masses at which the faithful are not free to assist, or at which one or another in addition to the celebrant may not communicate. Hence we must accept as the ordinary signification of 'private Mass,' not that which it has when opposed to 'public Mass,' but that which it has when opposed to solemn Mass.

As distinguished from a solemn Mass, then, a private Mass is one in which the celebrant is not assisted by deacon or sub-deacon, in which there is no singing, and but one Mass-server. Thus writes Cardinal Bona² :—

Alii rectius (missa) privatam vocant, quæ sine diacono et subdiacono et cantoribus, uno tantum ministrante, celebratur, sive aliqui fideles ei intersint sive nullus adsit, sive solus celebrans, communicet, sive sint aliqui communicantes.

To the same effect are the words of Merati³ :—

Missa privata, prout distinguitur a missa solemnî, est illa quæ privatim et peculiariter et sine cantu uno duntaxat clerico ministrante, sive in ecclesia sive in oratorio privato celebratur.

Hence, as distinguished from a Solemn Mass, or a *Missa cantata*, every Mass that is simply read—that is, of which no part is sung by the celebrant, is a private Mass. For, by *cantoribus* and *in cantu* of the authors, quoted above, is meant the same thing; namely, that there should be singers or chanters singing alternately with the celebrant, for music and singing in which the celebrant takes no part do not of themselves constitute the solemnity of the Mass. Thus, our

¹ *In Gavantum*, part 1, n. 46.

² *Rerum Liturgicarum*, l.i., c. 13, n. 5.

³ *In Gavantum*, pars. i., no. 46.

parochial Masses on Sundays, at which in many places a choir sings portions of the Mass, still remain private as distinguished from Solemn Masses, unless when the celebrant sings those parts assigned by the rubrics to the celebrant of a Solemn Mass, or of a *Missa cantata*. Hence we conclude that every Mass not sung by the celebrant is a 'private Mass,' in the ordinary signification of that phrase, and, consequently, that the phrases 'private Mass' and 'low Mass' are synonymous. By the former phrase the Mass is distinguished from a 'Solemn Mass,' by the latter from a 'High Mass.'

The objection taken from the *Memoriale Rituum* is of no consequence. Private Masses *were* forbidden on the last three days of Holy Week, until the publication of the *Memoriale Rituum*; but the very object which Benedict XIII. had in view in issuing this addition to the liturgy was to sanction the celebration on these days of Low Masses, or private Masses, instead of the Solemn Masses, which, up to his time, had alone been permitted. The 'private Masses' now forbidden on the Holy Triduum are Masses in addition to those required for the carrying out of the functions proper to each day. Are not Solemn Masses, as well as private Masses, forbidden on these days?

2. We are not certain whether a Conventual Mass, celebrated as a Low Mass, differs from an ordinary Low Mass in any way, or possesses any privilege which an ordinary Low Mass does not possess. We have met phrases like the following: *Non solum in missa stricte privata sed etiam in conventuali*, which would seem to imply a difference. But, however this may be, we are prepared to accept the practice referred to by our correspondent as a proof either that a Conventual Mass, though not sung, is not one of those 'private Masses' after which the Papal prayers are to be said, or that the religious have got a dispensation. *Culpa non praesumitur*.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NEW CATECHISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—Enclosed please find a few suggestions for the consideration of the Committee appointed to draft the New Catechism, which, I think, may prove useful for children if put by the way of question and answer. From my little experience of boys at Catechism, I think it well to have them taught that the church is a holy place, the house of God, and the gate of heaven, and as such should be revered as God's sanctuary. And when entering the church to bend the right knee to the ground, and say some little prayer, or make an act of Faith like the following, which I was taught when going to Catechism: 'I adore Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, in the most holy sacrament of the altar.' And further they should know, that when entering, during the Forty-hours' Adoration, they ought to make a prostration. I think it wise, also to mention at what part of holy Mass they should kneel, stand, or sit. Similar instructions might also be given as regards their attendance at Vespers, because I think it strange to see one here and another there standing during the chanting of the *Magnificat*, or the singing of a hymn, and all the rest of the congregation sitting. Besides they should understand, that they are expected to answer aloud all the prayers said by the priest in English, especially after the Mass.

In the Catechism ordered by the National Synod of Maynooth at page 20, Lesson 10, the following question is asked: 'Are all obliged to be of the true Church?' And the answer given is: 'No one can be saved out of it.' An explanation such as appears in *Catholic Belief* might be useful after this answer.

Lesson 12, on Sin. This chapter would be improved if the following, or something similar were inserted: 'To make sin mortal, there must be a grave matter, or clear knowledge and full and free consent of the will.' Then an explanation of what is a venial sin. This, of course, is better explained by an example given. I would also give the meaning of the seven capital sins which does not appear in this chapter, and I would add how one becomes accessory to the sins of others, which did appear in some of the old catechisms, as follows: By counsel;

by command; by consent; by provocation; by praise or flattery; by silence, when one ought to speak; by concealment; by aiding; by defending sins of others. Pointing out at the same time, that to be accessory to the sin of another means to be a partner in that sin, and, therefore, the sin of another is imputed to the partner.

Lesson 17, page 33, on the Second Commandment. Besides what is already given, the following might be inserted. That cursing means to wish evil to ourselves or to any of God's creatures. And that the sin of blasphemy is committed by those who speak evil of God, of the saints, or of holy things.

Lesson 18, page 36. The meaning of scandal might be given, when it is direct or indirect. At page 37 the Seventh Commandment is fully explained; but, perhaps, if the following were added it might prove useful: 'That workmen who idle the time for which their employer pays them violate this precept.' I would also add to this chapter, the meaning of the words, 'backbiting, calumny, detraction,' &c., when treating of the Eighth Commandment. The advantage of this will be better understood when we remember that Catechism classes are taught by members of confraternities; and as it is possible a child might ask the teacher the meaning of those words, it would be desirable for one as well as the other, that a proper explanation was given in the Catechism.

Lesson 25, on Confirmation. The following might be added. Wisdom teaches us to direct all our actions to the glory of God, and our last end; Understanding enables us to contemplate and submit to the mysteries of faith; Counsel discovers to us the frauds and deceits of the devil, the better to avoid them; Fortitude strengthens us against the persecutions of the world; Knowledge teaches us to know and understand the will of God; Piety makes us devout and zealous to put it in execution; and Fear makes us cautious not to offend so gracious a Majesty. I would also explain the cardinal virtues, pointing out the difference between Temperance and Total Abstinence; and while doing so would it not be well to exhort all the young to enrol themselves members of the Juvenile Total Abstinence Sodality, now held monthly in many of our churches. This would, I think, be practically carrying out the spirit of the Pastoral Letter of His Grace the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Kildare and Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory, in 1890.

In conclusion, what better can I do than ask your Very Rev. Committee to consider the importance, and the advantage of adding as a supplement to the New Catechism, the elementary portion of Father James Cullen's Temperance Catechism, which is comprised of nine pages, a copy of which I have sent you with this letter. Possibly I would not refer to the temperance question, were I not impressed by the following extract of a letter from His late Eminence Cardinal Manning, written a few years before his death:—'Let us not forget that at this moment drunkenness is spreading among our children, and that boys and girls are to be seen drunk in our streets, and that there are drinking-places habitually frequented by boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen years of age.' I would have written before this, but unfortunately I did not read the I. E. RECORD until a few days ago.

I am, Rev. Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN P. JOSEPH.

THE NATIONAL CATECHISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—Taking in its literal sense the invitation given to your readers, to offer suggestions, however unimportant, touching the preparation of the new Catechism, I venture to recommend an improvement in the form of the 'Prayer before teaching the Catechism,' found on one of the first pages of the Catechism now in use: 'O Lord God of infinite beauty and mercy,' &c. The fault of the form in which the prayer now stands, in addition to its being, as it seems to me, an unnecessarily severe handling of the venerable translation to which we were accustomed, of the 'Deus qui Corda Fidelium,' is, that it is impossible of committal to memory.

I feel quite sure of my suggestion having been long since anticipated by the compilers' own intentions, and I feel also sure that any change they contemplate making in the prayer will be a change vastly for the better.—Yours, Very Rev. Dear Sir.

A. K.

DOCUMENTS

THE ACT 9TH OF WILLIAM III.

Two very important papers have appeared in the last two issues of the I. E. RECORD—one of which from the pen of the Most Rev. Dr. Healy—the eminent Author of *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, contains the correspondence of the Bishop of Jaurin [Raab] respecting the remarkable picture of the Infant Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, now known as that of 'Our Lady of Györ'—brought to the city of that name by an exiled Irish bishop, Dr. Lynch—two hundred years ago; and the other by an accomplished writer, the Rev. J. J. Ryan, under the heading 'Our Lady of Györ and Bishop Walter Lynch.' In both of these papers reference is made to the infamous and tyrannical Act 9th of William III. for *banishing* the Irish Clergy; and as the substance of this infamous Act is not generally known, the reproduction of it may be useful to the readers of the I. E. RECORD—and at the present time may have a special interest having regard to current events.

There is one very remarkable clause in this Act that shows to what extent the Reformation Government by which it was passed had studied the machinery for the utter extirpation of the Catholic faith from Ireland. It is well known to the readers of Irish history, that the confiscation of the churches, monasteries, and their properties destroyed all chance of the people coming together in the open, for the purpose of devotion, without incurring the severest penalties of the Reformation Law. They were driven to the morasses, the woods, the rocks, and the caves for the purpose of having the Divine Mysteries celebrated for them; or for the administration of some sacrament, by a banned and proscribed priest, over whose head dangled the rope and the gibbet. But even then there was one place where it was possible to meet and pray—on melancholy occasions—without the rigours of the law pursuing.

The grave-yard was still neutral ground, and the occasion of an interment brought the faithful together, and when they came together they prayed—oft-times their prayers directed by a priest, who suddenly appeared among them, and as suddenly disappeared

when the last offices were over. The grave-yards were always in the vicinities of the churches and monasteries, and when the people would have said their last prayer over the newly-filled grave, it was their usual custom to kneel upon the graves of the deceased members of their respective families, and afterwards assemble and pray before the ruined Altars in their now roofless churches. Such prayer was to them a solace in their affliction ; but even that solace was taken away from them by the VI. clause of the infamous '9th of William III.'—except indeed, that they interred in those grounds in the vicinities of places 'made use of for celebrating Divine Mysteries, according to the liturgy of the Church of Ireland, by law established'—a concession that but few, if any, availed of. This infamous clause is unknown to many people at the present time ; and, therefore, the reproduction of the Act in its entirety may have more than a passing interest for the many.

C. G. DORAN.

QUEENSTOWN,
Patrick's Day, 1897.

' A.D. 1697.

'THE NINTH YEAR OF WILLIAM III.

' CHAPTER I.

'An Act for banishing all Papists exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and all Regulars of the Popish Clergy out of this Kingdom.

' WHEREAS it is notoriously known, that the late rebellions in this kingdom have been contrived, promoted, and carried on by popish archbishops, bishops, jesuits, and other ecclesiastical persons of the Romish clergy ; and for as much as the peace and publick safety of this kingdom is in danger, by the great number of said archbishops, bishops, jesuits, friers, and other regular Romish clergy now residing here, and settling in fraternities and societies, contrary to law and to the great impoverishing of many of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, who are forced to maintain and support them ; which said Romish clergy do not only endeavour to withdraw his Majesty's subject from their obedience, but do daily stir up, and move sedition and rebellion, to the great hazard of the ruine and desolation of this kingdom : for the prevention of all which mischiefs, his Majesty is graciously pleased that it be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most

excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual, and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That all popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, jesuits, monks, friers, and all other regular popish clergy, and all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall depart out of this kingdom before the first day of May, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-eight ; and if any of the said ecclesiastical persons shall be at any time after the first day of May within this kingdom, they, and every of them, shall suffer imprisonment, and remain in prison, without bail or mainprize, till he or they shall be transported beyond seas, out of his Majesty's dominions, wherever his Majesty, his heirs or successors, or the chief governor or governors of this kingdom, for the time being, shall think fit ; and if any person so transported shall return again into this kingdom, they, and every of them, shall be guilty of high treason ; and every person so offending shall for his offence be judged a traytor, and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit as in case of high treason.

‘II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every such popish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, jesuits, friers, and all other popish regular clergy in this kingdom, shall, before the said first day of May, repair to the city of Dublin, Cork, Kinsale, Youghal, Waterford, Wexford, Gallway, or Carrickfergus, and there remain, until there shall be conveniency of shipping for their transportation into some parts beyond seas, and out of his Majesty's dominions ; and every of them, on their first coming into any of the said cities and towns, giving in their names to the mayor, or other chief magistrate, who is hereby required to register the same, and return an account thereof to the Clerk of the Council within ten days ; and that the said mayor, or other chief magistrate of each town, and also the collector and surveyor of the port, shall give their best assistance in transporting every such popish archbishop, bishop, and other popish regular clergyman.

‘III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the 29th day of December, which shall be in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, no popish archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, dean, nor any other papist exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not established by the laws of this kingdom, jesuit or frier,

shall come into this kingdom from any parts beyond the seas, on pain of twelve months imprisonment, and then to be transported in manner aforesaid ; and if any such Romish ecclesiastical person, so transported, shall again return into this kingdom, he and they so offending shall be guilty of high treason; and suffer accordingly.

‘IV. And be it further enacted, that any person, that shall from and after the said first day of May, knowingly harbour, relieve, conceal, or entertain any such popish archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, dean, jesuit, frier, or any other papist exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not established by the laws of this kingdom, or any regular popish clergyman, hereby required to depart out of this kingdom in manner aforesaid, or that from and after the said twenty-ninth day of December, one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, shall come into this kingdom, contrary to the tenor of this act, shall for the first offence forfeit the sum of twenty pounds ; for the second offence double the same sum ; to be levied in manner hereinafter expressed ; and if he shall offend the third time, to forfeit all his lands and tenements of freehold or inheritance, during his life, and also his goods and chattels : one moiety whereof to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the other moiety to such person as shall inform, so that such moiety do not exceed the sum of one hundred pounds, and the surplus of what shall remain, to his Majesty, his heirs and successors ; the said forfeiture for such third offence to be recovered by bill, plaint, information, or action for debt, in any of his Majesty’s courts of record at Dublin, or at the Assizes in the respective counties.

‘V. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that upon information on oath to any justice of the peace in his respective county against any person or persons, that shall knowingly entertain, succour, relieve, or conceal any such popish person, contrary to the purport and meaning of this Act, the said justice of the peace shall immediately issue a summons in writing under his hand, thereby requiring the person and persons so informed against, at a certain day and place within the said county where such offence shall be committed, to appear before him and some other justices of the peace of the said county, to answer the said matter laid to his or their charge ; at which time and place the said justices shall, in presence of the person or persons accused, or in case of his or their neglect to appear, being duly summoned,

proceed to examination of the said matter ; and, if it shall appear to them on evidence upon oath, that the person or persons so complained of are guilty, the said justices shall, by warrant under their hands and seals, levy the aforesaid forfeitures of twenty pounds for the first offence, and forty pounds for the second offence, of the goods and chattels of the person or persons offending, by distress, sale, or otherwise, and dispose of one moiety of such forfeitures to the informer or informers, and the other moiety to the treasurer of the county where such offences shall be committed, for the uses of the county ; and for default thereof, to commit the person offending to the county gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize until he or they shall pay the said forfeitures and penalties.

‘VI. And be it further enacted, that no person whatsoever shall, from and after the said twenty-ninth day of December, bury any dead in any suppress monastery, abbey, or convent, that is not made use of for celebrating Divine Service, according to the liturgy of the Church of Ireland by law established, or within the precincts thereof, upon pain of forfeiting the sum of ten pounds ; which said sum of ten pounds shall and may be recovered from any person or persons that shall be present at such burial, and offending contrary to the tenor of this Act ; which said forfeitures all and every justices of the peace, in his and their respective counties, are hereby authorized to hear and determine in manner as hereinbefore is mentioned and declared ; one moiety of which said last forfeiture for burying contrary to this Act shall be by such justice given unto the informer, and the other moiety to the minister and churchwardens of the parish where any such offences shall be committed, to be disposed of for the use of the parish.

‘VII. Provided always, that if any person or persons shall think him or themselves aggrieved, by the judgment and determination of two such justices of the peace, that the person and persons so aggrieved may appeal from their judgment and determination to the next judges of assize, or to the justices of peace at the next general quarter sessions, who are hereby empowered to examine the said matter, and give such relief therein as to them shall seem meet.

‘VIII. And it is further enacted, that all and every justice of the peace shall from time to time issue their warrants for apprehending and committal of all popish archbishops, bishops, jesuits,

friers, and other popish ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, that shall remain and continue in this kingdom, contrary to the tenor and meaning of this Act; and for suppressing all monasteries, frieries, nunneries, or other popish fraternities or societies.

‘IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the justices of the peace in this kingdom shall give an account in writing of their proceedings in execution of this statute, at the next general quarter sessions for the county in which he shall dwell, which shall be at such quarter sessions entered and registered.

‘X. And be it further enacted, that if any justice of the peace, mayor, or other officer, shall neglect doing their duty in execution of this present Act, every such justice of the peace, mayor, and other officer, shall, for every such neglect, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no protection, essoin, or wages of law shall be allowed of, nor but one imparlance, one moiety thereof to the King’s Majesty, his heirs and successors, the other moiety to the informer, or person that shall sue for the same, and be disabled from serving as a justice of the peace during his life.’

P.S.—The picture of ‘Our Lady of Györ,’ an illustration of which accompanies Father Ryan’s paper, is evidently of Spanish origin, and most probably of the school of Spanish painters led by Velazquez and Murillo. So far as can be judged by the illustration, it is severely simple—such as the paintings at that period in Spain, not intended for the *Galeria Reservada of Madrid*, were bound to be. The bare head, sleek hair, elongated features, chaste and simple robe, are all typical of that period of Spanish art, and the pomegranate pattern on the coverlet is also a strong testimony of its Spanish origin—the pomegranate (symbolic of spiritual graces) being frequently used by Spanish artists in the embellishment of their religious pictures and decoration of their churches.

C. G. D.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE AMBASSADOR OF CHRIST. By Cardinal Gibbons.
Baltimore : Murphy & Co.

THE priest is called by God to labour for his own sanctification and for the sanctification of others. His success in the latter will largely depend on the effort he puts forth to acquire the former. He should, therefore, eagerly lay hold of whatever tends to his personal sanctification. The young priest coming forth from his *Alma Mater* may be pious, zealous, and well equipped with theological knowledge, yet in many things regarding the practical ways of men he is 'a stranger in a strange land.' The eyes of the community are fixed on the exalted position in which his sacred office places him, and however things may have been in the past, it is now quite certain that, should occasion arise, he will be subjected to a certain measure of unfavourable criticism. During his college course he had the benefit of the advice of experienced professors. To these he looked up with confidence and reverence. But launched on the perilous sea of life, he is deprived of the supports of college discipline, and he requires a sincere and experienced counsellor to warn him of the shoals and rocks to be avoided. Amongst his clerical brethren it is not always easy to find one who is prepared to act the part of the 'candid friend.' Experience proves that priests are rather shy in telling a brother priest that he is acting imprudently. Perhaps through humility they distrust their own judgment, perhaps they fear that their admonition would be ill-received and do little good. However it may be, it is quite certain that many priests would be better from time to time to have someone to 'lead them aside from the crowd,' and recall to their minds what is expected from the exalted dignity of their sacred profession.

Many very excellent books have been written to attain this end. There are few young priests who have not in their library Cardinal Manning's priceless *Eternal Priesthood*. Many priests on the mission make it a rule to read this excellent treatise once a year to remind them of the dignity and danger of their sacred calling. The late saintly Vincentian, Father M'Namara, has given the benefit of his varied experience in the ministry

in the best and most practical of his works, the *Enchiridion Clericorum*. The *Selva* of St. Ligouri has the recommendation of being written by one not only of immense experience, but by one who was also a master in the spiritual life. One would have imagined that there was little room in the field for a new work of similar character, and this was our opinion till we read the very excellent work of Cardinal Gibbons, *The Ambassador of Christ*. Occupying a position in the Church which gives him a right to speak with authority, in the treatise before us he begins at the beginning 'on the excellence of the Christian priesthood,' and step by step, with master hand, he traces the path of the priest to the end, where he dwells on the 'consolations and rewards of the priest.' Writing for the American Church, where life is more progressive than amongst us, he does not hesitate to speak plainly to the student, the professor, and the priest on the mission. To bring forth his model in bolder relief, he frequently paints an emphatic shading, and, indeed, in this perhaps sometimes goes farther than one less exalted and experienced would care to go. He illustrates his subject with a wealth of quotation sacred and profane, which shows immense research. Besides, he has ever at hand a fund of anecdotes and illustrations which are the result of a long experience of men and things, and are always to the point. This experience he applies well in tracing effects to their cause. Thus in the chapter treating of the 'Divine Vocation to the Sacred Ministry,' he says:—

'Are we not shocked in our own day by the sad spectacle of degraded ministers of the Gospel, who have not only soiled their sacred garments, but unblushingly glory in their shame before the world; who have not only forsaken the mother that reared them, but who insult and villify her, who hire themselves for a price to the enemy? How were these lights extinguished? How did these ambassadors of Christ perish? Very probably their downward course began in the seminary, where they led an indolent and tepid life, without betraying, however, any evidence of glaring delinquencies. The day of ordination was contemplated by them not with salutary dread on account of the new yoke it imposed, but rather with joy as emancipating them from seminary restraints, and inaugurating a reign of mundane freedom. In the ministry they lived without order or method. They prayed without devotion. Their official duties were irksome and oppressive, and were performed in a perfunctory manner. The studies congenial to the ecclesiastical state became an intolerable bore. They lived on the excitement of the hour.

They were at first sustained by amusements which were harmless. When these began to pall, they indulged in more stimulating and dangerous pleasures. Meantime God's grace was less abundantly bestowed on them; their conscience became blunted, their intellect clouded; for "the sensual man perceiveth not these things that are the Spirit of God." These Divine warnings which before had stung the soul were brushed aside as weak-minded scruples. To every fresh attack of temptation they offered a more feeble resistance, till at last they fell easy and willing captives to the tempter.'

In the chapter on 'Marks of a Divine Vocation' we have a rule of life so brief and simple that any priest on the mission may ordinarily carry it out, and so practical that, if carried out, we have no hesitation in saying that the zeal of the pastor would be quickened, and he would speedily become a veritable 'homo Dei.'

The treatment of the 'Duties of Preceptors towards their Scholars' is exceedingly good, spoken in a plain, matter-of-fact style, which no doubt will be read attentively by that learned and responsible body—our college professors. There is a conviction on the mind of many missionary priests that the system in some of our colleges is such as to put a premium on tale-bearing and espionage. It is undoubtedly a fact that very frequently the students who basked during their college days in the sunshine of favour with superiors, became afterwards on the mission not the 'forma gregis' which too confiding professors imagined they would be. Our learned author says:—

'While the vigilance of superiors should be active in observing and prompt in correcting, it should be entirely free from a spirit of espionage and distrust, which is calculated to make hypocrites, and to provoke the clandestine violation of rules. If the students are persuaded that they are habitually suspected and watched, they also will have their eye on their professors. They will take a morbid pleasure in eating the forbidden fruit, in drinking the "stolen waters, which are sweeter, and eating hidden bread, which is more pleasant." I once heard of a professor, who always pre-supposed that the students were untrustworthy until they gave proof of virtue. The opposite rule, which assumes that they are good until their vicious character is made manifest, is certainly to be preferred.'

The Church has always been desirous to have an educated priesthood. Learning is especially necessary for the priest in

these days of free education. There is scarcely a congregation to be found at the present time where a misquoted text or a grammatical error will not be detected by some of the audience. It behoves the priest, therefore, to be a man of education. Cardinal Gibbons is very forcible on this point; he puts learning even before piety.

‘Piety [he says] in a priest, though indispensable, can never be an adequate substitute for learning. He may have zeal, but not the “zeal according to knowledge” which the Apostle commends. Knowledge without piety may, indeed, make a Churchman vain and arrogant, but piety without knowledge renders him an unprofitable servant. The absence of piety makes him hurtful to himself, but the absence of knowledge makes him a stumbling-block to others. “I would prefer [says St. Teresa] to consult a learned confessor who did not practise prayer rather than a man of prayer who was not learned, for the latter could not guide me in the truth.” An ill-instructed priesthood is the scourge of the Church.’

Another point excellently treated by our learned author is the preparation of sermons. A fluent speaker may be tempted to give little or no preparation to his instructions. He is confident that words shall not fail him, and frequent interruptions will often make study irksome. We have it on excellent authority that “sermons do good in proportion to the amount of study that is given to their preparation.” On this subject a very good anecdote is told in the chapter on “The Preparation of Sermons” :—

‘Several years ago a certain clergyman delivered a discourse in the Baltimore Cathedral, in presence of some distinguished prelates, including Archbishop Hughes. At the dinner which followed, the preacher remarked: “Upon my word, until I entered the pulpit I had not determined on the subject of my sermon.” “I thought as much when I heard you,” quietly rejoined the Archbishop of New York.’

From the above quotations, selected almost at random, the thoroughly practical character of *The Ambassador of Christ* may be judged. It is a book which will be a valuable addition to the library of the priest. If studied from time to time it will act the part of a sincere friend, by recalling to mind the exalted dignity of the priestly state, and the serious obligations connected with it.

F. L.

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH AS A WITNESS TO CATHOLIC DOCTRINE. By John Salmon, M.R.S.A.L., 'S. J.' Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. Belfast and Glasgow: The Catholic Book Co., &c.

MR. SALMON, the learned author of this work, has been long known to the reading public in Belfast, and in Ulster generally, as 'S. J.,' the doughty champion of Catholic doctrines and Catholic practices against all and sundry who dared assail them. His original and highly interesting work on the Round Towers of Ireland, published a few years ago, and favourably received by all who take an interest in these hoary puzzles of the learned, made his name, or at least his *nom de plume*, known far beyond the confines of the Northern province. The present work is addressed to a still more numerous class, and will, we venture to predict, introduce his name to every student of Irish history, and to every Irishman, whether in Ireland or elsewhere, who glories in the close union that has ever subsisted between the See of St. Peter and the Church of St. Patrick.

Many impudent, unjust, and unfounded claims have Irish Protestants made since Browne (who, like Luther, was an apostate Augustinian monk) was thrust into the see of Dublin. They claimed our cathedrals and our churches; they claimed our abbeys and our abbeylands, and a Protestant Government allowed and defended their claims. They claimed a right to compel Catholics to support their clergy, whose chief occupation consisted in vilifying and calumniating all that Catholics held most sacred; and this claim, too, did the Government allow and enforce, even to the shedding of blood. But undoubtedly the most impudent, the most unjust, and the most unfounded claim they have ever made is the claim to our national apostle as the founder of Protestantism in Ireland. Yes, think of it! 'St. Patrick was an Episcopalian,' say the followers of Cranmer and Ridley; 'a Presbyterian,' shout the disciples of Calvin and Knox; and both in chorus cry out, 'the early Irish Church had no connection with Rome, and her doctrines and practices were not those of the Church of Rome!' It is hard to write temperately of claims like these, which not only have no foundation, but which are rejected, implicitly at least, by every written record of the early Irish Church. But out of evil has come forth good. Just as the doctrinal heresies which have sprung up

in the course of ages compelled the champions of orthodoxy to examine the rejected dogmas more closely, to explain them more fully, and to establish them more firmly; so has this historical heresy compelled Irish Catholic writers to summon from hitherto unexplored regions witnesses to the truth of the Roman mission of St. Patrick, and of the connection of the early Irish Church with the Roman See. This work has been going on, though with interruptions, since the time of Ussher, so that Mr. Salmon has been able to embody in his book not merely the results of his own original researches, but also the results of the labours in the same field of a host of distinguished writers who had gone before him. As a consequence, Mr. Salmon's book is not only the best book on this subject that has yet been written; but it so riddles and ridicules the Protestant pretensions that, in future, no Protestant—unless one who glories in his ignorance—can afford to say, as the late Right Hon. Justice Whiteside said on one occasion, 'I maintain that the Protestant Church in Ireland preserves the old, ancient, true Catholic faith established by St. Patrick.'

The plan of the book is very simple, though at the same time strictly logical. The author says in effect to Irish Protestants: You maintain that the early Irish Church was Protestant. If this were so then we must expect to find that she rejected those doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church which you reject. If, however, we find that she did not reject these doctrines and practices, you are bound to abandon your claim to be regarded as her successor. And if, moreover, we find she not only did not reject the doctrines and practices which you reject, but, on the contrary, held them in the same esteem and reverence in which they were held in Rome itself, and in Churches undoubtedly connected with Rome, then you will be bound to admit that the early Irish Church was a part of the Universal Church in communion with Rome.

To show in a clear and orderly manner that the ancient Irish Church did not reject, but embraced, what Protestants reject of Catholic teaching, the author takes up one by one the dogmas, and the chief points in Catholic discipline which Protestants reject, and with a wealth of apposite quotation from the most varied and most reliable sources, proves conclusively that the dogmas rejected by Protestants, and the disciplinary canons at which they sneer, were received as reverently in the Irish

Church of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries as they are by Irish Catholics in the nineteenth. The fullest references are given by the author to the sources whence his information is derived ; and the character and variety of these sources show the intelligent and painstaking research which he must have made in preparation for his work. The quotations are given in English in the text, but in order to enable the hostile or friendly reader to compare the translation with the original, the latter is given in a footnote.

The author devotes the first chapter to proving that the Canon of Scripture introduced by St. Patrick, and received in the early Irish Church, was the Catholic, not the Protestant Canon. In this he has an easy task, for Protestant and Presbyterian writers while claiming St. Patrick as their own, are forced to admit that 'he cites as divinely inspired Scripture passages from the Apocrypha or deuterocanonical books,' to use the words of Dr. Dowden, Protestant Bishop of Edinburgh, quoted by the author. In the succeeding chapters the author shows that the authority of the Church was recognised in Ireland during the early centuries, as it was in the other Catholic countries of the world ; that the supremacy of the Pope was admitted ; that each of the seven Sacraments was regarded as a divinely-instituted means of conferring grace ; that the doctrines of purgatory and of saint-worship were taught ; that an extraordinary devotion towards the Blessed Virgin characterized the early Christians in Ireland ; that relics and images were venerated ; that fasting and other forms of mortification were practiced ; and finally, that the sign of the Cross, holy water, incense, blessed palm, and several other 'idolatries' and 'superstitions,' and very un-Protestant practices were in use in the Irish Church long before Dane or Norman set hostile foot on our shores, and while Irish schools dispensed without fee both learning and hospitality to crowds of students from England, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and even from Rome itself. It is obviously impossible to enter into detail with regard to the proofs which our author advances : we will, therefore, content ourselves with saying that they are clear, concise, and absolutely convincing, and present no weak point to invite an adversary's attack. But just to illustrate, not so much the kind of arguments which our author uses throughout, as the audacity of Protestants, who, despite the existence of such monuments, dare to claim the early Irish Church as the mother of

Irish Protestantism, we will refer to a very un-Protestant, but nevertheless extremely beautiful Litany of the Blessed Virgin which the author translates from the *Leabhar Breac*, and which O'Curry declares to be as old at least as the middle of the eighth century. When a translation of this Litany was presented to Pius IX. in 1862 he granted 100 days' indulgence to all who should recite it. If a Litany composed of the titles which Irish Protestants, at least of the ignorant class, sometimes apply to our Blessed Lady, were presented to Leo XIII., would he grant an indulgence to induce people to recite it?

As Mr. Salmon's book deals throughout with Catholic teaching and practices, it required and has received due ecclesiastical authorization. It bears the *imprimatur* of the Most. Rev. Dr. Henry, Bishop of Down and Connor, and the *nihil obstat* of the Rev. H. Lavery. We heartily wish it the success it deserves, and we congratulate the erudite author on the completion of his work, which, though small in bulk, is large in merit.

D. O'L.

SERMONS AND LECTURES. By the Rev. Michael B. Buckley, of Cork, Ireland. Edited by his Sister, Kate Buckley. With a Memoir of his Life by the Rev. Charles Davis, Skibbereen, diocese of Ross. Dedicated to the Irish people at home and abroad. Published for the Editress in Great Britain, Ireland, United States, and Canada. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1890.

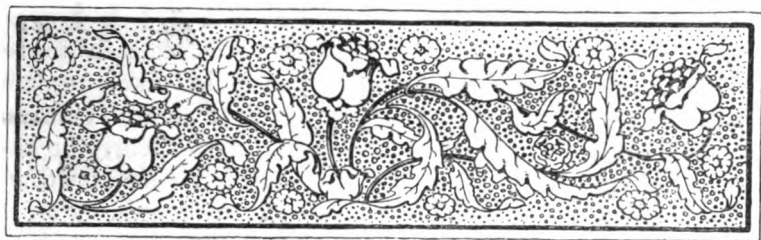
THE labour of transcribing such a title-page would go hard on the temper of most critics; and for ourselves, though we have borne the trial with patience, we think there is room, on other grounds, for finding fault with one of the chief facts which the page records. We do not commend the notion of a lady editing sermons; we object to it on principle; and, while the devotion of a sister to the memory of a reverend and justly revered brother may be a reason for respecting her good faith in assuming the office, we do not think it sufficient to exclude a word of discouragement in deference to the principle.

It is hard to have begun so severely, but in the pages that follow we find cause for relaxing. The volume contains, in all, twenty-eight sermons, and six lectures. They are only the scattered remains of their reverend author, and it is easy to see they were never written with a view to publication. Of the

sermons, which are printed almost entirely as they were preached, some were delivered on special occasions for special objects ; and, though their utility is thus limited, they are nevertheless really useful as successful specimens in their particular lines. More of them, however, are on the staple subjects of all Christian preaching. All exhibit the same characteristics. Their merits are striking thought, clear and cogent argument, eloquent and forcible expression ; in a word, all the ordinary essentials for highly successful preaching, as far as paper and ink can reproduce them ; and we can well understand how, in the mouth of such a preacher as Father Buckley, these sermons must have gone home with telling effect to the minds and hearts of his hearers. Of their faults we abstain from speaking, both because it is ungenerous to seek out petty faults where larger merits overshadow them, and because these sermons were written not to be criticized, but to be preached. Of the lectures we need say little. In genesis they were occasional, but their subjects are of permanent interest, and in style and treatment they exemplify all the chief perfections of the popular lecturer.

The memoir prefixed from the pen of Father Davis is an appreciative tribute to Father Buckley's memory by an old-time friend who was also an affectionate and admiring friend. In the life of Father Buckley there was nothing exceptional more than in the lives of thousands of priests who spend themselves daily in the work of God's ministry, nothing but a superior brilliancy, the outcome of superior gifts carefully cultivated, and usefully applied. To those who may have known him and prized him for his worth, or been edified by his zeal and eloquence, this volume will recommend itself as a memento of the man, and to the general public it ought to prove acceptable for the sole merit of its contents.

P. J. T.



RECENT PROTESTANT HISTORIANS OF IRELAND¹

III.

THE 'Eastern Origin' of the Irish Church is a fundamental article in Mr. Olden's theory; and his aim in propounding this view is to avoid Rome at any cost. He admits that 'all Christianity originated in the East, and gradually reached the West,'² but, whatever may have been the intermediate stations on its westward course to Ireland, according to Mr. Olden, Rome was not one of them. 'Not from Rome, but from the East,' is his axiom.³ But even though all this were as true as it is notoriously untrue, the gain to Mr. Olden's theory would be simply nothing. Rome has been, ever since St. Peter's time, as she is to-day, 'the mother and mistress of all the Churches;' and consequently, it matters absolutely nothing whether Christianity first reached Ireland from Malabar or from Manitoba: it was Roman all the same.

But Mr. Olden's view has, he thinks, one very special recommendation. 'It makes a considerable difference,' he says, 'whether it passed westward through the capital of the Empire, or arrived by way of the remote province of Southern Gaul.' This is most ingenious. Mr. Olden seems

¹ *The Church of Ireland*, by T. Olden, M.A. *The Ancient Church of Ireland*, by John Healy, LL.D. London, 1892.

² *Church of Ireland*, p. 130.

³ Page 130.

to regard Christianity as a bale of goods, certain to be adulterated in the Roman custom house, but likely to fare better if sent by way of Southern Gaul, 'which,' he says, 'would pass it on much as it received it.'¹ Clearly he has taken in fully the spirit of the 19th of his Articles; but in this instance he has carried it to imprudent length. For, if Christianity was thus left by its Divine Founder a prey to circumstances, if it ran such risk of corruption in the first century of its existence, what guarantee has Mr. Olden that he is himself a Christian? What guarantee has he that he holds even one genuine doctrine of Christianity? He is not discreet then in seeking to inflict on Rome a wound which must equally affect the whole body of Christian Revelation. Here, then, we have a gentleman whose own Christianity is on his own principles, extremely doubtful, writing a history of Early Irish Christianity. His theory has, he candidly admits, 'produced a special type of Christianity,'² which has certainly found a 'special type' of historian in Mr. Olden. He tells us that 'it is antecedently probable' that Ireland 'received its Christianity from the East, through Gaul;'—the grounds of this probability being that 'the people of that region (Southern Gaul) were a colony from Asia Minor, and Polycarp, its first Bishop, came directly from thence.'³

Now, what is to be thought of one who undertakes to write an Irish ecclesiastical history, and who exhibits the gross ignorance displayed in this short sentence? St. Polycarp is one of the most celebrated characters in early ecclesiastical history. His extraordinary life, his fearless championship of the faith, his cruel martyrdom, and the heroic constancy displayed by him in his suffering are known to every schoolboy. And yet this would-be historian, who enlightens the 'Dictionary of National Biography' on the most obscure points of Church history, does not know the broad facts of the life of the great Bishop of Smyrna. St. Polycarp, 'first bishop' of Southern Gaul! Indeed! No, St. Polycarp never set foot on Gaul; was never bishop

¹ Page 131.² Page 132.³ Page 131.

there ; did not come there ' directly ' or indirectly. St. Polycarp came *once* to Rome to consult Pope Aniceto on the Paschal question. This *one* visit was the beginning and the ending of his westward journeyings. And this visit of the saint to Rome is in reality a refutation of Mr. Olden's theory. For he would not have come all the way from Asia Minor to Rome to consult the Pope if he did not believe him to be an authority superior to the many holy and learned bishops whom he could have found nearer home. And this is confirmed by the testimony of St. Irenæus, Polycarp's well-known disciple, who, of all the early fathers, is the most pronounced witness to the Roman Primacy. Thus, then, Mr. Olden's first step in tracing the westward march of Christianity is for him an unfortunate step, for his witness against Rome is in reality a witness against himself.

And his second step is equally unfortunate. He says : ' Rev. F. E. Warren gives some of the evidence for the 'Eastern Origin,' and its cumulative force is considerable.'¹ Now, Rev. F. E. Warren rejects Mr. Olden's view, and holds that the arguments in its favour have no 'force,' and he adduces the arguments merely to save that view from the severe criticism of Mr. Haddan, who describes it as "utterly groundless."² And no wonder that Mr. Haddan should speak so strongly seeing that the 'cumulative force' is supplied by 'groups of seven Churches,' by the architectural views of Prof. Fergusson—who did not build the Catholic Church—by the 'ornamentation of Irish manuscripts;' by 'the stamped leather satchels in which the Irish enclosed their books;' and by the 'pegs on which these satchels were hung;'³ All these are, of course, incompatible with the Primacy of the Pope, and establish beyond doubt the genealogy of that 'special type of Christianity,' of which Mr. Olden is so appropriate, so competent a historian.

Another argument of 'cumulative force' is supplied, Mr. Olden tells us, by the ancient Irish liturgies. It is true, he admits, that 'no service book of the period has come

¹ Page 132.

² Haddan's *Remains*, p. 210.

³ Pages 132, 133.

down to us ;'¹ but this somewhat inconvenient circumstance only gives freer scope to Mr. Olden's imagination. For men of his class, it is much more safe to appeal to a 'lost book,' which can be misrepresented, than to an existing book which can speak for itself. He says : ' Mr. Warren traces the Irish liturgies to an Ephesine source in accordance with the Eastern Origin of the Church.'²

Now, Mr. Warren sums up ' the scattered traces of Oriental influence in the remains of Celtic liturgy and ritual ;' and adds in a note, ' very early western authority can be found for most of these ritual Orientalisms, in the representations in the Catacombs, or in early Italian mosaics. All that they prove, therefore, is the Oriental origin of the Celtic Church *in common with the rest of Western Christianity*.³ The force of this argument for Mr. Olden's theory is not very considerable. And, in reality, if Mr. Olden had known anything of Oriental Liturgies he would have been carefully silent as to the 'Eastern Origin' of the 'Irish Church.' Is he prepared for the logical consequences of his theory? If so, he must be prepared to accept doctrines and practices that have been long repudiated by the Church to which he is supposed to belong. He will not find the Oriental Churches so pliable as his own. One of the most extraordinary phenomena in ecclesiastical history is the tenacity with which those Eastern Churches have clung to the doctrines held by them at the time of their separation from communion with the West. Where they were fourteen hundred years ago there they are to-day : heretical on the point which is known to be the original cause of their separation ; in almost all other doctrines unchanged through every phase of their history. And their liturgies afford the best evidence as to their doctrines. The "lex supplicandi" is the "lex credendi," with these, as with all religious bodies. The liturgy is, of course, concerned with the Eucharistic celebration, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and Holy Communion. The subdivision of what is popularly, though incorrectly, called the

¹ Page 139² Page 139,³ *Celtic Liturgy*, p. 55.

Eastern Church, into several independent religious bodies, has given rise to several forms of liturgy, all, however, or nearly all, substantially agreeing in essentials, but with considerable variation in detail, as to prayers and the arrangement of the various parts. This agreement in the essentials of *Consecration* and *Communion* suggests a unity of origin. The several liturgies must have come from a few original forms—most probably from some one common form. The Apostles who witnessed the first consecration by our Lord, and who heard His command, “Do this in commemoration of Me,” would, naturally, adhere as closely as circumstances permitted to the words and actions of their Divine Master, when offering the Holy Sacrifice. Developments in liturgy, as in doctrine, would, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, no doubt occur, but our Lord’s words and action would be the groundwork. And so we find it, on examining the ancient liturgies. In all (with one unimportant exception), we find, after some preparatory prayers, our Lord’s words of *Institution* repeated in the solemn act of Consecration; a prayer to the Holy Ghost that the sacred words may be verified; a form of Holy Communion that leaves no room for doubt as to the faith of the receiver in our Lord’s real presence; and a prayer of thanksgiving, that is equally decisive as a confirmation of that faith.

In connection with the ‘words of institution,’ sometimes words are added or interpolated, which, however unwarranted, do not alter the sense of our Lord’s own words. The one example alluded to above is an early Nestorian liturgy from which the *words of institution* are omitted. But Renaudot maintains that the omission is the fault of transcribers, and the other portions of the liturgy show that the Real Presence is believed.

The Ephesine liturgy, to which Mr. Olden appeals, cannot now be called as a witness, for it does not exist. There is really no proof that it ever existed; but if it did, at any time, exist as a separate liturgy, it must have embodied those elements above named that are common to all the other liturgies of the East. The earliest trace of a formal liturgy

is that contained in St. Justin's apology, which, however, is necessarily obscure, from the circumstances in which he wrote; and it may be also safely asserted that the Christian liturgy is alluded to in Pliny's letter to Trajan. The earliest Eastern liturgies are those of St. James, of St. Mark, of St. Clement, of St. Basil, and of St. John Chrysostom. The first three named are certainly the earliest, but it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine which is the most ancient. Mr. Neale's observation seems to be reasonable. He says:—

I shall content myself with assuming—(1) that these liturgies, though not composed by the Apostles whose names they bear, were the legitimate development of their unwritten tradition respecting the Christian sacrifice; the words probably in the most important parts, the general tenour in all portions, descending unchanged from the Apostolic authors. (2) That the liturgy of St. James is of earlier date, as to its main fabric, than A.D. 200; that the Clementine is at least not later than A.D. 260; that the liturgy of St. Mark is nearly coeval with that of St. James; while those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are to be referred respectively to the saints by whom they purport to be composed.¹

Some eminent writers maintain that the Clementine liturgy is as early as the close of the second century. But whatever be the relative ages of the liturgies referred to, they are all sufficiently old to test Mr. Olden's theory, and sufficiently explicit to condemn it.

The liturgy of St. James, so venerable for its antiquity, exists now in a Greek and Syriac version. The Greek form is used at Jerusalem only on the feast of St. James, and is used also in some of the islands of the Grecian Archipelago. The Syriac form is used still by the Monophysites of the Patriarchate of Antioch. In the form of Consecration in this Liturgy the Words of Institution are embodied as follows:—

Taking bread in His holy and spotless and pure hands, and looking up to heaven, and showing it to Thee, His God and Father, He gave Thee thanks, and blessed, and brake, and gave to us, His apostles and disciples, saying:—'*Take eat; this is My*

¹ *Holy Eastern Church*, vol. i., p. 319.

body which is broken for you, and is given for the remission of sins. Likewise, also, the chalice, after supper, having taken and mixed it with wine and water, and having looked up to heaven and showed it to Thee, His God and Father, He gave thanks, and blessed, and gave it to us, His disciples, saying:—‘Drink ye all of this, *this is My blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, and distributed for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of Me.*’

And at the Elevation, the priest says, *aloud*, words that are common to nearly all the Eastern liturgies, ‘*Holy for the Holy;*’ and the people answer, ‘*One holy, one Lord Jesus Christ,*’ thus specifying their belief in the words of the priest, ‘*Holy for the Holy.*’ The priest then breaks part of the Host into the chalice, and says:—‘The union of the Most Holy Body and Precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.’ And then, making a cross over the Host, he says, ‘Behold! the Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, who taketh away the sins of the world, sacrificed for the life and salvation of the world. He that is broken, and not divided, given to the faithful and not consumed. . . Lord, our God, the Heavenly Bread.’ And, after the Communion, the following prayer is said:—‘We give Thee thanks, O Christ, our God, that Thou hast deigned to make us partakers of Thy Body and Blood.’ Surely no language could more clearly express belief in the real presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament than the language of this most ancient Liturgy.

The liturgy of St. Mark, now disused in its original form, was formerly used throughout the whole Patriarchate of Alexandria. At the Consecration, the *words of institution* are used, with additional words, nearly the same as those added in the liturgy of St. James. An invocation of the Holy Ghost follows, praying that the words of institution may be verified. The Elevation takes place with the usual words, ‘*Holy for the Holy.*’ At the Communion the words, ‘*Holy Body,*’ &c., and ‘*the Precious Blood of our Lord God and Saviour,*’ are said by the priest, and the communicant assents by the usual word, ‘*Amen.*’ The prayer of thanksgiving follows, in which the communicant returns thanks for the ‘*participation of Thy spotless Body and Precious*

Blood,' &c. There is no mistaking the faith in the Blessed Sacrament that finds such emphatic expression in this venerable liturgy.

Many high authorities hold, that the liturgy contained in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, and attributed to St. Clement, is even more ancient than the liturgies already quoted. There are many who say that there is no evidence of its actual use *as a liturgy*; but, even though this were true, it is still a most ancient and reliable witness as to the character of the great liturgical Act of the Christian Church. The words of consecration are given nearly the same as in the liturgy of St. James; then follows the 'Invocation,' and the 'Holy for the Holy.' At the Communion the Bishop says: 'The Body of Christ,' 'The Blood of Christ,' and the people assent by saying 'Amen.' A prayer of thanksgiving follows thus: 'Having received the precious Body and precious Blood of Christ, let us return thanks to Him who has vouchsafed that we should receive His holy mysteries,' &c. These extracts are all taken from the Greek text of the *Eastern Liturgies* edited by Brightman, a writer as little liable to any prejudice in favour of Catholic doctrine as even Mr. Olden himself; and as the book has been published within the past year, and at the Clarendon Press, it may be fairly presumed to contain a good text, and to embody the latest results of criticism. And this circumstance gives additional weight to the evidence supplied by these liturgies in favour of Catholic doctrines.

It is quite unnecessary to quote the liturgies of St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom. They are still living witnesses to the faith which inspired their composition. Both liturgies are, in reality, modifications of that of St. James, and they may be said to prevail almost exclusively in the East. That of St. Chrysostom is used in Russia and its dependencies; not in Greek, however, but in Slavonic, also by the Ruthenians, and in other parts of South Eastern Europe. It is used in the Kingdom of Greece, and in its dependencies; and in all those places that are subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople by schis-

matics as well as Catholics. It is also used by the Melchites in the Patriarchate of Antioch, and by the united Greeks in Northern Africa, and in Southern Italy. The liturgy of St. Basil is used in nearly the same places, but on certain exceptional days. And as these rites are used by Catholics in full communion with Rome, no question need be asked as to the doctrine to which they bear witness.

The Nestorian liturgies, derived from that of St. James, and the Coptic liturgies, derived from St. Mark's, all agree in the general characteristics of the other Eastern liturgies already referred to. Rev. M. Badger in his *History of the Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii., p. 169, after quoting very fully from the text of the liturgy, says: 'The above extracts most unequivocally prove, that the Nestorians believe the *Supper* of the Lord to be a *real* partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, and not a bare sign of Christian discipleship. According to them, the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist is the sign *not of an absent* thing, *but of the real presence* of the Saviour.' And Butler in his *Ancient Coptic Churches*, vol. ii., p. 296, says: 'The doctrine of the Real Presence, of the change of the bread and wine into the very Body and Blood of our Lord, is held by the Copts in its most physical literalness.' Some Protestant writers quote against the Real Presence and transubstantiation a Jacobite liturgy, *The Ethiopic Canon* (of which probably Mr. Olden knows nothing), on the ground, that at the Consecration the words are: *This bread is My Body, this cup is My Blood*. But the very liturgy which seems to supply the argument most effectually disproves it; for at the Communion, the priest says: 'This is the Body, holy, true, of our Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ,' and 'This is the Blood, precious, true, of our Lord, our God and Saviour, Jesus Christ;' and the people answer: 'Amen.' The priest then continues: 'Amen, for this is the Body and Blood of Emmanuel, our very God. Amen, I believe, I believe, I believe, and confess unto the last breath, that this is the Body and Blood of our Lord our God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, which He took of our Lady, the holy and pure

Virgin Mary.'¹ This liturgy is clearly a two-edged sword in the hands of a Protestant.

Now all these venerable liturgies teach the Catholic doctrine on the Real Presence, and on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass as clearly, as unmistakably as it is contained in the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. Our Lord's own words are used at Consecration; the adoration by the people shows that they believed in His *Real Presence* after Consecration: the words used in giving and receiving, Holy Communion express the same faith, and it is still further confirmed by the prayers of thanksgiving. There is therefore, no room left for doubt or equivocation as to the faith which these venerable liturgies teach. Is Mr. Olden prepared to accept that teaching as the logical consequence of his appeal to them? Does his 'Church of Ireland' accept that teaching? The Articles of that Church, which Mr. Olden is bound to teach, and is supposed to believe, supply the answer: a most emphatic *No*. She does not, and never did teach it; and she will not allow Mr. Olden to teach it, in the very improbable supposition of his attempting to do so. No doubt the 'Words of Institution' are used in the Communion Service; but besides the fact, that the words are used by one who has no power to consecrate, an explanation is added which robs them of their proper meaning. The communicant is reminded that he is 'receiving *these* thy creatures of *bread and wine*.' He is invited to 'take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died' for him; to 'drink in remembrance,' &c. And the Twenty-eighth Article tells him, that 'Transubstantiation . . . is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, and overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions . . . the body of Christ is given, eaten, and taken in the Supper *only* after an heavenly and *spiritual manner*;' not therefore *really* taken at all. And the Thirty-first Article further informs him that 'the Sacrifices of Masses were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.' And lest the communicant may, after all this precaution, be

¹ Brighman, *Easter Liturgies*, p. 238.

unduly reverent, he is reminded by a declaration that reads like a police magistrate's warrant, that though he receives kneeling, 'it is hereby declared, that thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental *bread or wine* there *bodily received*, or unto any *corporal presence* of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' Nothing therefore can be more clear than, that Mr. Olden's Church of Ireland has apostatized from the faith of the Eastern Churches regarding the great central act of Christian worship. Those Eastern Churches, schismatic as well as orthodox, have always believed in the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and in our Lord's Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist. Mr. Olden's Church of Ireland, inconsistent in almost everything, has been consistent and persistent in her rejection, in her hatred of this doctrine. Again, then, Mr. Olden's own witnesses bear testimony against him, and condemn him.

The Oriental liturgies and rituals also, supply abundant proof of the antiquity of many other Catholic doctrines, such as *devotion to the Blessed Virgin*, *prayers for the dead*, *the number and nature of the sacraments*, all which Mr. Olden's Church rejects and condemns. And yet this upstart of yesterday, with a false crest and a forged pedigree, claims direct descent from that venerable early Church whose doctrines she has abandoned, whose devotional practices she has libelled and ridiculed, and whenever she had the power, sternly and cruelly suppressed. But in thus appealing to St. Polycarp and to the early liturgies Mr. Olden seems to forget that it was not in St. Polycarp's time, but two hundred years later that St. Patrick came to Ireland. And, therefore, the proper course for one like him who admits the baneful effect of time on theology—one who is fallible in theory as well as in practice—is to determine what was the faith in Gaul when St. Patrick came thence to Ireland. St. Martin, St. German, St. Hilary, St. Lupus, are competent, reliable witnesses, on this point. They were the great teachers of St. Patrick's time, and they remain amongst the foremost champions of Roman primacy.

Mr. Olden's appeal, then, to Eastern liturgies refutes

his theory of 'Eastern origin.' He is a stranger to the faith which those liturgies teach. He wants the key to their interpretation. He accordingly misunderstands them, misrepresents them. What can he know of Jerusalem, being a Samaritan? But in treating of the Reformation he ought to be more at home. In it he lives, and moves, and has his being. He ought to know its history, its spirit, its literature. And yet his views on it are but the old, old story, awkwardly told. The Church in Ireland had been completely 'Romanized,' that is, corrupted. Henry VIII., in the discharge of his mission as head of the Church in *spirituals* as well as in temporals, undertook to reform us. He sent some zealous missionaries, clerical and lay, amongst us. Nearly all the bishops, and most of the better class of Irishmen, gladly received the New Gospel and submitted to the new head of the Church in Parliament and out of it; and our reformation would have been whole and perfect had not Henry fallen a victim, too early, to his zeal and apostolic labours. Edward VI., a sickly boy, was unable to do much for our spiritual wants, but Elizabeth completed the good work of her saintly father, and when by her and by her godly agents all Roman accretions were swept away, Mr. Olden's 'Church' stood forth in all its glory and beauty, the legitimate heir of the Early Irish Church, her continuity unbroken, her doctrine and discipline the same as St. Patrick himself had left us. This would be a consoling theory for Mr. Olden if it had even a semblance of truth. It is, however, a forlorn hope now for this writer, or for any writer to attempt to white-wash the so-called Reformation and its agents in Ireland. And it is difficult to comprehend the audacity of those who call the outburst of bad passions in the sixteenth century by the name of Reformation, and who, while professing to write its history, pass over all the crimes and scandals that mark every step of its progress amongst us. Reformation, indeed! What bitter memories start up to the Irish Catholic on the mere mention of that much perverted word?

Their plundered homes, their ruined shrines . . .

Their priesthood hunted down like wolves, their country
overthrown.

This is the Reformation which Mr. Olden cautiously ignores—very unwisely, however, for the State Papers are there, now accessible to all, to give their cruel, merciless, and damning evidence against Mr. Olden's apostles. The word Reformation implies improvement. And in what department, religious, moral, or material, were the people improved by the spiritual agents of Henry and Elizabeth? Truths revealed by God were repealed by a Parliament venal, corrupt, and cowardly; priests and bishops who had broken their vows were sent to sow the seeds of scandal amongst our people, and our people were plundered to support and pamper the evil-doers. If this be Reformation, no doubt we have had over-doses of it in Ireland. Browne, Staples, Bale, Curwen, and Loftus, are the spiritual fathers of Mr. Olden's Church, and the original sin of her descent from them is indelible on her brow. The whole history of these men shows how little the souls of Irishmen concerned them. To secure and amass property was their sole aim. To gratify their unholy ambition whole provinces were made desolate; blood flowed in torrents, and famine stalked through the land, and still the apostolic cry was for fresh measures of repression, additional penal laws. So grossly indifferent were they to clerical duties that Henry VIII., bad as he was, had to censure Browne and Staples for their misconduct, and like charges were brought against their spiritual guides by Elizabeth's ministers, Sydney, Spenser, and Mountjoy. And Mr. Olden's 'Church of Ireland' is just what these men made her—a creature of the State, a time-server, without mission, jurisdiction or orders, with no more a Divine authority than an Insurance Company or a Poor Law Board.

When Henry VIII. sought to get the Irish to acknowledge him as Pope, Mr. Olden tells us that 'it was important that such a proposal should be made by one of high position and character.'¹ In almost consecutive lines he tells us that George Browne, the new Apostle, was a 'Dominican monk' and a 'Provincial of the Augustinian Order.' This,

¹ Page 295.

however, is only a specimen of Mr. Olden's predominant passion for misquotation. Browne was an Augustinian, and no credit to that body; but there was a Judas among the Apostles. Browne's mission was to get the Irish to renounce Papal Supremacy, and to accept in its stead the divine headship of Henry VIII.; also to confiscate the property of the Religious Orders, to fill the King's exchequer, and to glut the greed of his agents, lay and clerical, in Ireland. He soon found that his mission was not an easy one. Dr. Cromer, the Primate, would not listen to any change, Browne says in a letter to Cromwell, and nearly all the bishops were of the same view. The priests, regular and secular, were equally obstinate, and 'the common people,' he says, 'of this Island are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in the truth in the beginning of the Gospel.'¹ He then suggests the holding of a Parliament, in order that his own zeal and eloquence may be rendered more persuasive by the gentle stimulant of penal laws. The Parliament was called; it was completely packed. No member was summoned from an Irish district, and no one of Irish blood and birth would be allowed to sit in it, even if elected. The clerical proctors, from whom opposition was anticipated, were carefully excluded. Even Mr. Olden admits the character of this 'reforming' Parliament. 'The Parliament was essentially English, for no native Irish layman could sit in it.'² This Parliament would have repealed the 'Ten Commandments' had Henry so ordered. Of course, Papal Supremacy was set aside, and an Act passed declaring that 'the King, his heirs, and successors, should be supreme head on earth, of the Church of Ireland.'³ Mr. Olden's 'Church' has reason to be proud of its first *Head* and of its first founders. No one knew better than Dr. Browne that Henry would never have figured as *Head* of any Church if the Pope would only consent to his divorce. The motive, therefore, was not very exalted, and Browne's argument in the Parliament was worthy of this motive. 'He that will not pass this Act, as

¹ Sept. 6, A.D. 1535.² Page 297.³ Page 292.

I do, is no true subject of his Highness,' said the new reformer. And so too said the Jewish rabble on a more memorable occasion. And this conduct is in strict accordance with Browne's character as drawn by his own colleagues, who knew him best. He was a priest, vowed to celibacy, and yet he lived in concubinage, as did also his brother-reformers, Staples, Bale, and Lancaster. And it must be borne in mind that in thus giving loose reins to their passions the clerical reformers in Henry's time ran serious risks of incurring the displeasure of the 'Supreme Head,' who though not over rigid in his own case, would tolerate no departure from celibacy in his priests and bishops. This is clear from a letter of Henry to the Lord Deputy on October 8th, A.D. 1542. The devices by which their Lordships evaded Henry's law are more ingenious than creditable, if we are to believe Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who wrote at the time. He says:—

Against these kind of marriages, and maintenance of the same, King Henry in his later days made very sharp laws, whereupon many so married put over their women to servants, and other friends, who kept them as to bed and board, as their own wives. And after the death of King Henry they received them again with usury; that is, the children in the mean season begotten by the said friends, whom they took, called, and brought up as their own, as it was well known, as well in others, as in Browne, Archbishop of Dublin.²

Whether it was for his incontinence, or for neglect of duty, it is clear that Mr. Olden's 'eminent divine of character and position' did not come up to the expectations of the Supreme Head. Henry wrote to him, July 31st, 1537:—

The good opinion that we had conceived of you is in manner utterly frustrated, . . . all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you. Reform yourself therefore with this gentle advertisement, and do your duty towards God . . . and let it sink into your remembrance, that we be as able for the not doing thereof to remove you again . . . as we were at the beginning to prefer you.

A document of like character was sent to Staples on the same day.

² *Harpsfield on Marriages.*

Browne's reply is an admirable illustration of his 'position and character.' He tells Henry, in all humility, that he has got his letter, 'which perused did not only cause me to take fruitful and gracious monitions, but also made me to tremble in body, for fear of incurring your Majesty's displeasure.' And he assures Henry that he has done all in his power to promote the views of the Supreme Head,' and he wishes that 'the ground should open and swallow him' if he were remiss in carrying out Henry's intentions. What a precious specimen of a religious reformer is the contemptible creature who could write thus? And in his other letters to Henry and to Cromwell we have the same servile duplicity exhibited. While practically admitting his failure to make any but a bad impression on Irish Catholics, he seeks to lay the blame for his failure on others. Sometimes on the Lord Deputy Grey, sometimes on his colleague and countryman Staples, and sometimes on the obstinate superstition of the Irish. Lord Leonard Grey, in turn, calls Browne a 'pole-shorn knave,' whom he has frequently convicted of malicious falsehoods. But Staples is more explicit, and less flattering, in his estimate of his episcopal brother. In a letter to St. Leger, of June 17th, 1538, he says of Browne: 'That every honest man is not only weary thereof, but reckoneth that pride and arrogance hath ravished him from the right remembrance of himself . . . The common voice goeth that he doth abhor the Mass,' &c. Against one who said Mass, at least occasionally, this is a charge of gross hypocrisy and sacrilege, and there is no denying its truth. And the weight of the charge is not lessened by the well-known fact, that Staples himself was just as guilty as Browne in the matter. Staples suggests that an inquiry should be made into the Archbishop's conduct, and he suggests also some very inconvenient questions to be put to him, as to the alienating of the revenues, and lands of his see to his own children, &c. And in Browne's own hearing Staples denounced him from the pulpit, called him 'a heretic and a beggar,' and 'exhorted his hearers, and so much as in him lay he adjured them, to give no credence unto whatsoever

I [Browne] said, for afore God, he would not.'¹ This is an edifying specimen of brotherly love among Mr. Olden's spiritual fathers.

But let us hear another of those apostolic men on the character of 'the first Protestant Bishop.' Bale of Ossory attributes the 'wickedness' of his own clergy to the 'lewed example of the Archbishop of Dublin, who is always slack in things pertaining to God's glory.' But he was worse than slack:—'An epicurious archbishop, a dissembling proselyte, a brockish swine, a glutton, a drunkard, a hypocrite, a frequent supporter of bawds.'²

We have not Dr. Browne's estimate of Bale, nor indeed is it necessary. Out of his own mouth he can be judged. He was an ex-Carmelite, and he imitated Browne in breaking his vows, and thus qualified himself to be a pillar of the Irish Reformation. No respectable historian defends him. It would be hopeless to attempt it. His clergy need not come to Dublin for bad example. That, he himself abundantly supplied. Wharton says of him: 'I know Bale to be so great a liar that I am not willing to take his judgment against any man to whom he is opposed.' Even Dr. Mant is unable to defend him. In fact, the common estimate of him amongst respectable Protestants is that so tersely and so forcibly expressed by Froude, that he is a 'foul-mouthed ruffian,' 'the most profane and indecent of the Reformation party.' Dr. Christmas, who edited Bale's works for the Parker Society, admits in his preface that much of his writing is unfit for publication. A hopeful specimen of the Protestant apostolate!

We have Browne's estimate of Staples, whom he charges in his letter to Allen with 'divers irregularities;' and, referring to Staples' denunciation of himself, he says, 'he made a comment without all honest shame even before mine own eyes, present at his sermon, with such a stomach, that I think the three-mouthed Cerberus of Hell could not have uttered it more viperously.'³ Like Browne, Staples was an

¹ Browne to Allen, April 15th, 1738.

³ April 15th, 1538.

² *Bale's Vocation.*

English priest who had broken his vows, and lived in public sin; who squandered the property of his see to support his many children; who pretended to say Mass piously under Henry VIII. and ridiculed the Mass under Edward VI. Such are Mr. Olden's spiritual fathers on their own testimony. Such being the first builders of his 'Church of Ireland,' it is no wonder that the work was slow and the edifice unsightly. The touch of such men would blight the best cause. Mr. Olden admits that little progress was made under Henry, and none under Edward. On the accession of Mary a Commission was appointed to investigate the conduct of Mr. Olden's apostles. Browne, Bale, Staples, and Lancaster, were deprived of their sees for having married in violation of their vows of celibacy, and in defiance of the Church's law, and the entire fraternity 'left the country for the country's good.'

It is to Elizabeth's reign, and to her Irish Parliament of A.D. 1560, that Mr. Olden and his friends must look for the founding of their 'Church of Ireland.' A Parliament, he says, was summoned 'to set up the worship of God, as it is in England.'¹ The Reformation was adopted by the lay and clerical members. Two bishops who refused to conform were deprived of their sees. The Church thus reformed itself, and the reformed bishops transmitted their succession unbroken, though the livings somewhat impaired, to the next generation of bishops. And thus we have in Mr. Olden's convenient theory, the Protestant Church of to-day coming down in unbroken succession from the ancient Church of St. Patrick. The only change he admits is one of recent date, and of decided advantage—*Disestablishment*—by which he says 'she has regained her original freedom,' and many other blessings besides. Mr. Olden has 'vested rights,' and may on that account be able to take a more dispassionate view of the advantages of 'disestablishment,' but it is not so clear that his less fortunate brethren take precisely the same view.

He admits that his views regarding the Parliament of

¹ Page 323.

A.D. 1560 have been 'recently denied,' but he holds that the verdict of history for three centuries is on his side; in fact, that from Bramhall's 'day to the present no doubt has ever been expressed as to the action' of the bishops in the Parliament of A.D. 1560. Mr. Olden's appeal is to history like his own, written in ignorance or in defiance of facts. Mr. Olden's theory of that Parliament has been during the period he refers to, repeatedly denied, and frequently refuted. And in our times Mr. Froude, a Low-Church layman, and Dr. Brady, a High-Church clergyman, have examined his theory, and his statement is pronounced by Froude to be 'the most impudent falsehood in all history;' and in this verdict Dr. Brady fully concurs. Cardinal Moran, whose extensive knowledge, great industry, and unrivalled opportunities, give special weight to his judgment, has examined Mr. Olden's theory and demolished it. And Dr. M'Carthy, the late learned Bishop of Kerry, examined that theory, with that accuracy and logical precision for which he was remarkable, and his verdict is this:—

Of the canonically elected Irish bishops from 1536 to 1600, it has not been proved for certain that any one apostatized but Curwen of Dublin and Staples of Meath. Of the seventeen archbishops, during the same period, two, and at most four (including Browne), favoured the Reformation by word or deed. Of contemporary bishops, who at the lowest calculation could have been little less than fifty in number, three (including Devereux) abandoned the faith, and five or six wavered, or shrunk from the pressure of merciless persecution. Through these ten unfaithful servants the Establishment derives its descent from the ancient Church of Ireland. Had their conformity been as free, dispassionate, and disinterested, as we know it to have been forced, uncanonical, and corrupt; had it been the result of honest conviction, the fruit of zeal in the service of God, and not the effect of lawless tyranny, bribes, threats, avarice, and lust; had the chief agents to the change been as distinguished for piety as they were for profligacy, their adhesion to the reformed creed could be no more regarded as the act of the Catholic bishops of their time than that sect which boasts of being blessed by them can now be regarded as the Church of the Irish people.

Whether the bishops then in Ireland did or did not accept Elizabeth's creed, is a matter of merely historical

interest. In reality it concerns only the individuals themselves. If all the bishops of 1560 had apostatized, would the apostasy of the many reflect greater credit on the Church they are said to have founded than the apostasy of the few? If Mr. Olden's spiritual fathers be apostates, who through fear of punishment abandoned their faith, is his position made better because the apostates numbered thirty rather than three? Suppose (what is improbable in the extreme) that a number of Mr. Olden's bishops should join the Catholic Church, and having made due provision for their wives and children, and in other ways satisfied the requirements of Canon Law, had been raised through the various orders up to and including the Episcopate, would those neophytes bring with them into the Catholic Church all the temporal rights and privileges of the Church they had left; and would the Catholic Church to which they had submitted be the legitimate heir, in all things, of the Protestant Church which they had abandoned? Mr. Olden, no doubt, will answer *No*. And if he answer *No* in this case, why does he answer *Yes* when there is question of the apostasy of Catholic bishops? And if the bishop had apostatized, Pius IV., in 1560, held the divine commission to teach and rule as fully as it was held by Pope Celestine in 432. He therefore, or any of his successors, could repair the evils done by schism or heresy. A Commission that is proof against the 'Gates of Hell,' could not lose its efficacy through Elizabeth's tyranny, or through the cruelty and treachery of her officials.

But in Mr. Olden's theory the apostasy of the bishops is a matter of vital importance in order that the apostolic succession may be transmitted and preserved in his 'Church of Ireland.' 'It is important,' he says, 'to vindicate the regularity of Loftus' consecration,'¹ and there is no reason to doubt that the consecration of Loftus was duly performed, and by the proper number of bishops."² It may, indeed, be '*important*,' but it is *impossible* to 'vindicate' the consecration of Loftus. Curwen, his consecrator, was a bishop,

¹ Page 326.

² Page 329.

and he may or may not have had assistant bishops on the occasion ; but a bishop does not consecrate by an act of his will. Valid *matter* and *form* are by divine appointment necessary, and at the consecration of Loftus the Ordinal of Edward VI. was used. That Ordinal was insufficient, *invalid*, and therefore the consecration of Loftus was invalid, null, and void, and Loftus was not a bishop, no matter what the number of bishops present on the occasion. The same is true, and for the same cause, of Bale and Goodacre in A.D. 1552. An *ordination* or *consecration* by Loftus, or by anyone whose so-called orders are traceable to him, is simply an empty-handed proceeding which can convey no priestly character, no spiritual gifts. And when in A.D. 1662, controversy had shown the worthlessness of the Anglican Ordinal, and thus led to its amendment, there was then no bishop in the establishment who had himself been validly *ordained* or *consecrated* ; and therefore no one that could validly ordain or consecrate. This is the inheritance that has come down to Mr. Olden's 'Church of Ireland : ' no orders, no mission, no jurisdiction, except such as an Act of Parliament can give. It is a 'Church' without a sacrifice, without a priesthood, without an episcopate ; an impossibility, according to St. Jerome. No one, Mr. Olden fancies, questioned the orders of Irish Protestant bishops ! Evidently he knows nothing of the literature on the subject. Had he consulted *Arsdekin's Theologia Tripartita*, or the *Cursus Theologicus* of Poncius, or Dr. Talbot's *De Nullitate Ecclesiae Protestanticae ejusque Cleri*, he would feel by no means flattered by their estimate of his *orders*. Moreover, Irish Protestantism was regarded as a small and insignificant offshoot of the English Establishment. And the assailants of Protestant orders directed their attacks against the more important branch of the sect, and such writers regarded, and rightly regarded, the orders of Irish Protestants as involved in the condemnation of Anglican orders.

Mr. Olden's case for his bishops is certainly an extraordinary one. 'The question,' he says, with regard to the Marian bishops is not whether they accepted the reformed

doctrines, but whether they complied with the law by taking the oath of supremacy . . . This was what she required, and she was not concerned with their private opinions.'¹ This is 'the unkindest cut of all' for his spiritual fathers! A certain number of bishops who did not believe in Protestant doctrines swore they did believe, in order to retain their livings; and by their false swearing they transmitted to Mr. Olden's 'Church of Ireland' all the powers and privileges of orthodoxy; by the very act of perjury they purified and reformed the Church! He is not flattering in his estimate of them; but, in reality, his character is the only one merited by those whom he can justly claim as Reformers, as their own words prove. Hugh Curwen was appointed Archbishop of Dublin in A.D. 1555, by Queen Mary. How she could have selected him, considering his action on the divorce question, is surprising. But though he was prepared to denounce Papal supremacy under Henry, he was equally ready to enforce it under Mary. At Mary's death the real character of this theological weather-cock became known. He took a wife in violation of his vows, and openly renounced the Catholic faith. He does not appear to have ever felt at home in Dublin. He was anxious for a better living and less work. Brady, of Meath, calls him 'an unprofitable servant;' and Loftus repeats the charge, and adds worse charges still. Loftus, though Archbishop of Armagh, lived in Dublin, enjoying there the rich deanery of St. Patrick's.

He probably never visited Armagh, being unwilling to risk his life among the followers of Shane O'Neill. From the very date of his appointment he was seeking the removal of Curwen that he might himself secure the see of Dublin. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking the influence of that functionary for Curwen's removal, Loftus describes his brother of Dublin as a 'known enemy, and laboured under many crimes, which although he shamed not to do, I am almost ashamed to speak.'² And in a letter to Cecil, Oct. 5, 1556, he says of Curwen: 'I say in open judgment he

¹ Page 327.

² Strype's *Life of Parkes*, vol. i., p. 221.

swears terribly, and it not once or twice. I beseech your honour is it not *time that such a one be removed*; and with dove-like simplicity he adds: 'I beseech your honour, for *Jesus Christ, His sake, that my suit for the Bishopric of Dublin be furthered by your honour.*' Curwen was removed to Oxford, in 1567, and Loftus gained his coveted prize—the see of Dublin. Irish Catholics remember Loftus as the man who tortured Archbishop Hurley—who, in a State letter to Walsingham recommended that Dr. Hurley should be sent to the Tower of London, and for two reasons—(1st) lest he may be rescued in Dublin; and (2nd) because the instruments of torture in Dublin were not sufficient to terrify him: and who, though the Dublin crown lawyers held that Dr. Hurley could not be tried by common law, put him to torture and to death without any trial by any law. But if Loftus was a persecutor of the Catholic Church he was a scandal to his own. Avarice appears to have been his predominant passion. Harris Ware says of him, 'Besides his promotions in the Church, and his public employment in the State, he grasped at everything that became void.' And he opposed the conversion of St. Patrick's Church with its revenues into an endowed University; on this ground Harris says: 'For being greatly interested in the livings of that Church by long leases and other estates thereof to himself, his children or kinsmen.' From a letter of February 5, 1587, in vol. 128 of the State papers, we learn that Loftus had a very large family; and from a letter in vol. 85, dated September 12, 1581, we learn how his Grace made ample provision for this numerous progeny of five sons and seven daughters. Loftus managed to secure for himself a large share in the profits of the notorious *Court of Faculties*—a court which, according to Primate Long, was sending 'young and old, clergy and laity, in a wild gallop to the devil.'¹

Andrew Trallope, who was sent by Walsingham as a court spy on the Irish officials, complains of the avarice of Loftus, and of his malpractices in connection with the Court of

¹ *Long to Walsingham*, Jan. 20, 1535. *State Papers*, vol. 114.

Faculties, and he says of Brady of Meath that though 'married to a very honest woman he is nevertheless a man of so loose life that he kept a harlot in his house.'¹

It is painful to have to wade through so much mire to unearth the real character of the men whom Mr. Olden holds up as models of virtue and instruments in God's hands for the reformation of our people. Their own words prove them to be one and all hypocrites steeped in nameless crimes, lying, avaricious, cruel, immoral, cringing creatures of the State ;—their sole aim being to amass money by the plunder of Irish Catholics.

And the clergy of the lower orders were worthy disciples of their spiritual superiors. Spenser, who knew them well, says : 'The clergy there, excepting those grave fathers which are in high places about the State, and some few others which are lately planted in the New College, are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.' And of the English contingent he says, specially : 'They are either unlearned or men of bad note, for which they have forsaken England. Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England you may find there, and many more—namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshy incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen.'² And Andrew Trallope whose character of Loftus and Brady has been already given, gives his experience of inferior ministers as follows : 'He had lately arrived in Ireland and in his first communication to Walsingham he says : 'I know but few ministers in Ireland, yet one of them a common table player and ale-house hunter—which can scarce read the service—had three benefices. How he serveth them I know not. I have been credibly told there hath been Mass said in one of these since he had them.'³ And after five years' experience of them, he says : 'With long experience and some extraordinary trial of these fellows, I cannot find whether the most of them loved lewed women, cards, dice, or drink best.'⁴

Such, on the testimony of their own friends, were the

¹ Letter Sept. 12, 1581. *State Papers*, vol. 85.

² *View of Ireland*, pp. 142-3 ; Dublin Ed., 1809.

³ Sept. 12, 1581.

⁴ Dec. 5, 1536.

builders of Mr. Olden's 'Church of Ireland'; and their work was worthy of them. By their fruits they can be judged. They plundered Irish Catholics, certainly, but they did not pervert them. All the resources of a powerful nation, and of a cruel unscrupulous Government, were at the command of the preachers. Persecution and bribery were alternately tried to force or seduce Irish Catholics into apostasy. But all to no purpose. They would not listen to Elizabeth's immoral preachers; and so at the close of her reign, after forty years devoted to 'reforming' us, her own lieutenants sum up the result thus. Spenser says in A.D. 1596—'They be all Papists by their profession.' And Trallope had said of them a few years earlier, writing from Dublin: 'All judges of the law, Her Majesty's Chancellor (John Bathe), and barons of the Exchequer, and counsels learned, and such as execute inferior offices (with few exceptions) were Irishmen, and *Papists as all Irishmen be*.'¹ And if such was the success of the 'Reformation' in Dublin, what are we to expect in those remote districts where 'the Queen's writ did not run'? Sir Henry Sydney told Elizabeth, in 1576, 'that upon the face of the earth where Christ is preached, there is not a church in so miserable a case.' Sir W. Drury, Lord President of Munster, writing from Waterford (April 16, 1577), says: 'Masses infinite they have in their several churches every morning. I have spied them as I chanced to arrive last Sunday at 5 in the clock in the morning, and saw them resort out of the churches by heaps. *This is shameful in a reformed city*.' Nothing, therefore is more clear than that the efforts made so persistently in Elizabeth's reign to force Protestantism upon Ireland ended in miserable failure. The agents in this unholy work themselves proclaim their failure. In language often coarse, profane, and indecent, they reveal their apostolic spirit. Day after day, and year after year, their constant cry was for fresh means of coercion, fresh engines of oppression: and such was their practical zeal, the cry was always accompanied by a reminder that the labourer was worthy of his hire. And not content with plundering

¹ Letter to Walsingham, Sept. 12, 1581.

Irish Catholics, they sought to rob them of their fair fame by representing them as a nation of apostates, and all this that the missionaries may be duly rewarded. But the curse of sterility was upon them, and in spite of repeated 'Acts of Conformity; in spite of persecution, coercion and confiscation; 'in spite of dungeon, fire and sword,' our people were as Catholic on the day when Elizabeth was called to her judgment as on the day when she was called to the throne. This was the result of what Froude calls an 'attempt to force a religion upon them [the Irish] which had not a single honest advocate in the whole nation.'¹ 'The Mass,' says Lecky, 'was made illegal; the churches and church revenues were taken from the priests, but the benefices were filled with adventurers without religious zeal and sometimes without common morality.'² Yes, all this happened, but the people of Ireland continued 'unchanged and unchangeable' in their attachment to their faith, and their spiritual wants were supplied by priests, to whom one of their deadliest enemies is forced to pay the following tribute:—

Whereas it is a great wonder to see the odds which are between the zeal of Popish priests and the ministers of the Gospel. For they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travelling hither, where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward or riches are to be found, only to draw the people into the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle ministers having a way for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them without pains and without peril, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, nor zeal of religion, nor for all the good they may do by winning souls to God, be drawn from their warm nests to look out into God's harvest.*

And the same curse of sterility has ever since pursued Mr. Olden's 'Church of Ireland.' Jones and Ussher, and Bramhall and King, and Mant and Plunket and Whately have each in their day made an involuntary confession of their failure to detach Irish Catholics from their faith and bring them to the tenets of Protestantism. And the spirit of hostility to Ireland which that Church imbibed from Loftus, and Bale, and Curwen, animates it still. With a

¹ *History of England*, vol. x., p. 298. ² *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 100.

* *Spenser's View of Ireland*, p. 254; Dublin Ed., 1810.

few honourable exceptions amongst its clergy and lay members, the whole weight and influence of that Church has been on the side of the oppressor. It has been pampered to paralysis. Catholic charities have been perverted from their original purposes ; the soil of Ireland has been repeatedly confiscated ; penal laws, as bad as those of Diocletian, have disgraced England's statute book ; Irish Catholics have been, in their poverty, compelled to support the ministers of a religion which they loathed, and have been shot down for refusing to pay the hateful impost ;—and all this has been done to create amongst us, and to maintain a Protestant ascendancy, which has always been the ascendancy of the few ;—the ascendancy of a mere faction over the great mass of the people of Ireland. To this wretched ascendancy Mr. Olden gives the nice name of 'Church of Ireland,' and he professes to write its history. But it is history made to order : not taken from authentic, reliable sources, or founded on facts. He does not tell the real character of the 'Reformers,' or of their work. To do so would only spoil his picture, and would, moreover, shock those pious Protestant ladies who do the greater part of the missionary work in Mr. Olden's 'Church' in our time.

But the picture has been drawn by others who hated the Catholic Church quite as much as Mr. Olden does. Some of them—and the number could be multiplied a hundred-fold—have been quoted in this paper, and the outlines drawn by them of Mr. Olden's 'Church' are, to-day, as indelible upon it as the spots on the leopard. Anti-Irish, servile, avaricious, cruel, barren, it has always been. It has thriven on the miseries of the Irish people. It has for three hundred years made peace and prosperity impossible in Ireland. It has neither edified the living, consoled the dying, nor succoured the dead. It was created for political ends, was maintained as a political engine, and political expediency doomed it to destruction. The power that had pampered it cast it aside as worse than useless ; and the head of England's Protestant Parliament sealed its fate by the memorable words, 'Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground ?'

J. MURPHY.

THE BULL 'APOSTOLICAE CURAE:' REPLY OF THE ANGLICAN ARCHBISHOPS

I.

THE Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury and of York have made their reply to the Pope. It is well to have a statement of their own case from such eminent authorities, and it may fairly be taken for granted that it has not lost for want of advocacy. There does not, however, appear to be any new argument advanced, nor has anything material escaped the attention of the Roman Court. The Pope has delivered his solemn judgment on a matter clearly within the scope of his authority. 'Ordinations carried on according to the Anglican rite have been, and are, absolutely null and utterly void.' To this judgment every member of the Catholic Church gives a loyal assent. The reasons for the decision are set forth in clear and simple language, and, apart from the authority which the judgment itself carries, a calm examination of the reasons cannot fail to bring conviction to an unprejudiced mind. It is an agreeable duty to consider the theological arguments of the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, and it is a decided advantage to read side by side with it the elaborate reply of the heads of the Anglican Communion. For Catholics, it is only a theological exercise; to Anglicans, it is a matter of their existence as a Church. The presence, no doubt, of valid orders in any community is not a sufficient guarantee that it belongs to the Church founded by Christ. The Nestorians and other heretical sects of the East, as the Donatists of old, have valid orders. They are not, however, of the true Church. But the absence of valid orders demonstrates the want of title to be regarded as the true Church, or even belonging to it. For Anglicans, then, this is a serious question, and it is fully recognised to be such by the two Archbishops, when they state that 'the duty of reply cannot be discharged without a certain deep and strong emotion.'

Nor did Leo XIII. undertake to examine the question of Anglican Orders without deep feelings of sympathy and consideration for those most intimately concerned. The Encyclical *Satis cognitum*, and the Bull itself are evidences of his apostolic care and anxiety, and even tenderness of feeling. In a recent Allocution to the Cardinals he says:—

No other motive than that of removing one of the obstacles to the desired unity induced us to give a decision recently on the theological value of Anglican ordination, . . . If our words could reach the ears of those sons of the British Empire who do not share our faith, we would wish to conjure them by the infinite compassion of Jesus Christ not to entertain false apprehensions and suspicions, and to believe that the inflexibility of duty alone dictated our decision, which is merely the enunciation of a sincere and definite truth.¹

The reply of the Archbishops reciprocates the feelings of the Pope. It is courteous and respectful, and from this point of view does credit to its authors, and is likely to have a good effect in smoothing the roughness of some controversial methods. There is no doubt a decided difference between Catholicism and Anglicanism. Yet it is undeniable that, as the Reply states, the difference arises from a diverse interpretation of the selfsame Gospel; and is it not a gain on this ground—namely, in defence of the selfsame Gospel—that a united stand can be made against the inroads of modern paganism? The differences of Faith, of Government, and of Worship still remain. Notwithstanding those differences, there can be reasonable and calm discussion of them, and in this respect it is pleasing, indeed, to turn from the many unbecoming replies which the papal pronouncement evoked to this one which speaks so reverently of Leo XIII., whom so many millions of Christians regard as Christ's Vicar on earth, and whose voice from his prison in the Vatican cannot be seriously disregarded, even by those who do not own his sway. He is not here designated by opprobrious names borrowed from the Apocalypse: he is styled 'our most venerable brother.' There is a kindly

¹ *The Catholic Times*, March 12, 1897.

acknowledgment that the things he has written are sometimes very true, and always written in good will. 'We also gladly declare,' it is said, 'that there is much in his own person that is worthy of love and reverence.'

But in the Reply there are many things which are unique, and there are several inaccuracies. It is addressed 'to the whole body of the bishops of the Catholic Church;' that is to say, not only to the Catholic Bishops properly so called, but also to all those of the dissenting Churches, whether in the East or in the West. This is a sufficiently wide constituency, and a large court of appeal. The address may sound well, and to some may be evidence of breadth of view, but why should an appeal be made to those who have already tried the case? There is a new meaning put on the phrase 'Catholic Church' to suit a visionary idea. The bishops of the Russian Church cannot with any propriety be called bishops of the Catholic Church, nor do they so call themselves; neither is it a proper designation of the Greek Church. The language is not recognised. Why, then, have recourse to it? The Pope has declared Anglican Orders null and void, and all the bishops owning his jurisdiction re-echo his declaration with a universal affirmative. The Churches of the East reject Anglican pretensions to a valid priesthood. The Jansenists have been already appealed to, and after due inquiry, as late as 1894, pronounced that 'their [Anglican] Church is a congregation of laymen without either deacons, priests, or bishops.'¹ What, therefore, is the meaning of this cosmopolitan appeal? It only adds emphasis to Anglican isolation.

But have we in the reply an authentic statement of Anglicanism? *The Guardian* and *Church Times* regard it as such: *The Rock*, and it has a right to speak, calls the letter an 'astounding' one: it is 'unhistorical and ridiculous;' and it is clear that 'the bishops, with few exceptions, intend deliberately to undo the doctrinal Reformation in its most essential aspects.' The language is strong. Dr. Ryle, Anglican Bishop of Liverpool, must be one of the

¹ *De la Validité des ordinations Anglicanes.* Rotterdam, 1885.

few exceptions referred to, for he is sufficiently Low-church and anti-Sacerdotalist for *The Rock*.

Our manner of conceiving the office of a minister of Christ [says Dr Ryle] is very different from that of the Pope. On the one hand, the ecclesiastic of the Roman Church is a true priest, whose principal office is to offer the sacrifice of the Mass. On the other hand, the ecclesiastic of the Anglican Church is in no wise a priest, although we call him such ; he is only an elder whose principal office is not to offer a material sacrifice, but rather to preach the Word of God, and to administer the sacraments.¹

This is the Protestantism of the good old sort with its Bible, its Thirty-nine Articles, its Book of Common Prayer, its hatred of the Mass and the Altar ; it is the Protestantism of Cranmer and the framers of the Ordinal ; and unless one is willing to ignore contemporary facts, and to become a visionary, one cannot regard the views set out by the two Archbishops as authorized by the beliefs and worship of the Anglican communion, such as it is known to be, much less as representing the mind and intention of the framers of the Ordinal of Edward VI. In this respect the point of the Reply is blunted. Besides it argues on the basis that Holy Orders is a sacrament, and it takes for granted that Confirmation is likewise a sacrament ; but the Thirty-nine Articles and the Church Catechism speak of only two sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It is stated in the Reply that its object is 'to make plain for all time our doctrine about Holy Orders, and other matters appertaining to them.' The phrase, 'our doctrine,' is vague. It cannot mean, as has been shown, the doctrine of the Anglican Church. Is it, then, only the doctrine which the two Archbishops agree in holding ? What is its doctrinal authority ? If one consults Dr. Salmon, it is only to be measured by the capability of the teachers ; and it carries the same authority as if the two Archbishops were only teachers in some College or University.² There is no special guidance, nor is there any obligation to obey on

¹ *The Guardian*, Nov. 4, 1896 ; p. 1766.

² *Infallibility of the Church*. Lecture VII. By George Salmon, D.D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. London : John Murray.

the part of the members of the Anglican Church. Still, it looks like a definition of doctrine, especially when it is said that not only is the doctrine to be made plain, but to be made so 'for all time.' But have not Dr. Ryle, of Liverpool, and the Anglican Bishop of Sodor and Man, authority to state their doctrine on Holy Orders; and if some future Prime Minister, not in sympathy with sacerdotal tendencies in the Anglican Church, would nominate some one of the same views as these two to either York or Canterbury, would not they be within their right in making plain their doctrine regarding Holy Orders, and with the same propriety 'for all time'? But which should be regarded as the teaching of the Anglican Church?

There is, then, no authentic statement of the Anglican position. The Reply carries with it such weight as the personal authority of the Anglican Archbishops can give it—not that of the Anglican Church; and this is an important point in considering the force of the Archbishops' argument; for if the Anglican Church even still rejects every idea of a sacrificing priesthood, then it cannot have valid orders: it may have a ministry validly delegated by the civil authority; but there is no *Priesthood*.

It is a matter of some surprise to see the name of Dr. Temple attached to the Reply; for he has never been suspected of sacerdotalist tendencies, and one should not think of finding the author of the first essay in the famous 'Essays and Reviews' the joint author of so High Church a document. But the treatment of the question was bequeathed to him by his predecessor, Dr. Benson, who, we are told, had selected experts in theology and Church history to draw up the Reply.¹ It may be, then, that Dr. Temple had little to do with its composition. Some suggest that more idiomatic and elegant Latinity—for the reply is written in Latin as well as English—might be expected from a scholar like Dr. Temple, who is also an ex-headmaster.

¹ *The Guardian*, April 7, 1897. Letter of the Archbishop of York.

Anyhow, the inheritance was bequeathed to him, and it may not be in accordance with his tastes, though he had an obvious duty to discharge. The circumstances in which Dr. Benson handed down his wishes are pathetic, and even tragic, and throw considerable light on the obligation imposed on his successor. The late Archbishop of Canterbury had been in Ireland at the re-opening of the Protestant Cathedral of Kildare. There was much talk and considerable boasting at the gathering on that occasion of the ancient Church of Ireland, the Church of St. Patrick and St. Brigid, and of the Protestant claim to be regarded as the legitimate heir of the Church of St. Brigid at Kildare, and of the ancient Church of St. Patrick. The Papal Bull had just been issued, which practically stated that the Protestant hierarchy was only a body of laymen, and it gave its reasons. On the return of Dr. Benson to England, in the train between Carlisle and Chester, the first draft of a statement was made. It contained the promise of an early reply to the Pope's pronouncement. 'I write these,' says Dr. Benson, 'to say that a statement will shortly appear, which may, I hope, comfort any who think it is required. Infallibility has happily this time ventured on reasons.' Then he goes on to say what is his thesis:—'They [Anglican orders] are in origin, continuity, matter, form, intention, and all that belongs to them, identical with those of the Church of Rome.'¹

This is a sufficiently comprehensive statement; but it requires to be proved. It may suit very well to declaim about the ancient Church of Ireland, and to claim a distant lineage before an admiring and sympathetic audience, such as, no doubt, was assembled at Kildare on the occasion to which I refer; but here is a deliberate statement of doctrine, which, if false, completely overthrows the Anglican Church, and, of course, the so-called Church of Ireland, as by law established.

Dr. Benson, however, did not live to fulfil his promise. He died suddenly in Hawarden Church a short time after putting his last corrections to this statement, and it is a

¹ *Church Times*, Oct. 23, 1896.

matter of regret that he did not live to do as he had intended. The burden placed on his successor was a heavy one. There is no closing one's eyes to the points to be established. Dr. Benson has clearly marked them out. 'Anglican Orders are identical with those of the Church of Rome,' and they are identical 'in origin, continuity, matter, form, intention, and all that belongs to them.' This is the high-water mark of orthodoxy; yet Rome declares them null and void; and in this she is at one with both East and West; nor do the members of the Low Church and Broad Church in the Anglican communion hold in reality different views.

The Reply is an elaborate statement. It contains twenty sections, and it might have been considerably shortened, had irrelevant matter and some inaccuracies been omitted. The Latinity compares unfavourably with the graceful and idiomatic Latinity of the Letters of Leo XIII. It is overburdened with references and foot-notes, which, no doubt, show some research, but which tend to obscure the main point. In the Papal Bull, side issues are scrupulously avoided, and there is no evidence of effort, nor is there any display of erudition. It is the 'Anglican rite' which is defective. The defect is pointed out. The sacred order of the priesthood, or its grace and power, is not expressed: it is, on the contrary, deliberately cut out. Have Anglicans erased from their ordinal every vestige of a *sacrificing* priesthood? Do they believe in a Real objective Presence? Do they hold that what is offered is not bread and wine, but the Body and Blood of Christ really, truly, and substantially present under the appearances of bread and wine? There are vague references, no doubt, to a Eucharistic Sacrifice; but the simple question, which is all important,¹ is not definitely answered.

It may be well to point out what is irrelevant and inaccurate in the Anglican Reply, so that attention may then be more easily centred on the principal argument.

The first inaccuracy it is necessary to call attention to is the assertion that the Pope regards imposition of hands

¹ See I.E. RECORD, Dec., 1896.

as the matter of the Sacrament of Orders (Section VIII.). It is thus implied that the Pope has set his *imprimatur* on a special theological opinion. A little acquaintance with the procedure of the Roman Court would have caused this inaccuracy to be avoided. The opinion which regards imposition of hands as the matter of Holy Orders appears, no doubt, to be the common one; but there is another opinion. This state of theological opinion remains in the same position now as it was before the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, and the discipline of the Church, which ensures against risk, is unchanged. The safe course, when there is question of the validity of Holy Orders, is to be followed. But the Pope's statement is clear :—'The matter of which [Holy Orders] in so far as we have to consider it in this place, is the imposition of hands.'¹ It was desirable not to overload the Papal Letter with unnecessary considerations, so that the issue might be kept clear. Accordingly, it was sufficient to consider the imposition of hands alone, abstracting from any further question, as to the matter of Holy Orders.

A second inaccuracy which is made the subject matter of Section IV., is like the one already pointed :—

Nor do we desire to deny that in entering upon this controversy he [the Pope] has consulted the interests of the Church and of truth in throwing over the very vain opinion about the necessity of the delivery of the instruments, which was nevertheless widely accepted by scholastic theologians from the time of St. Thomas Aquinas up to that of Benedict XIV., and even up to the present day.

The object of this paragraph is evident : it is an effort to prejudice the case ; but the statement contained in it is not in accordance with facts. The Pope has not thrown over the opinion of St. Thomas : it simply does not enter into the consideration of the case ; it is the form which makes the difference, and which determines the Papal judgment.²

¹ Idque in Sacramento ordinis manifestius apparet, cujus conferendi materia, quatenus hoc loco se dat considerandam est impositio manuum.

² It is strange that Dr. Stokes of Trinity College, Dublin, says, and even persists in saying, not that the Pope has thrown over the question of the delivery of the instruments, but that 'the Bull proceeds on the assumption that the essential point of ordination is the delivery of the vessels.' What a curious difference of interpretation ! (*The Pope on Anglican Orders*, by George T. Stokes, D.D., Vicar of All Saints, Blackrock, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin; pp. 37-46.)

In the same section it is stated that the Pope 'has done well in neglecting other errors and fallacies.' The reference is, no doubt, to the question of Parker's and Barlow's consecrations, and the insinuation is that the Pope in neglecting those matters, thereby tacitly makes a decision. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Pope simply passes over these questions, and takes the evidence which was clear and unmistakable, namely, the insufficiency of the Anglican rite. This whole section might, therefore, with advantage, have been omitted.

Referring to the form of Holy Orders, the Reply says :—

Its [the Council of Trent] passing remark about the laying on of hands [Section XIV. on Extreme Unction], and its more decided utterance on the force of the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' which it seems to consider the form of order [Section XXIII. on the Sacraments of Order, Canon IV.] are satisfactory enough to us, and certainly are in no way repugnant to our feelings. (Sect. III.)

But the Council of Trent does not state that the form of Holy Orders is contained in the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost;' nor can that be inferred. The Canon of the Council of Trent is meant to show that the priesthood is not a mere delegation of the laity, but that something is conveyed from Christ and the Apostles which the people cannot give. Hence the ceremonial of ordination is not an empty one, and the rite is not performed vainly. It is one thing to say that by the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' the grace of the priesthood is conferred, which the Council of Trent does not say: it is quite another thing to state that by sacred ordination, in which the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' occur, the order of priesthood is given. No doubt there were some theologians who held as a speculative opinion that those words contained the form of ordination; but when asked how they could have a definite signification of the order of priesthood, or its grace and power, they answered that it was determined by the whole rite, which was intended to ordain a sacrificing priesthood. But this does not hold in the case of the Anglican Ordinal, for every vestige of a sacrificing priesthood has been cut out of it. There will be a question later on as to whether words

which occur in the form can be determined by anything outside the essential rite. It is clear that words which cannot bear the necessary meaning cannot be so determined. The question arises in regard only to words which may have that meaning.

It is difficult to understand why the subject of confirmation was introduced and treated throughout Section X. Everyone knows there is a speculative discussion concerning what is the matter, and, consequently, the form of confirmation; but practically there is no controversy, for the safer view is always followed in order to secure with certainty the effects of the sacrament. This section might, accordingly, have been omitted. It was introduced for the purpose of showing that in the question of the sacraments there is no fixed matter and form except in the case of baptism, and, therefore, it cannot be said when anything essential is omitted. It is true, there is no stereotyped form of words; but there is a fixed type, from which if one departs there is no sacrament. There may be differences of opinion as to whether chrism is part of the matter of confirmation, but if chrism be omitted, then the validity of the sacrament remains doubtful; if both chrism and imposition of hands be omitted the sacrament is invalid: so if the expression of the sacred order of priesthood, or the power and grace of it be omitted, the sacrament of orders is invalid. This leads us again to the fundamental question, Has every vestige of a sacrificing priesthood been cut out of the Anglican Ordinal?

But, although the Anglican Archbishops assume sacred orders to be a sacrament, they can scarcely be said to have a clear conception of what a sacrament of the New Law is, or of its elements. The matter of a sacrament is something indeterminate; the form determines it to something definite. What is the conception of the Anglican archbishops? 'Baptism alone,' they say, 'is certain as to its matter and form' (Sect. IX.). 'The form of Confirmation is uncertain and quite general, prayer, that is to say, or benediction, more or less suitable' (IX.). 'Whatever, therefore, the Pope may answer, it is clear enough that we cannot everywhere insist very strictly on that doctrine about a

fixed matter and form' (IX.). As already stated, there is no fixed set of words, but there is a fixed type arising from the nature of the sacramental sign, and the reply of the Anglican Archbishops, if it means anything, must mean that there is neither a fixed set of words nor a fixed type determined by the sacrament, which is essentially a sign; and accordingly it is left to the will of churches and individuals to set apart any form of words as a sign of the sacrament of orders. From principles so vague and general, it is no wonder that there should be loose reasoning regarding the requirements for a valid rite of priestly ordination.

The fact is lost sight of that the external rite is a *sign*, and the signification must be definite. In the case of the rite for priestly ordination the thing which requires to be definitely set out is the Sacred Order of the Priesthood, or its grace and power. This point is missed in the Reply.

In this connection a grave inaccuracy occurs. The Papal Bull says the rite must mention 'the Sacred Order of the Priesthood, *or* its grace and power, which is chiefly the power of consecrating and of offering the true Body and Blood of the Lord.' If the Sacred Order of the Priesthood be mentioned, then there is implicit mention of its chief grace and power; for by priest is meant *sacrificing* priest. In this case it is not at all necessary to mention explicitly the power of sacrifice. But the two Archbishops strangely assume that the Pope has written *and*, not *or*, and then proceed quite irrelevantly to argue, in Sections XII., XIII., and XIV., that in several of the ancient rites there is no mention of sacrifice. It would have been much to the point if they could produce any ancient rite in which there was not mention *either* of the Sacred Order of Priesthood *or* of its chief grace and power. Their arguments in those sections are, therefore, quite beside the question.

With regard to the doctrine of intention, it is satisfactory to find that the Reply has nothing to find fault with in the Papal Bull. 'Nor do we part company with the Pope,' it says, 'when he suggests that it is right to investigate the intention of the Church in conferring Holy Orders, in so far as it is manifested externally.' (VIII.)

This is a considerable advance towards a due appreciation of the Catholic doctrine of intention. It is on this head chiefly Anglicans¹ found fault with the requirements of Catholic theology for a valid sacrament, and assumed that we should constantly search into the recesses of the mind of the minister of a sacrament. But in applying this doctrine the Archbishops gravely err.

'But the intention of the Church,' they go on to say, 'must be ascertained, *'in so far as it is manifested externally,* that is to say from its public formularies and definite pronouncements, which directly touch the main point of the question, not from its omissions and reforms made as opportunity occurs, in accordance with the liberty which belongs to every province and nation, unless it may be something is omitted which has been ordered in the Word of God, or the known and certain statutes of the Universal Church' (VIII).

There may be, indeed, omissions and additions, and certain reforms without interfering with the validity of the rite; but there may be also omissions which deprive the rite of its efficacy as a sacramental sign. This is precisely what has been done in the case of the Anglican rite. For from it has been deliberately removed whatever expresses the sacred order of the Priesthood, or its grace and power. Accordingly, the intention, 'in so far as it is manifestly externally,' is not to do as the Church does: it does the contrary, and does it deliberately.

J. CROWE.

¹ I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1895, p. 17; Nov., 1896, pp. 969-970.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST?

V.

LET us now consider the claims of John Charlier de Gerson in reference to the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ*.

If, for a few hours, we imagine ourselves transported back amidst the turbulent scenes which convulsed Central Europe in the early part of the fifteenth century, it will not be difficult to understand how John Charlier de Gerson, the mighty Chancellor of the University of Paris, came to be looked upon as a possible author of *The Imitation of Christ*. He lived near the time when the book appeared; he was a prominent figure in the great religious upheaval of that dark epoch; he was greatly revered—aye, venerated—despite some errors of judgment; and, in addition, he was a versatile and copious writer on spiritual subjects.

While the saintly Canon of Agnetenberg was scarcely known beyond the limits of his own congregation, the world rang with the praise and renown of the 'Doctor Christianissimus,' who was, in turn, the favourite and the persecuted of princes, the dauntless enemy of heresy and corruption, the guiding spirit of councils—nay, even the deposer of the very Pope himself. Withal, the more deeply we search into his character, history, and writings, the more evident it becomes that *The Imitation* never emanated from his gifted and prolific pen. This great man's life is too well known to need reproduction here—at all events, in any extended form. A page or two will suffice to recapitulate the main features of his magnificent, though sad and troubled career.

John Charlier, otherwise known as John Charlier de Gerson, Johannes Gersonus, Gersone, Jarson, Jarsone, Gersem, or Gersen, was born, on the 14th of December, 1363, at the village of Gerson, near Rheims, from whence

he takes his surname. His parents, Arnulph Charlier and Elizabeth de la Chardenière, belonged to a humble class, were eminently pious, and had the consolation of seeing seven of their twelve children devoting themselves to the service of God in religious life. John, the eldest of the family, was sent to Paris when about fourteen years old. After five years' study in the historic College of Navarre, he obtained the degree of Licentiate in Arts, and then began his theological studies under the direction of Giles des Champs, and Peter D'Ailly, then Chancellor of the University of Paris, and afterwards Bishop of Puy, Archbishop of Cambrai, and Cardinal.

Gerson seems at a very early period to have attracted the notice of the authorities of the University. In 1383 he was elected procurator, and re-elected the following year. In 1384 he took his degree as Bachelor, and in 1392 as Doctor of Theology. In 1395, when Peter D'Ailly was appointed Bishop of Puy, Gerson, at the early age of thirty-two, was elected Chancellor of the University of Paris, and made Canon of Notre Dame.

This famous University was then in the zenith of its glory, and its Chancellor was of necessity one of the foremost men in Europe, bearing in his hands the destinies of the vast crowd of students from all parts of the world who flocked to its halls and sought its distinctions. Gerson's writings feelingly portray his deep sense of the responsibilities, anxieties, and troubles of his exalted position. Oftentimes he seems to have been weary of the burden. It involved him in perpetual strife, and being a purely honorary post, in monetary difficulties, and forced him into public life, while he yearned for leisure to pursue his studies. Accordingly, we find him, in 1400, accepting from the Duke of Burgundy, to whom he was almoner, and whose friendship and protection he then enjoyed, the Deanery of the Cathedral of Bruges. This position, with its prospects of comparative independence, does not appear to have suited his aspirations, and within a couple of years he returned to Paris and the Chancellorship of the University. From the time when Gerson left Bruges we find him continuously

occupied in strife and contention, endeavouring to promote reformation amongst the clergy and laity, to remodel the course of studies in the University, and absorbed in the struggle to terminate the appalling scandal of his time—the papal schism—the great schism of the West. He appears as the delegate to popes and anti-popes, the leader amongst leaders at Pisa and Constance, swaying the destinies of councils, pontiffs, and of the Church itself.

At last we come to his downfall, wherein his true nobility shines forth. When John Petit essayed to defend the murder of the Duke of Orleans, of which foul deed the reckless Duke of Burgundy, 'Jean sans Peur,' was avowedly guilty, Gerson, with all the grandeur of his lofty character, sacrificed the favour of his patron, and denounced the false plea set forth to shield him. Again at Constance he returned to the charge, and proved the indefensibility of the murder.

From that hour, through terror of his former potent ally, he became an exile from France, and, donning a pilgrim's habit and grasping a staff, he wandered through Lower Germany and Austria, until the tragic death of the Duke of Burgundy permitted his return home.

Disgusted with public life, and unwilling to re-enter its arena, Gerson sought an asylum with his brother, who was then Prior of the Celestinians at Lyons. There, in peaceful retirement, he spent the remaining years of his life, praying, writing, and teaching little children, asking only from his pupils 'a prayer for poor Gerson.' He died in 1429, and was buried in the Church of St. Laurence, at Lyons. On his tomb were inscribed the words, '*Poenitemini et credite Evangelio.*'

Such in a few sentences was the history of the mighty Chancellor Gerson, who, despite his errors of judgment, and the terrible vicissitudes of his chequered career, was undoubtedly one of the grandest characters of the Middle Ages. I am aware that many judge him more unfavourably than I can, but the circumstances in which he was placed must be remembered, and due allowance made. It is needless, however, to observe how utterly incompatible the life I have sketched, spent in ceaseless political and polemical

warfare is, with the authorship of such a book as *The Imitation*, which throughout exhibits tranquillity, contemplation, and absorption in God—attributes only possible for the work of one who had passed a lifetime in the cloister in meditation and prayer. The bare idea seems absurd, but still it is beyond question that Gerson has been accredited with its paternity, and has found advocates of learning and earnestness.

How came this to pass? As we know, *The Imitation* appeared anonymously in the first third of the fifteenth century. Immediately before that period Gerson was one of the most prominent figures in Europe, and his spiritual writings were spread broadcast and highly appreciated. It so happened, moreover, that in more than one instance his essay, *De Meditatione Cordis*, was bound up in the same volume with the *Imitatio Christi*.

Herein seems to lie the whole explanation. The obscurity of Thomas à Kempis, the prominence of Gerson, and the ignorance of transcribers, led to *The Imitation*, whose author was little known, being attributed to the Chancellor, whose *Meditatio Cordis* was familiar to many. The error, once promulgated, grew apace as manuscripts were reproduced, and doubtless the exalted reputation of the supposed author caused the book to be read and valued more, and consequently a better investment for the labour of copyists, and later on of printers and publishers. We shall now examine Gerson's claims, show how baseless they are, and contrast them with those of à Kempis. It will be most convenient to discuss them in the order in which we have studied those of the holy Canon of Mount St. Agnes.

I.—Contemporary Witnesses.

I have quoted fourteen, out of many more I might have cited, who bear testimony in favour of à Kempis. For Gerson there is *not a single one*. Nay, more, my reader will recollect that Mauburn, Schott, Lambert, Danhausser, and Simus, while testifying in favour of Thomas, state positively *that Gerson was not the author of The Imitation of Christ*.

More crushing even than their statements is the negative

evidence of Gerson's brother, and of Jaques de Ciresio, the Chancellor's secretary and intimate friend. John Gerson, the brother and namesake of the Chancellor, with whom the latter spent the closing years of his life, was Prior of the Celestinians at Lyons. In 1423, six years before the death of his illustrious guest, he was requested by a member of his Order, Brother Anselm, to draw up a correct list of Gerson's works. He did so with the utmost precision, but in that catalogue *we do not find 'The Imitation' mentioned*. Later on, in 1429, about the time of the Chancellor's death, Ciresio added a note to the catalogue, pointing out the treatises which he admired most, with other details, but of '*The Imitation*' he says not one word.

It is not within the range of possibility that these two men, one the brother, and the other the secretary and devoted friend of the Chancellor, both of whom were responsible for the list of his works, would have omitted to mention *The Imitation* if he were its author. *Their silence is, beyond evasion, a crushing blow to Gerson's pretensions.*

Withal, Gerson has found from time to time, principally amongst his compatriots, learned and brilliant advocates. The most important are Camus, Dupin, Gence, Tourlet, Onésime Leroy, Corneille, Monfalcon, Carton, Thomassy, Vert, and Darche. Of all, Gence is the most erudite and philosophical, and yet the perusal of his remarkable essay leaves the reader under the conviction that this learned writer pleads for an impossible theory.

The most recent champions of the great Chancellor are Vert and Darche. Certainly they have availed themselves to the utmost of the researches of their predecessors, so we need not travel beyond their writings. If deficient in solid argument, unquestionably they are not wanting in vivacity of imagination or boldness of assertion. As a specimen of M. Vert's method of reasoning, let us see what he says of 'contemporary witnesses' for the claims of Gerson. He tells us that numbers are forthcoming. As a matter of fact, what do his 'contemporary witnesses' amount to?

First. Louis Gonzales (who lived about a century and

a half after the death of Gerson) says that St. Ignatius of Loyola always carried with him his 'Gerson,' or *Imitation of Christ*.

Secondly. A Memoir, edited by the Jesuits about 1570 (one hundred and forty years after Gerson's death), points out as a work greatly prized by the Society of Jesus, *The Imitation of Christ*, attributing it to Gerson.

Thirdly. He quotes Luca Pinelli, an Italian Jesuit whose works appeared about the year 1600—that is, one hundred and seventy years after Gerson's death—who also attributes *The Imitation* to Gerson.

Such are Vert's *numerous contemporary witnesses!*

I think it would scarcely repay the reader were I to carry him in detail through the mazes of M. Vert's arguments, the cogency of which may be fairly gauged by the foregoing specimens.

Respecting M. Darche's strange essay, I find it difficult to offer an opinion. It appears to be the rhapsody of an enthusiast, and his contentions, reduced to a point, amount to this, that Gerson was a great and good man, an eminent spiritual writer, and therefore must have been the author of *The Imitation!*

II.—*External Evidence of Manuscripts.*

The earliest dated manuscript of *The Imitation* which attributes it to Gerson is the Sangermanensis. It is signed 1460, thirty-one years after the death of the supposed author. The Florentine manuscripts of 1464 and 1466 give his name as John Gersen, Parisian Chancellor. So also do the Verona and the Wolfenbittel. The Padolironensis codex also gives his name as Gersen, and his epitaph.

This fact should be carefully borne in mind, as we shall see its importance later on—viz., that the name of the Parisian Chancellor is frequently written Gersen. As to the undated manuscripts bearing Gerson's name (howsoever spelt), there is not one which shows evidence of being written earlier than the fifteenth century, and not the earliest portion of it. I need not dilate upon this topic. We have already discussed the value of the undated

manuscripts. Adding together the various codices which give the name of Gerson, Gersem, Gersen, Gers, &c.—all of which evidently point to the Chancellor of Paris—we find that they amount to about thirty.

When we call to mind these facts, we are in a position to estimate the vast preponderating external evidence of manuscripts in favour of à Kempis and against Gerson. While the great Chancellor was one of the most prominent characters of his day, and a well-known and prolific spiritual writer, we find some thirty manuscripts giving his name, but not one during his life, or for over thirty years after his death. On the other hand, in favour of the obscure Monk of Agnetenberg, who was scarcely known outside of his Congregation, we find some sixty manuscripts pointing to him, a considerable proportion written during his life, including one in his own handwriting, placed at the head of a series of spiritual treatises, which we have no reason to doubt were of his own composition.

Furthermore, as we have seen in my last article, the larger portion of the three hundred and sixty-one manuscripts appertaining to Germany and the Low Countries exhibit contact and amity with the School of Windesheim, of which à Kempis was the great literary exponent.

Before leaving the subject of the manuscripts advanced in favour of Gerson, I must allude to the theory raised by the Abbé Dufresnoy, and defended by Onésime Leroy, and later by Vert.

There exists in the library of Valenciennes a manuscript, in French, containing some works of Gerson, to which his name is appended, and also the three first books of *The Imitation of Christ* under the title of *L'Internelle Consolation*, to which no name is attached. Some partizans of Gerson, including several of those named above, argue that the book of *L'Internelle Consolation* is by Gerson, and that he wrote it in French. Their conteption does not bear examination. The Valenciennes manuscript is dated 1462, and is almost identical with another manuscript existing in the library of Amiens, dated 1447, which the transcriber avows to be a translation from Latin into French. There is good evidence,

moreover, to show that both manuscripts are attributable to the same individual—namely, David Aubert, a native of Hesdin.

Now, as the earliest of these manuscripts dates eighteen years subsequent to the death of Gerson, and the other no less than thirty-three years after that event, it seems futile to contend that they assist his candidature. Monseigneur Malou discusses this subject with great care, and demonstrates satisfactorily that the manuscripts in question are a very clumsy translation of *The Imitation*, which, as we know, was extant in Latin thirty-six years before the date of the earliest of them.

III.—*Internal Evidence.*

When we examine *The Imitation of Christ* and the works of John Gerson, with a view to discovering a similarity between the two, we find instead a diametrical opposition. We have already seen the remarkable parallelism which exists between *The Imitation* and the works of Thomas à Kempis—in style, peculiarities of language, including unusual words, Dutch idioms, unique punctuation, derivation from the Scriptures, St. Bernard, and the writers of the School of Windesheim. When, on the other hand, we study the works of the great Chancellor, we are struck by a manifest contrast in every particular. In vain do we seek for the peculiarities of language and train of thought which characterize *The Imitation* and à Kempis' other compositions. They are nowhere to be found. Gerson is decidedly scholastic—*The Imitation* is the very reverse. Gerson is diffuse, verbose, involved—*The Imitation* is terse, epigrammatic, and transparently clear. Gerson is grandiloquent, didactic, arid, and but rarely devotional—*The Imitation* is homely, sympathetic, and full of unction at every page. Gerson deals mostly with theory and reason—*The Imitation* is always practical, and appeals to the heart.

If we take the *Meditatio Cordis* as a specimen of Gerson's spiritual teaching, and read it side by side with *The Imitation*, it becomes evident that the two never emanated from the same source. I quote this particular essay because

its subject is somewhat congenial, and thus it affords a fair ground for comparison.

This striking diversity of style constitutes an argument against the great Chancellor which is *per se* conclusive and unanswerable. Authors vary in the power and merit of their compositions, but style is an individuality and unalterable. Gerson's style asserts itself throughout his works as consistently as à Kempis' pervades *The Imitation* and his other writings, and no wider contrast could be imagined than what we find between the productions of these two great teachers. It would seem to me as reasonable to attribute *The Pilgrim's Progress* to Gibbon, or the *Dialogues of Lucian* to Xenophon, as to affirm that *The Imitation* was the work of the Chancellor of Paris.

Cardinal Newman touches this subject with his well-known perspicuity and force. Speaking of the individuality with which every man of genius expresses his ideas and feelings in language, he says:—' . . . he gives utterance to them all,—in a corresponding language, which is as multi-form as this inward mental action itself, and analogous to it, the faithful expression of his intense personality, attending on his own inward world of thought as its very shadow; so that we might as well say that one man's shadow was another's, as that the style of a really gifted mind can belong to any but himself. It follows him about *as* a shadow. His thought and feeling are personal, and so his language is personal. Thought and speech are inseparable from each other. Matter and expression are parts of one: style is a thinking out into language.'

After studying the works of Gerson it appears to me that his partizans have quite overlooked the philological aspect of the question. The supposition that he was the author of *The Imitation* must include a belief that he had learned a *new language* in which to write it, *totally different* from what we find in his voluminous and admirable works!

It seems needless to discuss further the idea that the great Chancellor Gerson could have written *The Imitation*; however, before dismissing the subject, I would refer all interested in it to the remarkably clear and solid refutation

of his pretensions which we find in the essays of two recent French writers—namely, M. Arthur Loth and Monseigneur Peuyol.

In conclusion, let me quote a remark lately made to me by one of the most erudite Frenchmen of our time, M. Leopold Delisle, Director of the National Library in Paris, viz. :—‘ For the learned, who have studied and understand this subject, the controversy is at an end, and in favour of Thomas à Kempis.’

In my next communication I intend to discuss the candidature of that literary phantom, the imaginary Benedictine Abbot, John Gersen, of Vercelli. I shall endeavour to do so with becoming gravity.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

A LIST OF CHURCH MUSIC

‘**F**IDES EX AUDITU,’ says the Apostle; and his word has been appropriately applied to the case of Church music. For it is only by hearing proper Church music well performed, that one can get the right idea of what it ought to be. Theoretical reflections and studies are very useful to prepare the ground; but in order fully to appreciate that which is suitable for divine service, the ear requires training, and especially when by long practice our judgment has been misled and falsified, only continued listening to good Church music will overcome our prejudices, and enable us to form a just estimate of what is really becoming to the house of God.

But the text quoted holds also in the opposite direction. One does not know what bad Church music means, until he has heard it. We may be convinced, from printed and oral information, that a great deal of unsuitable music is performed in our churches. But we are not fully alive to the fact, we do not fully realize the harm that is done, until we get some practical experience for ourselves. It is experience

of this kind that has prompted me to write the following lines. I have heard, within recent times, Church music that is an outrage and a scandal; I might almost say, a blasphemy; for the character of that music would seem to presuppose qualities in God that are derogatory to His sanctity. I have heard such music even in convents of nuns. I have heard those sacred virgins defile their lips with strains suitable only for the expression of sentiments that they would utterly abhor, the mere suggestions of which, in spoken language, would make them blush and fly away. Is it the utter absence of an appreciation of the fitness of things or the overpowering influence of early associations and continued habitude that make these things possible? I do not know. But to do away, to some extent, with one of the excuses given—namely, want of knowledge of suitable compositions, I propose to give a list of such pieces as I think are most practical for our present wants.

Not, indeed, as if no such list had been published before. Not to speak of the catalogue of the German Cecilian Society, with its upwards of two thousand numbers, there are two such publications in English. First, Singenberger's *Guide*.¹ This magnificent work, the fruit of immense labour of the President of the American Cecilian Society, gives, not only a very large number of Masses for various combinations of voices, as well as collections of motets, benediction pieces, hymns, organ compositions, &c., but mentions for every liturgical text, from one end of the ecclesiastical year to the other, all the musical settings to be found in any of those collections. Then there is within easy reach of anyone the 'List of Music' published by order of the Dublin Diocesan Commission on Ecclesiastical Music, and issued by Gill and Son at the price of sixpence. Since the publication of the last (second) edition of this list (in 1888), a good many useful compositions have appeared; and it is principally these I shall mention in the following, including from the Dublin list those that I consider most practical.

¹ *Guide in Catholic Church Music*. Published by order of the First Provincial Council of Milwaukee and St. Paul: with a Preface by Rt. Rev. Bishop M. Marty, D.D., St. Francis, Wis. J. Singenberger. Price, 1 dol.

As a preliminary note, it might be useful to explain a few technical terms referring to different classes of voices, as very hazy ideas are entertained about these things in certain circles. We usually distinguish four classes of the human voice, generally called—Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. For the explanation of these names we have to go back to the earliest times of part-singing, when the Plain-chant melody was the principal part, to which other melodies were added. The voice that sang the Plain Chant, or *Cantus Firmus*, was called *Tenor*, from *tenere*, to hold. A part added to this, usually above it, was called *Discantus*, from the fact that it had a different melody. Another part, added below the Tenor, was called *Bassus*, from *βαθύς*, low. Later on, a fourth part, added between *Tenor* and *Discantus*, was called *Altus*, because with reference to the *Tenor* it was 'high.' The *Discantus* is also called shortly *Cantus*, or *Soprano*, because it is the highest part, or, in English, *Treble*, probably as the 'third' of the parts added to the Plain Chant. In the Middle Age, as even at the present day in the Anglican Church choirs, the Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts were sung by men, the Soprano part by boys. Hence a composition for Alto, Tenor, and Bass was called *ad aequales*, for equal voices. But also the combination Soprano, Alto, and Tenor was designated by the same name. In modern times the Alto part is usually sung by female or boys' voices. These low female or boys' voices are known in England by the name of Counter-Alto, or Contralto, because their part is 'against' or 'next to' the Alto part, their compass being somewhat higher than that of the male Alto. For the same reason, the Alto is also sometimes called Counter-Tenor. The term 'equal voices,' then, in modern times is restricted to combinations either of Soprano and Alto, or of Tenor and Bass. To complete these short remarks, I should mention further that both in the female and the male voice an intermediate class is distinguished. Thus between the high female voice, the Soprano, and the low female voice, the Alto, we have a voice of middle range, the Mezzo-Soprano. And similarly, between, the high male voice, the Tenor, and the low

male voice, the Bass, we have the middle voice, called Barytone.

I now proceed to give my list, confining myself on the present occasion to *Masses with organ accompaniment*. I do hold indeed, and very decidedly hold, that vocal music without accompaniment is the more ideal style of Church music. But having regard to the actual condition of choirs in this country, I should consider it lost labour to recommend such music.

In proceeding from the simple to the complicated, the first thing we should treat of would be *Unison Masses with organ accompaniment*. There are a considerable number of such Masses by composers of the Cecilian school. But though I should not be prepared to say that there is no artistic justification for compositions of this class, I cannot induce myself to recommend any of them. I think that where Unison Masses are desired, Gregorian Chant ought to be used. Gregorian Chant, as nearly everybody now admits, in theory at least, is the ideal of Church music. Nobody can be considered a competent judge of Church music who has not familiarized himself with this branch of it, and no choir can be called a true church choir that does not appreciate or cannot perform satisfactorily the Plain Chant. I feel a certain reluctance, therefore, to recommend in its place compositions that are in the same line with it, in so far as they are unisonous.

The Ordinary of the Mass, of which we are speaking primarily, is issued in various editions, in folio, from 12s. to 6s. ; in 8vo. at 7d. or 5d. ; and in 16mo., in modern notation, at 3d. All these editions contain the *Asperges*, *Vide aquam*, thirteen 'Masses' for the various festivals, four chants for the *Credo*, the *Requiem* Mass, and the Responses at Mass. The smaller editions contain also the *Pange Lingua*, *Veni Creator*, and *Te Deum*, chants that are often desired.

Various organ accompaniments have been published for these chants. Pustet has no less than three, by Witt, Hanisch, and Mohr. Schwann of Düsseldorf published one by Piel and Schmetz. On the ground of facility of execution, we should recommend the one edited by Mohr, which, we understand, was written by Piel.

We may mention in this connection, two other useful little publications of Pustet's—namely, first, the *Manuale Chorale* (Price 1s.), containing, in modern notation, the *Ordinarium Missae*, the Sequences and the more popular chants of Holy Week, the Office of the Dead and the Burial Service, Processional Chants, Litanies, the Vesper Hymns, the Chants of Compline, and several other useful melodies and liturgical prayers; secondly, the *Graduale Parvum*, which was reviewed in the December Number of the I. E. RECORD, 1896.

MASSES FOR TWO EQUAL VOICES

A distinction is made between compositions for female (or boys') and for male voices, and while some works will suit both classes, others will not. I shall give only those written for Soprano and Alto, the others not being much required, as far as I know, in this country. The easiest of these Masses are :—

Haller, op. 53, Missa Quintadecima (Pustet).
 Jaspers, op. 9, „ S. Caeciliae (Münster i.W. Schöningh).
 Singenberger, „ 'Adoro te' (Pustet).
 „ „ S. Galli „

Of more artistic value, and not difficult are :—

Griesbacher, Mass of our Lady of Lourdes (Ratisbon, Coppenrath).
 Haller, op. 7a, Missa Tertia (Pustet).
 „ op. 23, „ Decima „
 Koenen, op. 43, „ S. Ursulae (Coppenrath).
 Mittererer „ 'Veni Sponsa Christi' „
 Piel, op 46, Easy Mass (Schwann).
 Seymour, Mass of St. Brigid (Cary).
 Stein, Br. op. 7, Missa Brevis (Coppenrath).
 Weber, G., Easy Mass „

A little more difficult are :—

Ebner, Missa Ss. Cordis (Pustet).
 Griesbacher, op. 11, Missa S. Caeciliae (Schwann).
 Habert, op. 14, „ 'Exultet (Breitkopf and Härtel)
 „ op. 39, „ 'Veni Sponsa Christi' „

Haller,	op. 8,	Missa Quarto (Pustet)	
Piel,	op. 67,	„ ‘Alma Redemptoris Mater’	
			(Schwann).
„	op. 68,	„ ‘Ave Regina Coelorum’	„

MASSES FOR THREE EQUAL VOICES

Griesbacher,	Missa Ss. Cordis (Coppenrath)	
Haller,	op. 13, „	Sexta (Pustet)
Koenen,	op. 57, „	S. Scholasticae (Schwann).
Piel,	op. 25, „	Ss. Cordis „
„	op. 63, „	B.M.V. „
„		S. Caeciliae (Ratisbon, Feuchtinger and Gleichauf).
Van Schaik,	op. 3, „	Gaudeamus (Utrecht, Van Rossum).

MASSES FOR FOUR EQUAL VOICES

Griesbacher,	op. 17b,	Missa Angelica (Schwann).
Piel,	op. 81,	„ S. Annae „
Witt,	op. 19b,	„ Concilii Vaticani (Pustet).

MASSES FOR TWO MIXED VOICES

This class of Masses is not so frequently used as it deserves. The effect of all the female and all the male voices combining, is very good, giving considerable fulness even with small choirs. The difficulties of performance, at the same time, are considerably reduced on account of the small number of parts to be learnt.

I recommend the following :—

Ebner,	op. 7,	Missa ‘Laudate Dominum’ (Schwann).
„	op. 14,	„ S. Josephi (Pustet).
„	op. 28,	„ ‘Regina Angelorum’ „
Griesbacher,	op. 16,	„ ‘Salus Infirmorum’ (Schwann).
Haller,	op. 62a,	„ S. Antonii (Coppenrath).
Jansen,	op. 21,	„ „ (Van Rossum).
Könen,	op. 11,	Mass in A „ (Coppenrath).
„	op. 39,	Missa S. Heriberti „
Mitterer,	op. 66,	„ Dominicalis Quarta „
Piel,	op. 22,	„ S. Josephi (Schwann).
Plag,	op. 15,	„ S. Francisci Xav. „
Quadflieg,	op. 3,	„ Immac. Conceptionis (Feuchtinger and Gleichauf).

MASSES FOR THREE MIXED VOICES

These Masses are usually either for Soprano, Alto, and Bass or Barytone, or for Alto, Tenor, and Bass. I mention here only those of the first-class.

Koenen,	Missa	'Panis Angelicus' (Schwann).
Mitterer, op. 25,	„	Dominicalis Prima (Pustet).
„ op. 47,	„	„ Tertia (Coppenrath).
Singenberger,	„	Pur. Cordis B.M.V. (Pustet)
„	„	S. Galli „
„	„	S. Joannis B. „
„	„	S. Aloisii „

In Singenberger's Masses the Bass part is *ad libitum*, so that they can be used also for two equal voices.

MASSES FOR FOUR MIXED VOICES

Under this heading I mention first some Masses in which the Tenor and Bass parts may be omitted.

Diebold, op. 18,	Missa	'Adoro Te' (Freiburg, Herder).
„ op. 38,	„	'O sacrum Convivium' (Schwann).
Quadflieg, op. 8,	„	S. Caeciliae (Feuchtinger & Gleichauf).
Tappert	„	S. Rosae (St. Francis, Wis., Singenberger).

In the following Masses the Tenor is *ad libitum* :—

Koenig, op. 10,	Mass in C	(Traunstein, Koenig),
„ op. 14,	Missa 'Salve Regina'	„
Singenberger,	Missa Ss. Angelorum Custodum	(Pustet).

Of the Masses requiring all the four parts the easiest are these :—

Ebner, op. 6,	Missa	S. Mariae (Schwann).
Haller, op. 7b,	„	Tertia (Pustet).
„ op. 13b,	„	Sexta (Coppenrath).
„ op. 62b,	„	S. Antonii „
Mitterer, op. 67,	„	Dominicalis Quinta „
„ op. 71,	„	„ Sexta „
Stein, J. op. 76,	„	S. Gregorii (Schwann).

The following are more difficult :—

Diebold,	op. 29, Missa	Jubilaei Papalis (Herder).
Gruber,	op. 83b, „	S. Thomae (Pustet).
Habert,	Mass in G	(Breitkopf and Haertel).
Haller,	op. 8b, Missa	Quarta (Pustet).
Koenen,	op. 19, „	S. Joannis Chrys. (Schwann).
Mitterer,	„	St. Thomae (Coppenrath).
„	„	S. Caeciliae „
„	op. 70, „	Ss. Cordis (Innsbruck, Gross).
Oberhoffer,	„	S. Wilfridi (Cary).
Piel,	op. 78, „	S. Antonii (Schwann).
Quadflieg	op. 4, „	S. Jacobi (Pustet).
Schildknecht,	op. 21, „	'Sub tuum Praesidium' „
Seymour,	Mass in A flat (Cary)	
Smith,	Missa Solemnis (Pohlmann).	
Singenberger	„	S. Caeciliae (Pustet).
Stehle,	op. 33, „	'Jesu Rex Admirabilis' „
„	„	'Salve Regina' „
„	op. 51, „	'Alma Redemptoris' „
Stein, J.	op. 43, „	Ss. Petri et Pauli (Schwann).
Witt,	op. 8b, „	S. Francisci Xav. (Pustet).
„	op. 12,	(Einsiedeln, Benziger).
Zoller,	op. 12, „	De Spiritu Sancto (Schwann).

H. BEWERUNGE.

THE ALLELUIATIC HYMN OF ST. CUMMAIN FOTA

TO an Irish student of Alleluia's course through Christian literature as evidence of its traditional import, I know of no document more interesting than this hymn of St. Cummain Fota, Bishop and Abbot of Clonfert during much of the first half of the seventh century : that crowning age of our country's past literary and apostolic glory. He was called Fota or 'the Tall,' not, it would appear, so much for his exceptionally high stature as to distinguish him from a writer of the same name who flourished a little later; was Abbot of Hy; wrote the life of St. Columba, and is commonly known as Cummain Finn or 'the Fair.' For all known details touching his life and writings, the reader is referred to the Most Rev. Dr. Healy's *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*—that delightful survey of the lives of Ireland's saints and scholars, which ought to be found in the library and in the parish library of every priest with a drop of Celtic blood in his veins wherever on earth his mission lies. I notice, by the way, our saint's name is there invariably written *Cummian* (not Cummain) and *Fada* (not Fota). In the *Annals of the Four Masters* it is written *Cummine Foda*, and in a Rann or short poem, which they quote as composed on his death by Colman O'Clusaigh, his old tutor when a student in (the original) St. Finbarr's Seminary, Cork, his name is written *Cummine Foto*. But in the *Liber Hymnorum*, where I read his hymn, the name is written as I have given it. The ancient scholiast's preface thus commences :—'Cummain Fota Mac Fiachna Ri Iarmuman (King of West Munster), *ille fecit hunc ymnnum.*'

From the start it would, of course, be well to have before the mind some general idea of his character. For that it will suffice to note that he was admittedly one of the most learned and cultured, as well as saintly, personages of the glorious period in which he lived. Indeed, in the commemoration poem, to which reference has been made, as found in the

Annals of the Four Masters, he is declared to have been the only Irishman of the day qualified to 'sit in the Chair of Gregory' (that is, St. Gregory the Great), who died during his lifetime. Remembering what St. Gregory was, and who were the Irish Churchmen of that day, we can appreciate the testimony thus offered at once to his personal sanctity, talent, learning, culture, and administrative ability—'qualifications,' it must be admitted, to any great extent very rarely found in one person, but which we gratefully acknowledge are found in the person of him who to-day sits in the Chair of Gregory the Great.

In our ecclesiastical history St. Cummain's memory is principally associated with that of the famous controversy regarding the proper time for celebrating Easter, when it was the burning question of the day in Ireland. Having accepted the Roman custom at or after the Synod of Campus Lene, while so many of his Order throughout the land yet stoutly, if not stubbornly, maintained the other, he wrote Segienus, the then Abbot of Hy, a long letter by way of *apologia*, which is, in many respects, the most important historic document we have on the question. Its Latin is neither classical nor scholastic; it is, in fact, *sui generis*; but apart from its linguistic form, which naturally we are now incapable of appreciating, its varied learning, sound sense, logical sequence and sustained vigour of expression, with occasional bursts of real eloquence, make it one of the finest pieces of polemic writing of the period. The whole may be read in Migne's *Patrologia Cursus Completus*, vol. lxxxvii., p. 969. There also may be seen a work on moral theology entitled *Liber de Mensura Poenitentiarum*, which is attributed to our saint: though some think it is by an Irish writer of the same or a similar name.

There is no doubt as to St. Cummain being the Author of the hymn which is the subject of the present article. Still it is not found, as far as I know, anywhere outside the collection known to Irish archæologists as *Liber Hymnorum*, of which one MS. copy is preserved in Trinity College Library, and another in the Franciscan Library of this City: both copies being said as MSS. to belong to the ninth

or tenth century. In his published edition of the Trinity College *Codex*, Dr. Todd says: 'This beautiful MS., which cannot be assigned to a later date than the ninth or tenth century, may safely be pronounced one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity now remaining in Europe.' Julian in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, assumes the MS. belongs to the eleventh century, and that is also the opinion of Dr. Whitley Stokes. But, in face of such assumption, we should not fail to remember that O'Donovan, our highest authority on such subjects, agreed with Dr. Todd.

In the preface from which I have just quoted the latter continues:—'It was ascertained that an ancient copy of it [the *Lib. Hymn.*] which had formerly belonged to the Franciscan monastery, at Donegal, is preserved in the Library of St. Isidore's College, at Rome.' The *Codex* to which he there alludes, and which is clearly no copy of the Trinity College one, is that now to be found in the Franciscan Library of this City. I see it stated in Julian's *Dictionary* (p. 570), that besides these two, there is a third in the Royal Irish Academy. There is not. There is no other known to exist anywhere. Some hymns from the collection were published by Colgan, and have been frequently printed; but, in the Preface to his edition of Trinity College *Codex*, Dr. Todd states—and, naturally, he ought to know—that this hymn of St. Cummain is there 'printed for the first time.'

Of the two *Codices*, the Franciscan seems to be the older. But the Trinity College copy is abundantly annotated, seemingly by the original copyist: the Franciscan one, not at all. Both collections differ considerably as to their contents. The difference of reading, however, in regard to this hymn—the only one for which I have collated the two copies—is very slight. In the Index, as in the scholiast's Preface, it is named from the first two words, *Celebra Juda*. It is, in reality, a sequence of twenty-two verses, in praise of the Apostles, the Evangelists, St. Patrick, and St. Stephen Protomartyr. To each is given a lauding stanza of two lines; every stanza or distich having Alleluia for refrain, like *O filii et filiae*, our prayer-book hymn for Easter. Every

line consists of twelve syllables, the last syllable of each one presenting a more or less perfect rhyme or assonance with the last of the other line of the stanza. The assonance, however, is rarely confined to the last syllable; it usually runs through the line, sometimes through the stanza. In this way, the versification is very interesting as a sample, and, it seems to me, an advanced sample of that period of transition from the old style's simply measured feet, to the regulated accent and rhyming cadence of the new. The language it must be admitted, even for northern Latin of the seventh century, is curiously unclassical; yet with a peculiar music of its own, as might have the Latin verse of one used to write in Irish. A reader wholly ignorant of the technique of its versification may catch a true verbal music of some kind running through the lines; notably in the regulated play of consonants and vowels. The writer had evidently a lyrist's ear for the melody and harmony of words, in particular for what the French so aptly term *le cliquetis des mots*. But what most arrests the reader's attention is the lyric unity of the whole: first, the writer's self-restrained expression through each part, the manifestly compressed thought and feeling of its two line stanzas so as to produce a real sequence, not a mere musical enumeration of perfections; then, the way the old Hebrew refrain, both as to thought and sound, fits in with the last line of each saint's eulogium.¹

Was this hymn of St. Cummain ever used for liturgical purposes? It seems to have been, as it is given in the two extant MS. copies of our *Liber Hymnorum* which is clearly an ecclesiastical *Hymnarium* or Hymnal, not a mere literary

¹ In Julian's *Dictionary*, p. 570, under the heading 'Irish Hymnody,' when noticing the Hymns of *Liber Hymnorum*, St. Cummain's is as incorrectly as it is briefly noticed thus: 'a Hymn of St. Cummin *Lange*, A.D. 661, in *rhyme*, in praise of the *Apostles*, who are named successively, *four* lines being devoted to each.' Whereupon the first verse (observe, like all the others, having only two lines) is given, and that without Alleluia. More, neither there nor elsewhere is any indication afforded as to its being in any way Alleluistic, though the *Dictionary's* account of Alleluistic Hymns is otherwise fairly complete. Then, among its numerous biographical notices of all sorts of hymn writers, ancient and modern, there is not a line given to the life or character of St. Cummain Fota. So much for that voluminous Hymnological *Dictionary's* treatment of 'Irish Hymnody.'

anthology. Its extra-stanzal Alleluia for refrain confirms this opinion ; as does the carefully-worded, almost dogmatic language of each verse. It derives moreover particular support from a versicle, response, antiphon and collect added to the text in the Trinity College Codex, and it is further borne out by the non-subjective—wholly objective, solemn, acclamatory character of the piece from the opening to the end : just such as would be that of a festive pæon. Finally its scriptural language and structure apparently proclaim it intended for such public service of song. Thus, from the first, the *motif* is revealed as being that of the Prophet Nahum's Messianic appeal : '*Ecce super montes pedes evangelizantis, et anuntiantis pacem : celebra Juda, festivitates tuas, et redde vota tua !*'¹ In the spirit of that prophetic utterance, realizing its glorious accomplishment, and calling on 'Juda' through the mystic acclamation of her ancient liturgy to join in proclaiming the Messiah's glory, while singing forth the praises of His saints, the hymn thus finely opens :—

Celebra, Juda, festa Christi gaudia,²
Apostolorum exultans memoria : Alleluia !³

Then commence the lauds of the Apostles named in the order in which they occur in the 10th chapter of

¹ *Ecce super montes pedes evangelizantis, &c.* The Prophet's apparent allusion is to the custom of sending explorers to the heights in front of an advancing army. The ideal *rapprochement* between these 'Pioneers' and the Apostles of Christendom is highly effective. Compare St. Paul to the Romans (x. 15), '*Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem,*' &c. It will thus be seen that St. Cummain chose a decidedly strong text for inspiring motive of his 'Hallel' in praise of the Apostles. The text is found at the end of the first chapter of Nahum (i. 15), according to the actual arrangement of the Vulgate's text ; but at the beginning of the next chapter, according to that of our printed Hebrew Bible. The English Protestant version, contrary to its custom, here follows the textual arrangement of the Vulgate.

² '*Celebra Juda festa, &c.*'—Seemingly a lyric echo of the Hebrew, of Nahum's fine rhythmic utterance : *Haggai Jehoudâh haggaidê, &c.*

In his letter on the Paschal controversy, St. Cummain writes as one to some extent acquainted with the Hebrew tongue ; hence, having taken the tone-thought of his hymn from the text of Nahum, the rhythm of his own would naturally be influenced by the eminently tuneful language of that perhaps most melodious of the sacred writers.

³ 'Alleluia' is not annexed to this first verse in Dr. Todd's edition of the Trinity College Codex. I have put it there, as it is there in the Franciscan Codex and there evidently ought to be. Its omission from the Trinity College Codex, is among the proofs that the Franciscan one is no copy of that.

St. Matthew, except that Madianus (old Irish way of writing Matthias) is put in place of the traitor Judas, and the laud of St. Paul comes immediately after that of St. Peter :—

Claviculari¹ Petri primi pastoris,
Piscium rete evangelii captoris: Alleluia!

Decidedly Roman Catholic that is. But as decidedly Irish Catholic is the laud immediately following that of Luke the Evangelist :—

Patricii Patris obsecramus merita,
Ut Deo digna perpetremus opera: Alleluia!²

The concluding stanza is singularly archaic, and, as a distich, notable for its compact lyrical homage to the 'Three in One,' which, be their subject what it may, the old hymn-writers of our shamrock-taught Church so rarely omitted :—

Gloria Patri atque unigenito
Simul regnanti Spiritu cum agio: Alleluia!

The way the Hebrew word thus comes in for acclaiming refrain throughout the piece shows how thoroughly the Irish Catholic mind of that age had assimilated the thought of its being pre-eminently the Christian's paschal acclamation. Here recalling the historic stand St. Cummain made for the Roman, the Catholic, the Apostolic, as distinct from the partial, sectarian, mere national side of the paschal controversy, which was the burning question of his time and country, we cannot deem it only a literary coincidence that his life's hymn was in honour of the Apostles and

¹ 'Claviculari' for Clavicularii. Clavicularius, literally meaning 'he who holds the little-key,' is not precisely classical, yet appears to have been generally used in the fourth century to denote a turnkey, one whose province it is to let the condemned remain locked up or let them go free. Firmicus Maternus so used it (340). Its special Christian application to St. Peter is not, as some have thought, peculiar to St. Cummain. St. Clemens is called *Cælestis Clavicularii* successor by St. Aldhom, *De laude Virginitatis*, n. 25.

² In a versicle following the text of the Hymn on the Trinity College Codex St. Patrick's position is still higher. It is among the Apostles and immediately after St. Paul. The words are :—'*Per merita et orationem intercessionemque Sancti Petri et Pauli et Patricii cæterorumque apostolorum.*' &c.

³ 'Agio.' This Greek word in place of *Sancto* is not unusual in utterances of Celtic and Gallic origin. Indeed, in letters as well as words, our ancient literature for a long time bore the impress of its connection with the early Church of Gaul, which, in language and liturgy it is said, was originally Greek, and never wholly lost the Grecian *forma verborum*.

St. Patrick, and had Easter's triumphant acclamation for refrain. This I hold to be all the more noteworthy, that, in Christian literature, as far as I am aware, no hymn had that acclamation for refrain before. Indeed, as far as I know, St. Cummain's is every way the oldest Alleluiatic hymn in existence, taking the term 'hymn' in its actually received liturgical sense as distinct from ancient 'psalm,' on the one hand, or Christian 'antiphon' on the other, and taking 'Alleluiatic' as meaning either one having the sacred acclamation for subject matter, as *Alleluia dulce carmen!* or only employing it for refrains, like *O filii et filiae*.

For some, the oldest in existence (by which, of course, is meant the oldest now known to hymnologists) is the tenth century 'Alleluiatic Sequence' of Gotteschalchus, or, as many say, of Notker, commencing, *Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc Alleluia!* Generally, however, I find the oldest is assumed to be the anonymous hymn of the ancient Mozarabic liturgy of Spain: *Alleluia piis edite laudabus!* with its solemn refrain, *Alleluia perenne!* This eminently spiritual lyric of the ages of faith is now extremely popular with Protestants of every denomination in its English version: "Sing Alleluia forth in duteous praise!" No doubt that version is well done, fairly literal, tuneful, and, as verse, artistic. Moreover, the general Christian character of the whole harmonizes well with the prevailing popular mode of religious thought in English-speaking countries at present. Still its popularity there, in some quarters at least, seems greatly due to the belief that the original is the oldest of the Alleluiatic hymns. It is certainly as old as the 'Alleluiatic Sequence' above mentioned. In his *Dictionary*, Dr. Julian says that in the *Hymnarium Sarisburgense* various readings of it are given 'from three old MSS. of the tenth or eleventh century;' and Mone, in his *Hymni Medii ævi*, states that the text of it there given is copied from 'a Munich MS. of the tenth century.' There is no proof of its being older than that. Yet, some assign to it a much earlier date, grounded on more or less likely hymnological assumptions of their own. Of these the only plausible one I can find at all to the point is that 'it was included in

the Mozarabic Breviary, in which no hymns were admitted which are of *later date than the eighth century*.' Even so, my position in regard to St. Cummain's hymn remains untouched. Then, instead of such more or less debatable personal speculations, we have the undeniable facts that *Celebra Juda* is at present to be seen in Dublin MSS. of the ninth or tenth, or, at latest, eleventh century, and is there given, not as an anonymous production, or one of uncertain age, but is distinctly ascribed to an author known to have been born towards the end of the sixth century, an ascription that independent data of traditional and documentary evidence fully confirm. I venture, therefore, to assert that the oldest Alleluistic hymn in existence is not Germany's, or Spain's, but Ireland's. It is that of St. Cummain Fota.

T. J. O'MAHONY, D.D.

SERMON OR HOMILY

WHEN preaching the Word of God is spoken of, we hear 'sermon' most frequently mentioned. Yet it does not suggest itself to most persons that the Word of God was preached and spread throughout the world, much more by the 'homily' and 'prone' than by the 'sermon.' As we shall see in this article, the explanation of the Scriptures has been given to the people by the great expounders of Catholic doctrine, according to the method of the 'homily,' and that what we mean by the 'sermon,' is of more modern introduction and use. By *sermon*, I mean a solemn religious instruction, in which one endeavours to follow the rules which rhetoric gives for oratorical discourses; by the *homily*, a simple and pious explanation, a sort of paraphrase of the Gospel or Epistle from which one draws moral reflections for the edification of the audience.

The fathers of the Church in their homilies or instructions had solely in view the explication of the Scriptures. These men of God were impressed with the fundamental truth,

that the Christian doctor's duty was to preach the Gospel, and that the sacred writings are explained by themselves, far better than by mere human reasonings. This maxim brought the fathers of the Church into the method of instruction which we call 'homily.' As the 'homily' explains the Scripture, verse for verse, following the order of an entire book, or at least of a chapter or sufficiently long passage, the teacher of the Gospel from the frequent repetition of the sacred text, which he compared and illustrated by other parts of the Bible, finally appropriated, not only the spirit, but also the style and figures of our Holy Books. That happy mingling of Divine Wisdom and human eloquence which we find in the sacred orators, and which St. Augustine regards as the ideal of preaching, gives to the ancient homilies both grace of diction, and justness of thought. Nature alone seems to speak in them, while art is carefully concealed.

In latter ages, what we call the *discourse* seems to stifle the principles of faith in an ocean of opinions of men; and hence preachers began to sacrifice Divine Wisdom to rhetoric. The consequence of this change in the manner of instructing the faithful, is that men of ordinary talent, not being aided by the grandeur of the Scriptures, fall into a simplicity of language that savours of ignorance and grossness, while gifted minds employing the resources of rhetoric, compose discourses such as awake the suspicions of the audience that it is themselves rather than their Divine Master who is preached.

Let us trace the method of preaching employed by the fathers of the Church, contrasting it with the modern style. In ancient times when the faithful were assembled, the Lector ascending the "ambo," read a lesson from the Old Testament, then one from the New, *i.e.*, from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles; but the reading of the Gospel was reserved to the priests or deacons. In Rome, and in most of the Oriental churches, the Scripture was read in two languages, in other places in the vernacular. The reading was followed by the instruction. The Prelate explained either the Gospel or some other part of Scripture, using a

book for that purpose. If the explication was verse for verse, he selected the most important parts. We have examples of continued explications in most of the homilies of St. John Chrysostom. The treatises of St. Augustine on St. John and on the Psalms, may be considered as good specimens of this method of preaching of the fathers. In St. Ambrose, we have examples of principal subjects chosen and treated continuously; such are his works on the Six Days, his treatises on Noe and Abraham and the other illustrious saints of the ancient Testament, all which are treated *scripturally*. And by these homilies of the fathers we can see that the order in which the lessons from Scripture was read, was then much the same as it is now disposed in the ecclesiastical year. Then, as now, it was so arranged as to honour by the successive festivals the several mysteries of the life of Jesus Christ. The greater part of such treatises, and the commentaries of the fathers on the Sacred Scriptures, are nothing else than discourses delivered to the people, and afterwards written down.

Thus we see the homily in its origin was a dogmatic and moral explication of the readings of the Scripture before the assembled faithful. This method has left profound traces in the Roman liturgy, and in sacred eloquence.

After eighteen centuries, modern preachers commenced their sermons by the reading and translation of a passage of the Bible. Now, this text was a shred of the ancient homily. 'You see clearly,' Fenelon says in his dialogues of eloquence, that the "texts" come from this, that pastors in ancient times never spoke to the people on their own authority; they only explained to the people the words of Scripture. Insensibly the custom was introduced of not following the words of the Gospel, when only one part was explained which was called the "text" of the sermon.' Although the Archbishop of Cambray permitted the use of the sermon, he regretted the neglect of the ancient homily.

You can make sermons [he remarks] on the Holy Scriptures, without explaining the Scripture; but it would be quite another thing if the pastors, following the ancient usage,

explained in a succinct manner the Holy Books to the people. Consider what great authority would that man have, who saying nothing of his own invention, should but follow and explain the words of God Himself. Moreover, he would do two things at once ; in explaining the truths of Scripture, he would explain the text, and accustom the faithful always to join the meaning with the letter. What an advantage to accustom them to nourish themselves with this sacred food !

Thus the great Archbishop counsels us when about to compose a sermon, to take the most important words and those most adapted to our audience ; to give a clear explanation of them ; to show their connection with those that precede and those that follow : in a word, to imitate in the sermon what is most characteristic of the homily. It would seem to be desired that now-a-days Christian preachers should resume the ancient method of the fathers of the Church, being persuaded that they will find nothing better, and it is scarcely permitted the Christian doctor to forget the first mode of teaching which the interpreters of the Gospel employed. The law of prayer is a law of belief. But it is more ; it is an historical monument. Now, the Roman Breviary, in the offices of nine lessons, puts before us in the first nocturn a lesson taken from the different books of the Bible except the Gospels. The following nocturn always contains the instruction or commentary of the Scriptures which was read to the assembled people. Finally, the last nocturn gives the Gospel of the day, and is followed by the *homily*.

We may read in St. John Chrysostom the order which the first fathers of the Church adopted in the composition and delivery of their homilies to the people. St. John Chrysostom, whom Fenelon names a great orator, and who is, according to Bossuet, the most eloquent father of the Church, owed in part to the sublimity of his genius his oratorical triumphs, as well as to the teaching of his master and the sanctity of his life ; but, also, we cannot deny that his method contributed in a large measure to the beauty of his instructions. The following is the way the illustrious orator of Constantinople proceeded. He read, or caused to be read, before his audience the passage of Scripture which

was to be the object of his discourse. After the reading, the Bishop delivered a simple and literal commentary of the Word of God. When he perceived that his hearers had seized the meaning of the words, he gave free range to his oratorical gifts, employing all his wisdom and learning to persuade the people to quit some vice or practise some virtue.

St. John Chrysostom appears [says Fleury] to be the most accomplished model of a preacher. He ordinarily began by explaining the Scripture, verse after verse, as the lector read it, always choosing the most literal sense, and that most useful for the people. He finished by a moral exhortation which often has not a very intimate connection with the preceding instruction, but which is always adapted to the most pressing needs of his hearers, according to the knowledge which this wise and vigilant pastor had of them. He attacked the vices one after another, and did not cease combatting one until he had vanquished or notably weakened it.

Remark that St. John Chrysostom imitates in his method the example given by Jesus Christ Himself. Let us read the fourth chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke, vv. 16-20. There we see that in the synagogue of the Jews, as in the Christian Church, under the Old as well as under the New Law, from the time of Jesus Christ, as from the time of the Apostles and their successors, the text of the Word of God was read while standing, and that it is the unique theme of religious instruction. When the passage proposed for commentary was sufficiently understood by the hearers, the book was closed and returned to its place. Then the Divine Master gave the literal sense of the text of Isaiah, and showed that the promise of the prophecy was realized in the person of Him who spoke to them at that moment in the name of God. His teaching, though of a simple kind, excited the admiration of the assembly, for truth pleases of itself; it shines before the eyes of our minds. But after the literal commentary, he delivered a moral exhortation to the inhabitants of Nazareth.

As long as our Saviour confined Himself to the simple exposition of the text of Isaiah, the words full of grace which came from His mouth agreeably astonished His fellow-citizens

of Nazareth; but when he came to the practical exhortation, then these men, who knew of the miracles at Capharnaum, were irritated by the word and doctrine of the Preacher, and rushed to cast Him from the summit of the mountain. We see hereby that Jesus Christ, in the synagogue of His native place, traced the programme followed later on by St. John Chrysostom and the other fathers of the Church.

This rapid glance at the history of the homily inspires a great confidence in the primitive mode of preaching. Can we treat with levity a method of instruction which the synagogue respected even before the coming of Jesus Christ, which our Divine Master consecrated by the authority of His word, which the Apostles and fathers, and those immediately following them, cultivated into vigour, which the Church honours in the sacred monument of her liturgy, which modern preachers recall but only to condemn themselves from their own mouths by the frequent employment of the *text* of their sermon? Should the usage of the homily be entirely lost, would it not rightly be accounted a great fault and omission; and if our century has specious motives for preferring the sermon, is it necessary that the actual method should break completely with venerable and authentic traditions?

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

APPLICATION OF A REQUIEM MASS FOR WHICH NO HONORARIUM IS RECEIVED

REV. DEAR SIR,—It sometimes happens that I have to say a *Requiem* Mass, for which I receive no honorarium. May I apply such a Mass—(1) *pro defuncto ex devotione*; (2) *pro defuncto ob stipendium*; and (3) *pro vivo et ob stipendium*. . . . An answer at your convenience in the I. E. RECORD will oblige.

A SUBSCRIBER.

Assuming, as you convey, that you are not otherwise bound, either in obedience or in justice, to apply this Mass for a specific purpose, you are free to apply it, at your discretion, and you may even satisfy by this *Requiem* Mass an obligation *ex stipendio aut pro vivo aut pro defuncto*.

The following reply was given by the Sacred Congregation of the Council, 27th April, 1895 :—

An sacerdos in exequiis persolvendis missam celebrans, non recepto stipendio, debeat pro ipso defuncto, vel potius pro aliis petentibus et eleemosynam offerentibus sacrificium applicare queat? Negative ad primum, affirmative ad secundum.

The Congregation of Rites had given the following response, 13th October, 1856 :—

An liceat Sacerdotibus uti paramentis nigris et celebrare Missam de Requite ut satisfaciant obligationi quam susceperunt celebrandi pro vivis? Affirmative, modo non diverse praescripserit qui dedit eleemosynam.

According to these replies, our correspondent is perfectly free to apply the *Requiem* Mass in question in discharge of any obligation *ex stipendio*, unless there be some special condition to the contrary imposed by the person offering the stipend.

RESERVED SIN OF A 'PEREGRINUS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—A *peregrinus* confesses to me a sin which is not reserved in his, a neighbouring, diocese, but is reserved in this diocese, where the confession is heard. Can I absolve? Lehmkuhl says:—

Practice sic statui potest, ut peregrinum absolvere liceat, nisi aut—1, peccatum reservatum sit in utrobique, *i.e.*, in loco confessionis et in loco domicilii poenitentis aut—2, poenitens in fraudem legis *i.e.*, ut sese judicio sui Superioris subducat, in alienam dioecesim se transtulerit.¹

If my penitent does not come in *fraudem legis*, it would appear that I have jurisdiction.

VICARIUS.

Our correspondent's question touches an old controversy. Whence does a confessor derive the jurisdiction in virtue of which he absolves a *peregrinus*? Does the jurisdiction come through the bishop of the penitent, or through the bishop of the place in which the Confession is heard? There are, of course, patrons of each opinion. And there are many, Lehmkuhl among them, who contend that both opinions are probable; and that, consequently, apart from the case in which the penitent comes in *fraudem legis*, a confessor will have, at least, *probable* jurisdiction over a reserved sin of a *peregrinus*, unless the sin be reserved in *both* dioceses. A confessor who exercises such probable jurisdiction will certainly absolve *validly*, and, according to Lehmkuhl and others, *lawfully* as well.

From the point of view of the general law of the Church, we do not see any reason to find fault with the practical conclusion quoted from Lehmkuhl. A confessor could, we think, validly absolve a *peregrinus* who has not come in *fraudem legis* unless his sin be reserved in *patria et in loco confessionis*.

But, with us in Ireland, this conclusion must be modified on one point—that raised by our correspondent. In this country, a *peregrinus* cannot be absolved in a place where

¹ Vol. ii., n. 403.

his sin is reserved, on the plea that the sin is not reserved in his own diocese. For, in the Synod of Maynooth it was enacted—‘*Casus reservatus in diocesi confessarii non subtrahitur reservationi ea de causa quod non reservetur in diocesi poenitentis.*’¹

With us, in this country, then, as long as the rule of the Synod has not been changed, the practical rule is ‘*peregrinus judicandus est secundum legem loci confessionis* ;’ a confessor treats *peregrini* like the penitents of his own diocese, unless the *peregrini* come in *fraudem legis*. Hence, he cannot absolve a *peregrinus*—(1) from a sin reserved in both dioceses ; or (2) from a sin reserved in *loco confessionis* only ; or (3) when the penitent comes in *fraudem legis*.

THE COLLATION ON FASTING DAYS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly give your opinion on the following practical point in the next number of the I. E. RECORD, and oblige.

A SUBSCRIBER.

You are aware that our poor people generally cannot take advantage of the privilege granted them by Rome of using butter at the collation, for the all-sufficient reason that they can’t get it at the season. They often use instead *one egg*, about which they afterwards have troubles of conscience, and make it a matter of confession. It has often struck me that it may be *objectively* only a small sin, even for those strictly bound to fast. I know that *unum ovum gallinaceum* is considered a *gravis materia* ; but if the quantity of butter which people are allowed to use with bread at the collation were deducted from this amount, it would certainly reduce the *unum ovum gallinaceum*, or *gravis materia*, within the limits of *parvitas materiæ*, and so constitute it only a venial sin.

What say you to this reasoning ?

It may be that many of the persons concerned are altogether excused from fast and abstinence. But, one who is bound to fast and abstain cannot lawfully use at the collation the substitution theory put forward in this question.

Nothing is permitted at the collation except what custom allows. Anything in regard to quantity or quality beyond

¹ *De Poenitentia*, p. 84.

what custom sanctions is a violation of the fast, and may be a violation of the abstinence. Moreover, grave matter is to be estimated without reference to what one voluntarily or involuntarily foregoes.

Our correspondent's argument would equally warrant two or more eggs, if only a person were to diminish the quantity of bread taken; or some ounces of meat, on the morning of a fast day, if one chose to make his collation consist solely of meat.

**ABSOLUTION OF A PERSON ABOUT TO CONTRACT A
MIXED MARRIAGE**

DEAR REV. SIR,—Can a priest absolve a man or a woman who is intending to marry a Protestant, which Protestant does not intend to become a Catholic? Dr. Feye says he cannot; but not having Dr. Feye's *Treatise on Matrimony* at hand, I cannot verify this statement. An answer in your next will oblige.

W. S.

It is gravely unlawful for a Catholic to marry a heretic, and that usually for two reasons: 1. There is grave danger to the faith of the Catholic party and to the faith of the offspring of the marriage. This danger, however, may, in certain cases, wholly (?) or partially cease. 2. These marriages are strictly forbidden by the Church. Where the danger to the faith of the Catholic party and the offspring is removed, or made remote, the Church, for grave cause, may dispense in the *ecclesiastical* law:—

1. The confessor, therefore, is, in the first place, bound to dissuade a Catholic from a mixed marriage.

2. If, however, he does not succeed in preventing the marriage, he is *not* bound to treat his penitent as indisposed, where—(1) the danger of perversion can and will be made remote; (2) where there is a just cause for dispensation; and (3) the penitent is prepared to seek a dispensation, and is determined not to marry in case it be refused.

3. The confessor must, of course, treat his penitent as indisposed—(1) if the danger of perversion cannot be made remote, or will not; (2) if there be no sufficient cause for a

dispensation ; (3) if the penitent will not seek a dispensation ; or (4) if the penitent is prepared to go on with the marriage even though the dispensation be refused.

D. MANNIX.

[NOTE.—We find it quite impossible to deal with the number of questions sent in. We are reluctantly compelled to hold over to the next or future numbers several important questions.

The misprint of 'desires' for 'defines,' in the last number, on page 350, three lines from foot of page, made the sentence in which it occurs almost unintelligible.]

LITURGY

A BLASPHEMOUS LEAFLET

SEVERAL times within the past few years have copies of a so-called prayer been sent to us, with a request that we would give our opinion of it in these pages. But the 'prayer' itself, its history, the promises made to those who believe in it and use it, and the threats pronounced against those who dare to doubt, are such a compound of ignorance or diabolical malice and blasphemy, that we hesitated to sully our pages by even referring to it. Moreover, we did not believe that any Catholic able to read could be so ignorant or so credulous as to be deceived for a moment by such a blasphemous jumble. Quite recently, however, we have obtained reliable evidence that this outrage on religion and common sense is actually printed in Dublin, and in more than one place in this Catholic city. One printer has been rash enough or ignorant enough to print his name and address in the usual way on the leaflet. Others, however, more cunning, issue the leaflet anonymously, but at the same time sell it to the very ignorant and very credulous for the sum of a halfpenny per copy. Inquiries have convinced us that this production has a large circulation not only in Dublin, but in many towns, villages, and parishes in Ireland and elsewhere. And we have even been told that nuns have been known to send copies of it to their relatives and friends, and, worse still, to recommend it to their pupils. We have too much respect,

however, for the intelligence, not to speak of the education, of our nuns to believe this charge. It is a calumny we are certain, and we mention it merely for the purpose of putting nuns on their guard against circulating or encouraging any prayer or other form of devotion which has not the requisite approval of the Church. This leaflet, we need hardly remark, bears no trace of ecclesiastical approval of any kind. Subjoined will be found two versions of this 'prayer' which have been sent to us within the past few weeks. They are here printed, so far as grammar, punctuation, and spelling are concerned precisely as they are found in the leaflets. It will be seen that those who are responsible for the issue of these leaflets are as ignorant of the elementary rules of English composition as they are of theology and history. How anyone able to read it, could be deceived by such a farrago of blasphemous nonsense and bad grammar is utterly incomprehensible. But what is to be said of the publishers? Do they deserve the support of Catholics, or of Christians? We think not; and if we find that the circulation of this disgraceful leaflet has not completely ceased we will give to the public in these pages and elsewhere the names, now in our possession, of those who have lent themselves to its publication and dissemination.

THIS PRAYER WAS FOUND ON THE GRAVE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND SENT FROM THE POPE TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES AS HE WAS GOING TO BATTLE FOR HIS SAFETY

They who shall repeat this Prayer, or be present when it is repeated, or keep it about them, shall never die a sudden death, nor be drowned in water, nor shall they fall into the hands of their enemies, nor be burned in any fire, nor shall be overpowered in battle, nor shall poison take any effect on them; and it being read over a woman in labour, she shall be safely delivered, and be a glad mother, and when the child is born, lay this Prayer on his or her right side, and he or she will not be troubled with thirty-two misfortunes, and if you see anyone in the fits, lay this Prayer on his or her right side, and he or she shall stand up and thank you; and he that shall write this from house to house shall be blessed from the Lord; and they who laugh at it shall suffer:—

THE PRAYER

O Adorable Lord and Saviour of Christ, lying on the gallows tree for our sins! O holy Cross of Christ, steer me in all truth,

protect me from my enemies ! O holy Cross of Christ, protect me in my right road to happiness ! O holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all dangerous deaths and give me life always ! O crucified Jesus of Nazareth, have mercy on me, that the bad enemy may keep off from me now and for ever.—Amen. In honour of Jesus Christ, and in honour of His blessed death and sacred passion, and in honour of His resurrection and Godlike ascension, to which He like to bring us to the way to heaven. True as Jesus was born on Christmas Day in the stall. True as Jesus was crucified on Good Friday. True as the three wise kings brought their offerings to Jesus on the thirteenth day. True as He ascended into heaven, so the honour of Jesus will keep me from my enemies, visible and invisible now and for ever. Amen. To the Lord Jesus I offer my spirit. Jesus have mercy on me. Mary and Joseph, pray for me, through Nicodemus and Joseph, who took our Lord from the cross and buried Him. O Lord Jesus, stay my bitter anguish ! Through the sufferings on the cross, for truly then your soul was parting from this world, have mercy on my poor soul when parting from its mortal flesh from this sinful world. O Jesus, give me peace.—END.

Believe this for certain, which is written here, it is as true as the Holy Evangelists. They who keep it about them shall not fear lightning or thunder, and they that repeat it every day shall have three days warning before death.

A PRAYER

The following prayer was found in the grave of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year 1003, and was sent from the Pope to the Emperor Charles, as he was going into battle, for safety. Whoever shall repeat it every day, or hear it read, or keep it about them, shall never die a sudden death, nor be drowned, nor shall fall into the hands of their enemies in battle—nor shall poison take effect on them, and it being read to anyone in great pain, shall get instant relief—and if you see anyone in fits lay this on his or her right side, and they shall stand up and be blessed, and they who shall repeat it in any house shall be blessed by the Lord—and he that will laugh at it will suffer—believe this to be certain—it is true as the Holy Evangelist has written it. They who keep it always with them shall not fear thunder nor lightning—and they who shall repeat it every day shall receive three days warning before their death.

THE PRAYER

Oh ! adorable Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, dying on the gallows tree, save me—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ see me safe through—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all weapons of danger—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all sharp

repeating words—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all things that are evil—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, protect me from my enemies—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, guide the right way to happiness—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all dangerous deaths, and give me life always—Oh ! Crucified Jesus of Nazareth have mercy on me now and for evermore. Oh ! Blessed Mother of God, intercede for us poor sinners. Amen.

In honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in honour of His Sacred Passion, and in honour of His Glorious Resurrection and God-like Ascension, to which he wished to bring me the right way to Heaven—True as Jesus was born on Christmas Day—True as Jesus died to save sinners—True as the three Wise Kings brought to Jesus on the 13th day—True as he ascended into Heaven—So the honour of Jesus will keep me from my enemies, visible and invisible, now and for evermore. Amen.

Oh ! Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on me—Mary and Joseph pray for me, through Nicodemus, who took our Lord down from the Cross. Oh ! Lord Jesus Christ, through Thy sufferings on the Cross this soul was flitting out of this world, give me grace that I may carry the Cross and keep from suffering and that without complaining, and keep me from all dangerous deaths now and for evermore. Amen.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS

THE BICENTENARY CELEBRATION AT GYÖR

[THE following official account of the bicentenary celebration, held at Györ, in Hungary, in commemoration of the bloody sweat of the miraculous picture of our Lady preserved in the Cathedral, will, no doubt, be interesting to many readers of the I. E. RECORD.

✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Clonfert.*]

REVERENDISSIME AC AMPLISSIME DOMINE EPISCOPE !
FRATER IN CHRISTO COLENDISSIME !

Festivitas, qua bisaecularis memoria prodigiosi sudoris in imagine B. Mariae Virginis observati apud nos recalebatur, feliciter terminata est. De hac festivitate jubilar, quo desiderio Amplitudinis Tuae respondeam promissique mei debitum exsolvam, aliqua connotare delectat.

Festivitas a 16^a usque 25^{am} Martii extensa erat.

Die 16^a Martii festo initium datum est cum solemnibus Lytaniis coram gratiosa imagine ; has excepit sacer sermo, habitus ab uno canonicorum ; dein recitatum S. Rosarium. Post salutationem angelicam vespertinam, interiecta modica mora, concentus campanarum totius urbis uno horae quadrante annuntiavit fidelibus solemnitates insequentis diei.

Die 17^a ipsa nempe die anniversari prodigiosi eventus, festo S. Patritii, a hora media sexta sacra celebrata sunt ad aram B. M. Virginis ; hora nona festum sermonem sacrum habuit Revssmus. ac Amplissimus Dominus Philippus Heiner, origine Dioecesis Faurinensis filius, nunc Episcopus Albaregalensis ; finito sermone ad aram gratiosam Virginis ipse ego Sacrum Pontificale habui. Post salutationem angelicam meridianam, aliqua mora interposita, in turri Residentiae Episcopalis resonabant sacrae cantilenae de B. M. Virgine, comitantibus cantum tubis aliisque instrumentis musicis ; a meridie Lytaniae solennes. Aduit autem fidelis populus maximo numero singulis devotionis partibus.

Sequentibus diebus tum ipsi Faurinenses, tum populus e circumiacente regione, alii sub vexillis in forma processions, alii

in minores turmas collecti venerunt B. M. Virginem, afflictorum Consolatricem filiali pietate salutaturi.

Diebus 22^a, 23^a, et 24^a, Martii erat triduum, quotidie cum Sacro et a meridie cum sacro sermone, quorum duos parochi urbis, tertium Canonicus Cathedralis Ecclesiae habuit. Argumenta sermonum ordine desumpta sunt ex mysteriis SS. Rosarii gaudiosi, dolorosi et gloriosi.

Denique in Octava, seu 25^a Martii ingenti numero advenit e circumiacentibus regionibus fidelis populus, alii sub vexillis, alii beneficio viae ferreae in quinque directionibus urbi nostra appropinquantis. Hora nona unus canonicorum habuit sermonem, Sacrum autem Pontificale ipse ego habui. Post salutationem angelicam in turri Residentiae Episcopalis pari modo, sicut die 17^a notatum, s. hymni cum musica reficiebant animos fidelium. A meridie Lytaniae solemnes, post has Te Deum.

Numerus sacram confessionem peragentium et communicantium in Ecclesia Cathedrali et Conventus Carmelitarum insimul quinque millia superabat.

Atque haec erat series festivitatum causa nostrae laetitiae. Utinam Jesus Christus hanc nostrae filialis in Matrem Suam pietatis manifestationem sereno vultu accipere Consolatrix autem Afflictorum tum nobis, tum vobis afflictis, saepe et tribulatis benigna et praepotenti intercessione adesse dignetur!

Te, mei memorem, Deus tueatur omnipotens! Jaurini in Hungaria, die 29^a Martii, 1897.

Amplitudinis Vestrae Reverendissimae,

Frater in Christo,

✠ JOANNES ZALKA,

Episcopus Jaurinensis.

**DECREE REGARDING THE CANONIZATION OF THE
VENERABLE JOHN NEPOMUCENE NEUMANN, C.S.S.R.,
BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA**

[THE introduction of the cause of any servant of God is of much interest to us. We may go the length of saying that the introduction of the cause of Venerable John Nep. Neumann has a most special claim on our interest. As he died only in 1860, and at the comparatively early age of forty-nine, we can say that he has been an ecclesiastical student, a secular priest, a missionary and a bishop in our own days. His whole life as a minister of Christ was spent in the United

States, a country typically modern. Within the bosom of the Church, and among non-Catholics, he laboured for men of every tongue. He had in his zeal for souls acquired a perfect knowledge not only of his maternal tongue, German, and the languages of the learned, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also of English, French, Italian, Spanish, and Bohemian. That which is yet more astonishing, and which may make the blush of shame to rise on some of our cheeks, is that he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of Irish to enable him to hear confessions in this language. We have then in this venerable servant of God a working ecclesiastic of our own times, the greater part of whose life was spent in circumstances far more difficult than those in which we find ourselves. Cooperating from his childhood with divine grace God has formed in him a perfect model for students and for priests. With age he grew in the perfection proper to his state and in zeal for the salvation of souls, until those with whom he lived and for whom he worked saw in him a living saint. But there is one phase in his life especially worthy of note, and that is his unceasing labours to put truly Catholic schools within the reach of every Catholic child. The picture painted on this occasion of the introduction of his cause points to him as the Patron of Schools. He is represented in a school distributing prizes to the children. His first work in America was the instruction of children. When received as bishop in Philadelphia, he begged the people who wished to make him a presentation to do that which would give him most pleasure, namely, to build a Catholic school. His first favour granted after his death was to a teaching nun. She had become quite deaf, and, she felt the privation because she could no longer teach. She addressed herself to her venerable bishop and begged him to obtain her the favour to be able to hear during class hours in school. Her prayer was heard, and as long as she was able to go to the school she heard during class hours : she was quite deaf during the rest of the day. The Bishop of Cleveland, who knew the servant of God personally, in his letter to the Holy Father asking for the introduction of the cause, writes : ' *Zelus ejus erga pueros christiane educandos et instituendos, sollicitudoque de condendis scholis parochialibus tanta fuerunt, ut jure meritoque appelletur *Fundator* ejus generis Scholarum in civitate Philadelphensi* ' (Processus Num. xvii.). In a like letter, the Bishop of Green Bay does not hesitate to

assert: 'Fuit inter antistites Novi Orbi primus et accerrimus propugnator scholae parochialis et illius catholicae educationis . . . Inter media quibus plebem suam prudentissimus ille Praesul sanctificavit, maximum censuit esse erectionem scholarum parochialium . . . et aperte decebat, non aliter juventutem catholicam in fide firmari et servari posse quam catholica educatione in scholis omnino catholicis et religiosis.' (Processus Num. xviii.). In effect, as we learn from the same witness: 'In fine vitae [venerabilis episcopus] dicere posset vix esse in sua diocese parociam cui schola non esset annexa. Millia puerorum ejus hortatu publicas scholas dereliquerunt ita ut toti urbi res innotesceret' (ib.). It is then no wonder that the bishops of the United States should have sent to the Holy See letters such as we read in the Process from the pen of the Card. Archbishop of Baltimore, the Archbishop of New York, and the Archbishop of Philadelphia, in whose dioceses he worked. Neither should we wonder that from Austria petitions for the introduction of the cause came not only from the bishops in whose dioceses the venerable servant of God was born and studied, but also from other bishops, and from the Emperor of Austria himself. Thus does God honour one who had the most lowly opinion of himself, and who was familiarly known as the 'Little Priest.'

We have the answer to all these petitions in the decree. It only remains that we pray God to put His own divine seal on the sanctity of His servant by working miracles through his intercession.]

DECRETUM PHILADELPHIEN. SEU BUDVICEN. BEATIFICATIONIS ET
CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI IOANNIS NEPOMUCENI NEUMANN
E CONGREGATIONE SANCTISSIMI REDEMPTORIS EPISCOPI PHILA-
DELPHIENSIS

SUPER DUBIO

*An sit signanda Commissio Introductionis Causae, in casu et ad
effectum de quo agitur?*

Angelici spiritus Dei ministri atque hominum custodes peculiari quadam protectione sustinent Ecclesiarum Angelos Episcopos, qui cum ipsis et muneris dignitate et gratiae auxilio consociantur. Inter hos recensendus est Servus Dei Ioannes Nepomucenus Neumann, Episcopus Philadelphiensis, e Congregatione SS^{mi} Redemptoris, Sancti Patris Fundatoris M. de Bohorio verus discipulus ac spiritualis filius. Prachaticii in Böhemia

eadem die 28 martii anno 1811 natus et baptizatus est, eique a piis probisque parentibus Philippo et Agnete Lebisch nomen impositum Ioannes Nepomucenus. Puer, diligens, modestus ac devotus scholas primarias in patria frequentabat, et sacro chrismate linitus ecclesiasticis functionibus libentissime inserviebat. Annum agens duodecimum Budovisiam missus, prius humanioribus literis, dein tum in Seminario dioecesano in Universitate Pragensi theologicis, disciplinis sedulo incubuit. A suo Episcopo, die 21 iulii 1832, clericalem tonsuram minoresque ordines recepit, ac plura Sanctuaria, more peregrini poenitentis, invisens et Sanctum Franciscum Xaverium suum patronum imitari cupiens, se ad exterarum missiones vocatum ostendit. Studiorum curriculo summa cum laude expleto, atque in domum parentum reversus, quum magis in dies desiderio missionum incensus esset, a proprio Episcopo Budvicensi rite dimissus, die 20 aprilis 1836 in Americam Septentrionalem profectus est; eumque Episcopus Neo-Eboracensis humanissime recepit, probavit et ad sacros ordines promovit. Novus in vinea Dei operarius ac sacris expeditionibus addictus Servus Dei cum zelo et patientia populos evangelizavit regionis prope Niagaram, quae tunc ad dioecesim Neo-Eboracensem pertinebat. Verum perfectioris vita capessendae consilium, quod Roffae cum Patribus Alphonsianis sancte conversando conceperat atque alibi foverat, ad rem, Deo adiuvante, perduxit. Namque die 30 novembris anno 1840 Congregationis SSñi Redemptoris habitum induit atque, tyrocinio per biennium peracto, die 16 ianuarii 1842, in Ecclesia S. Alphonsi Collegio Baltimorensi adnexa, religiosa vota emisit. Sororibus, Carmelitanis, atque a nostra Domina nuncupatis, necnon Hospitio Pittsburgensi S. Philuminae operam valde utilem praebuit. Religiosus observantissimus, missionarius fervidus, Superiori Provinciali adiutor, etiam praefato Collegio Baltimorensi praepositus fuit usque ad annum 1852, quo Episcopus Philadelphiensis, praeter suam expectationem, ab Apostolica Sede electus et die 28 martii in memorata Ecclesia S. Alphonsi consecratus, ad suam dioecesim illico se contulit. Pastoralis officio pro Christo fungens, quolibet biennio integram dioecesim perlustrabat, et verbi Dei praedicatione, sacramentorum administratione atque sacrorum rituum observantia sacerdotibus suis prae lucebat. Cathedralis Ecclesiam, Seminarium clericorum, Asylum infantum erexit aut perfecit; atque insimul scholas parochiales et sodalitates instituit, accitis quoque in dioecesim Fratibus et Sororibus

Religiosarum Congregationum. Anno 1854 a Pio Papa IX fel. rec. vocatus Romam venit, definitioni dogmaticae de Immaculata B. M. V. Conceptione interfuit, septem Basilicas Urbis pedestes et ieiunus quinquies visitavit, et, patria ac genitore revisis, Philadelphiam rediens, non modo tridua solemnitas in honorem Immaculatae Conceptionis celebrari iussit, sed etiam publicam Augustissimi Sacramenti expositionem in forma XL Horarum, prout eam Romae peragi viderat, in suam dioecesim introduxit. Quasi angelus in terram missus, improviso, dum per viam deambulet, a Deo revocatus in caelestem patriam evolavit die 5 ianuarii anno 1860, clero et populo ad eius funus et sepulcrum penes Ecclesiam Redemptoristarum ad S. Petrum confluente. Sanctimoniae fama quam Ioannes Nepomucenus, dum vitam ageret, sibi comparaverat, post obitum in dies clarior ac diffusior praesertim in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis ac in dioecesi Budovicensi, Inquisitioni Ordinariae instituendae causa fuit. Itaque Ordinarii Processibus, qui supra recensita testantur, rite peractis et ad S. Rituum Congregationem delatis una cum scriptis Servi Dei, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII per Decretum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis datum die 10 iunii 1895, haec scripta probavit. Quum vero per alia anteriora Decreta edita diebus 14 et 19 decembris 1892 idem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster facultatem tribuisset, ut Dubium de signanda Commissione Introductionis Causae ipsius Servi Dei agi posset ante lapsum decennii in Ordinariis praedictae Sacrae Congregationis Comitibus absque interventu et voto Consultorum, ideo instante Rmo P. Claudio Benedetti, sacerdote professo et postulatore generali Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris, attentisque Postulatoriis Litteris nonnullorum Eminorum ac Rmorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, plurium Sacrorum Antistitum aliorumque virorum ecclesiasticae aut civili dignitate illustrium, inter quas mentione dignae sunt Litterae Serenissimi Imperatoris Austriae Francisci Iosephi I aliorumque ex eadem Imperiali Familia, infrascriptus Cardinalis S. Rituum Congregationis Praefectus, huiusce Causae Ponens ac Relator, in Ordinario Sacrae ipsius Congregationis Coetu sub-signata die, ad Vaticanum habito, sequens Dubium discutiendum proposuit, nimirum: *An sit signanda Commissio Introductionis Causae, in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?* Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, post relationem ipsius infrascripti Cardinalis Ponentis, omnibus mature perpensis et audito R. P. D. Gustavo Persiani S. Romanae Rotae Auditore et Sanctae Fidei Promotoris

munus gerente, rescribendum censuit : *Affirmative, seu signandam esse Commissionem, si Sanctissimo placuerit.* Die 15 decembris 1896.

Quibus omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papæ XIII per meipsum infrascriptum Cardinalem relatis, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis ratum habens, propria manu signare dignata est Commissionem Introductionis Causae Venerabilis Servi Dei Ioannis Nepomuceni Neumann, Episcopi Philadelphiensis, iisdem die, mense et anno.

CAIETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S. R. C. Praefectus.*

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

L. ✠ S.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CARMINA SACRA S. ALPHONSI MARIAE DE LIGUORIO.
Latini versa a P. Francisco Xaverio Reuss, C.S.S.R.
Romae, Ex Typographia a pace. Philippi Cuggiani.

THIS work gives us all the Sacred Poetry of the Holy doctor, including what was written in the Neapolitan dialect. Some pieces are now published for the first time. On one page Father Reuss gives the original Italian text; on the opposite, his own Latin translation. In Italy his rendering of the poetry of his father, St. Alphonsus, is highly praised; but high above these praises stands the Brief which his Holiness Leo XIII. has been pleased to send to the translator:—

DILECTO FILIO FRANCISCO XAVERIO REUSS SAC.
E CONGREGATIONE SS. REDEMPTORIS
LEO PP. XIII.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Rem tu exegisti sane dignam alumno Alfonsi Patris, edito nuper volumine quod humaniter a te oblatum accepimus. In eo libentes vidimus quam felici industria latine reddideris carmina, quae pleno Ille sacri aestus pectore multa et suavia fudit, pietatis sanctae optima alimenta. De confecto labore crede quidem fore non paucos qui gratiam habeant tibi: sic enim conversis carminibus non minus iucunde pieque afficientur animi quam natis. Certe autem beatus idem Pater, hoc per te decore auctus, benigniore te vultu respiciet, atque ea potiora munera quae tibi ipse tamquam operae tuae praemium exoptas, abunde impetrabit. Quorum munerum auspex accedat Apostolica benedictio, quam tibi paterno animo impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die VIII decembris an MDCCXCVI, Pontificatus Nostri decimo nono.

LEO PP. XIII.

In his Introduction, the translator reminds us of the marvelous gifts which St. Alphonsus possessed and which fitted him for a first place amongst poets: 'Nec dubitandum,' he writes, 'quin S. Doctor, si totum se ad colendam musam voluisset convertere, evasurus fuisset insignis poeta, celebrioribus accensendus, qui ejus aetate floruerunt.' He points out to us certain *Carmina* of great beauty, and gives us the appreciation of the

learned who have written on the poetry of St. Alphonsus. In number XVIII. we have the marvellously beautiful dialogue between the Soul and Christ, for which the holy Doctor composed music which is considered of the first order.

Besides the Introduction, the translator gives us twelve pages of *Annotationes*, which show how carefully he studied these writings of the saint, and how deeply he imbibed his spirit. It is no matter of wonder that the Holy Father has written : 'Sic enim conversis carminibus non minus jucunde pieque afficiuntur animi quam nativis.' His Holiness, we have heard, has further signified his appreciation by sending a copy to every seminary in Italy.¹

TRACTATUS DE VIRTUTIBUS IN GENERE, DE VIRTUTIBUS THEOLOGICIS, ET DE VIRTUTIBUS CARDINALIBUS. Ad usum Alumnorum Seminarii Archiepiscopalis Mechliniensis. Mechliniae : H. Dessain.

TRACTATUS DE JURE UT JUSTITIA ET DE CONTRACTIBUS. Ad usum, etc. Mechliniae : H. Dessain. 1896.

THESE are two of the latest volumes of the already extensive Mechlin *cursus*. Some of the preceding volumes have been before the public for a number of years, and the fact that they have gone through several editions is a proof of their popularity. The Tracts under notice preserve the method, style, and general characteristics of their series. The catechetical method is followed without deviation, and so its defects as well as its advantages, come out in distinct relief. The style is eminently simple and clear, and sufficiently concise. With regard to matter and treatment, it is worthy of note in the treatise *De Virtutibus Theologicis* that, contrary to the general practice of modern theologians, no distinction is observed between the provinces of Dogma and Moral. Whatever may be thought of this mixing as a system, it looks very well in the present instance ; and it would be difficult, for example, to point to a more useful elementary collection of the whole theology regarding the virtue of Faith than is to be found here in the brief compass of less than a hundred pages. In treating of the Moral Virtues—as elsewhere also wherever his authority is available—St. Thomas is followed

¹ For the convenience of persons living in England or Ireland, orders can be sent to Messrs. Browne and Nolan, Ltd., Dublin. Price, 3s.; postage extra

with fidelity. The mention of this fact is enough to give a high character to this treatise.

The Tract *De Jure*, &c., is largely taken up, as we should expect, with Belgian municipal law. In the purely theological portions we notice nothing worth referring to, except that in some sections the treatment is rather scanty and wanting somewhat in definiteness. It would be interesting to compare the author's teaching about the effect on conscience of certain provisions of the municipal law with Crolley's teaching on corresponding points in connection with our law. Just to give an instance, the complete liberation of conscience which Crolley holds to be effected, under certain conditions, by a certificate of discharge in cases of bankruptcy in our law, is distinctly denied by the author of this Tract to have any place in Belgian law. The difference, however, appears to be all in the law, not in the theology of the question, since, in the present form of the Belgian law, there seems to be *no extinction* for the bankrupt even of legal liability against the event of a return to better fortune (N. 38, Q. 6).

Both of these volumes, but especially that *De Virtutibus*, will be found useful by any student or priest who cares to study them. They have the approbation of Cardinal Goossens, Archbishop of Mechlin.

P. J. T.

FROM HELL TO HEAVEN. By the Rev. J. A. Dewe.
London: D. Lane, 310, Strand.

THIS is a strange book, with a strange title. It is a collection of sermons on moral and dogmatic subjects, published by a Catholic priest, and yet it bears no evidence of having been submitted to a censor, or of having received the requisite approval from ecclesiastical authority. In a word, it has neither a *nihil obstat* nor an *imprimatur*. The sermons, which are seventeen in number, are original both in matter and form. There is no text of Sacred Scripture given at the beginning, and, indeed, the inspired word is used very sparingly throughout. It would, perhaps, be better to call the contents of the book 'short essays' rather than sermons. They are, however, thoughtful and clever, and possess a freshness which is absent from many sermon books. As it is not our intention to usurp the functions of the forgotten censor, we will offer no criticism on the matter of the sermons.

MISSA ANGELICA IN HONOREM SS. ANGELORUM. Auctore P. Griesbacher. Op. 17a, for Six Mixed Voices and Organ; op. 17b, for Four Equal Voices and Organ. Düsseldorf, Schwann.

THIS beautiful and effective Mass is very suitable for festive occasions. It requires a choir fairly familiar with contrapuntal compositions and a good organist. The edition for four equal voices is suitable for either male or female choirs. The two lower parts are printed in the bass clef, which appears to indicate that the author was thinking primarily of male voices. The organ accompaniment, too, is conceived under this aspect, for the author remarks that, in case of a performance with female voices, it would be better to use the organ accompaniment of the six-part edition. Still we have some hesitation in recommending the Mass to male choirs. We fear that the generally low position of the voices would produce a rather sombre effect. But for well-trained female choirs a performance of the composition should be a very worthy and repaying task. H. B.

TEMPERANCE CATECHISM AND TOTAL ABSTINENCE MANUAL.

By Rev. J. A. Cullen, S.J. Dublin: *Messenger* Office.

THE NECESSITIES OF THE AGE. A Lecture. By the Rev. W. J. Mulcahy, P.P., Croagh.

FATHER CULLEN'S *Temperance Catechism* is so well known that it is hardly necessary even to announce the issue of a new edition. The *Catechism* is intended 'for the use of colleges, schools, and educational establishments;' and if it were really used in these, and in the homes of our people, it would do more to save the rising generations from the demon of drunkenness than all the pledges and total abstinence societies ever invented.

Father Mulcahy's able lecture appeals to the grown up and the educated on the same subject on which Father Cullen's *Catechism* appeals to children and to the less educated of our countrymen. It is a powerful philippic against alcohol, the manifold evils of which are exposed in lucid, eloquent, and sometimes pathetic language. To the aid of his incisive logic the learned lecturer brings an array of facts and statistics, collected from sources almost innumerable, so that his lecture, apart from its literary finish, will form an armoury whence those who embark in the crusade against the demon alcohol can supply themselves with suitable weapons.

IMITATION OF THE MOST BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. After the model of the *Imitation of Christ*. From the French. By Mrs. A. R. Bennett-Gladstone. Benziger Brothers.

EXPLANATION OF THE 'OUR FATHER' AND THE 'HAIL MARY.' Adapted from the German. By Rev. Richard Brennan, LL.D. Same publishers.

PRAYER. By Saint Alphonsus Liguori. Same publishers.

WE can heartily recommend the *Imitation of the Most Blessed Virgin* as a book of solid, practical devotion. The virtues of our Lady are put before the reader as models, and sensible advice is given as to how persons, in the different states and spheres of life, may copy these models. The book is beautifully turned out in the shape of a little pocket manual, and contains, in addition to the four books on the *Imitation of the Blessed Virgin*, an excellent method of assisting at Mass, together with Vespers for Sunday in Latin and English.

Dr. Brennan's *Explanation of the Our Father and Hail Mary* should prove extremely useful to priests. The book opens with a short dissertation on prayer in general, and then the prelude and the several petitions of the *Our Father* are taken up separately. On each is given a short instruction; then follow passages from Sacred Scripture bearing upon or illustrating the petition; these passages are followed by similar passages carefully selected from the fathers of the Church; and finally is given a series of interesting anecdotes appropriate to the petition under discussion. The *Hail Mary* and the *Holy Mary* are explained in the same manner, and as the complement of this explanation the author gives an interesting and valuable explanation of the *Litany of Loreto* and of the *Rosary of the B.V. Mary*.

St. Alphonsus' treatise on *Prayer* needs no word of commendation. This is the centenary edition.

IRISH LOCAL LEGENDS. By Lageniensis. Dublin:
James Duffy & Co.

By the publication of this unpretentious little volume, 'Lageniensis' has added yet another to the many debts of gratitude which his countrymen already owed him. True, the 'Local Legends' here published nearly all appeared before, but only in an ephemeral form; besides, in their collected form, they

are not merely handy and convenient, but they will reach a much more enlarged circle of readers than they ever did when first printed. There are in all thirty legends, picked up, as the author tells us, in various parts of Ireland. And very few places in Ireland, indeed, would seem to have escaped him; for he has legends from Antrim and Cork, from Dublin and Galway, from Waterford and Donegal. And all the legends are interesting and 'racy of the soil.'

MISSA IN HON. S. ROSAE, VIRG. LIMANAE. For two equal, or four mixed voices and organ. By H. Tappert. Score 35 cents; twelve copies, 3 dollars 50 cents. St. Francis, Wis.: J. Singenberger.

THE Rev. H. Tappert, of Covington, Kent., fully familiar with the needs and possibilities of country choirs, presents us in this, his first Mass, with a composition that, besides being very easy, and still effective, has the advantage of allowing a double way of performance, namely, either by four mixed voices, or by soprano and alto only. We should not recommend the work for choirs consisting merely of female voices, because the omission of the male parts necessitates, now and again, slight breaks in the continuity of singing—gaps filled up by organ interludes, which, though not very unpleasant, still cause some slight inconvenience. But for such choirs of moderate attainments that either regularly or occasionally include male voices, the Mass will prove very suitable.

H. B.

ETHELRED PRESTON; or the Adventures of a Newcomer. By Francis J. Finn, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1897.

MOSTLY BOYS. Short Stories. By the same Author. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1897.

FATHER FINN's stories of schoolboy life are already so well known and appreciated, at least in America, that they hardly need our commendation. We consider them equal to anything in their line we have ever read, and they possess a value altogether their own in being the first notably successful pictures that have appeared in English of Catholic school-life as it is. Racy in style, rich in incident, teeming with merry schoolboy

fun, they cannot fail to captivate the youthful readers for whom they are written, while the ideals of honour, truthfulness, industry and piety which they hold up for admiration and imitation must have an influence for good on the conduct and character of the impressionable small boy. Thoroughly Catholic in spirit and tone, they display, nevertheless, a liberality and breadth of interest that ought to recommend them even to non-Catholic boys. They are, of course, distinctively American in matters of detail, but this need not militate against their popularity with us: our boys, we think, will bear with the account of a base-ball match, which they do not understand, for the sake of more salient points of interest common to them and their young American friends.

Of the two volumes mentioned at the head of this notice we have nothing special to remark, except that they scarcely show Father Finn at his best, and we recommend our readers who wish to give him a trial to consult his other books also, *Percy Wynn*, *Tom Playfair*, *Harry Dee*, and *Claude Lightfoot*. They are published in a uniform series, price 85 cents., or 3s. each, by Benziger Brothers, and by Messrs. Gill & Son.

A ROUND TABLE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN CATHOLIC NOVELISTS. Benziger Brothers. 1897.

PASSING SHADOWS. A Novel. By Anthony Yorke. Same Publishers. 1897.

THESE are two of the latest issues of the Catholic literature of fiction, which is growing apace in America, and accomplishing, doubtless, no inconsiderable good in the interests of religion.

The *Round Table* furnishes a choice selection of short stories by the leading Catholic fictionists. The assured eminence of the contributors led us to expect rare excellence in the contributions, and we are glad to say that on the whole our expectations have been fulfilled. We know of no better collection of the same compass where the reader may turn for an occasional hour's pleasant and profitable reading. A portrait and a short biographical sketch of the writer accompany each contribution. The publishers announce their intention of continuing the series in case this first venture proves a success. We cannot help wishing that it may be a success, and shall be glad to welcome further

volumes that maintain the same high standard. The price is \$1.50.

Passing Shadows is a very readable sketch of Catholic life in New York. There is nothing very striking about it, but it is precisely its avoidance of the sentimental that gives it the merit it possesses. The style is brisk and vigorous, and the story runs along with a smooth and easy progress and exhibits a very natural blending of genuine piety with mirth, love, and affliction. We should not be surprised to see the author produce such works as make men eminent.

THE THANES OF KENT. By C. M. Home. London :
Catholic Truth Society.

THIS story gives an interesting, and, as far as it goes, accurate picture of the lives led by the Saxon nobles of Kent during the reign of Ethelbert, and the saintly Bertha, over that kingdom. The story commences in the interval which elapsed between the death of Bishop Luidhard, who had accompanied the Lady Bertha from her Frankish home, as her confessor and chaplain, and the arrival of St. Augustine and his companions. The example of the gentle but queenly Bertha, aided by the zeal and kindness of Bishop Luidhard, had already won over to the true faith many noble thanes and maidens. Of the former we are specially introduced to Oswyn and Athelstan; of the latter, to Eanswythe and Eadburga, two maidens who abode, as the custom then was, at the royal court as companions to Queen Bertha. Seigfrid, brother to Oswyn, but a stubborn, though noble-minded pagan, is the hero of the story; Baldred, a chief among the Druids, the villain; and Eanswythe, the heroine. Justice has not been done to Baldred. Though comparatively young, he was recognised as the chief and spokesman of the Saxon priests; consequently, he must have been clever. Yet in the methods which he adopted to thwart and oppose St. Augustine's work, there is not displayed a single spark of genius. The author attributes to him only a low cunning and a brutal blood-thirstiness, which, though becoming in a 'Bill Sykes' are not such characteristics as even a Christian artist would give to the highest and the last of the priests of Woden. Apart from this blemish, which is merely an artistic one, the story is very readable.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. With 100 Illustrations. New York, &c., Benziger Brothers, 1897.

POPULAR INSTRUCTIONS TO PARENTS ON THE BRINGING UP OF CHILDREN. By Very Rev. Ferreol Girardey, C.S.S.R. Same Publishers, 1897.

OUR FAVOURITE DEVOTIONS. Compiled from approved sources by Very Rev. Dean A. A. Lings. Same Publishers, 1897.

HOW TO MAKE THE MISSION. By a Dominican Father. Same Publishers, 1897.

The New Testament, just issued by this eminent and enterprising Catholic firm is really a work of art. The type though small, as it must be, in a pocket volume of the New Testament, is so clear cut, and so evenly spaced, that the very appearance of the page pleases the eye. The illustrations, one hundred in number, are all full page, and all copies of famous pictures, some of which are historical, some allegorical. The American price is 60 c., the English 2s. 6d. The publishers request us to state, that this edition of the New Testament can be procured from Messrs. Burns and Oates, and R. Washbourne, London; from Messrs. M. H. Gill and Son, Dublin, and from all Catholic Booksellers.

We can recommend the *Popular Instructions to Parents*, especially to parents of the under and middle classes, who often neglect through ignorance, to fulfil some of their most important obligations towards their children.

Our Favourite Devotions is a compilation of useful and suggestive prayers in honour of the Sacred Heart, the Holy Name, the Blessed Virgin under various titles, St. Joseph, and several other saints, devotion to whom has become popular.

How to Make the Mission, will probably be of some service to uneducated persons, in enabling them to profit by the instructions of the mission and to prepare for a good confession.

MISSA IN HONOREM ST. CAECILIAE. By J. Quadflieg. Op. 8, Score 2 M., parts 0. 35 M. each. Ratisbon: Feuchtinger & Gleichauf.

THIS Mass has been published in two editions, the one (op. 8 A, for soprano and alto with organ, the other (op. 8 B) for four

voices and organ. The soprano and alto parts are exactly the same in both editions, with the exception of two passages which in the four-part edition, are assigned to the tenor and bass, and are to be omitted by the upper parts.

Quaddieg, choirmaster and organist of St. Mary's Church, Elberfeld, is one of the most promising Church composers of our days. He has a good invention, great command of counterpart which makes his part-writing always interesting and flowing, has a good knowledge of the organ so as to write effectively and in accordance with the character of the instrument, and knows also how to write for the vocal parts. From the great composers of the sixteenth century he has learnt to give independence and melodic interest to voice parts, and, with few exceptions, adheres to those rhythmical rules, the observance of which makes the compositions of the Palestrina style so agreeable to sing. At the same time his harmonies in the present Mass, at least, are quite in accordance with modern ideas, and we do not think that even a musician altogether unacquainted with Gregorian Chant and Palestrina style, would find in it any combination of harmonies difficult to understand. We can, therefore, recommend the work unreservedly to all choirs that have passed the rudimentary stage.

ST. PATRICK: HIS LIFE, HIS HEROIC VIRTUES, HIS LABOURS AND THE FRUITS OF HIS LABOURS. By Very Rev. Dean Kinane, P.P., V.G. With a Preface by His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Croke. Eighth edition. R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row, London; Benziger, Brothers, New York, &c., 1897.

THE fact that this Life of St. Patrick was written by the Venerable Dean of Cashel, would alone suffice to render it acceptable to Irish Catholics; while the further fact that it has already reached an eighth edition, renders it superfluous if not impertinent for us to recommend it to the favourable notice of our readers.

THE IRISH ROSARY. A Monthly Magazine conducted by the Dominican Fathers. Browne and Nolan, Ltd.

WE bid a hearty welcome to our bright contemporary, which seems to promise to do for the laity what it has been always our aim to do for the clergy. The illustrations, which are numerous,

are well up to the standard of those to be found in any of the first class London monthlies, while the letterpress is varied, instructive, and elevating. The beautiful poem from the pen of the gifted S. M. S., appearing in the first number, concludes :—

‘ May the sons of St. Dominick new multitudes win
From the snares of indifference, heresy, sin,
And to all Erin’s children more fully unfold
Treasures hid in your Roses, white, crimson, and gold !’

We heartily re-echo this wish, and fully believe that *The Irish Rosary* will largely assist in realising it.

THE HOLY BIBLE, CONTAINING THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. Appointed to be read in churches. Oxford, Printed at the University Press. London, Henry Frowde.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. According to the use of the Church of England. Same Publishers.

THESE are respectively the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee Bible, and the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee Prayer Book. They display all that exquisite taste in type and binding for which the works issued from the Oxford University Press have long been justly famous. Each contains a portrait of Her Majesty, taken in 1837, and another taken in 1897, and all four are different. Besides these portraits, there are several reproductions of famous religious paintings in each volume. Of course the Bible is the Authorized Version, and therefore forbidden to Catholics, as is likewise the Book of Common Prayer.

THE VALUE OF LIFE. By C. E. Burke. With a Preface by Aubrey de Vere. Catholic Truth Society.

THIS is emphatically a good book. It awakens noble aspirations, casts a halo round the most humble and most commonplace duties, and shows how we can make the most of our lives for God, for mankind, and for ourselves. Yet it is not what is usually styled a ‘religious’ book. The author, like the bee, gathers honey from every flower, no matter where he finds it growing. Fichte, and Ruskin, and Miss Proctor may be found jostling St. Luke, St. Paul, Faber, or Newman. But from whatever source they come, the thoughts are ennobling, the counsels founded on a deep and true insight into the value of life. ‘This

is pre-eminently a household book,' writes the venerable author of the Preface. Its aim is to make home-life sweet, to make it real; and recognising the paramount influence of woman in the home-life, the author devotes a large proportion of his space to 'woman's sphere in life.' We should, indeed, rejoice to see a copy of this little book in every household. Its price, 1s., places it within the reach of almost every household.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JAMES EARL OF DERWENTWATER
Compiled by Charles H. Bowden, of the Oratory. Catholic Truth Society.

JAMES RADCLIFFE, Earl of Derwentwater, was born in 1689, and was brought up at the court of the exiled James II., where the youthful heir to the English throne was his companion. He returned to England in 1710, and two years afterwards married a lady to whom he was sincerely attached. On the death of Queen Anne many of the Scottish chieftains refused to accept the Hanoverian George as their sovereign, and proclaimed James III. king. Their example was contagious. The Catholic nobles and gentlemen of the North of England took up arms in the same cause, and amongst these was the Earl of Derwentwater. They met the King's forces at Preston, and, though they at first succeeded in driving them back, they were forced to surrender. To Derwentwater, in his prison cell and on the scaffold, pardon was again and again offered, on condition that he would become a Protestant, and accept the Hanoverian succession. He nobly refused, and died on the scaffold a martyr for his faith. The beautiful narrative, of which this is the outline, will be found in Father Bowden's interesting little work.

We have received the following additional leaflets and publications from the Catholic Truth Society:—

The New Six Articles, An Alternative for the Pan-Anglican Synod, Catholic Progress in England, The Drunkard, by Archbishop Ullathorne; *The Catholic Library of Tales*, No. 24; *The Ember Days*, by Dom Columba Edmonds, O.S.B.; *Remember Me, Daily Readings for Lent*; *Mother Margaret Hallaghan* (1803-1868), by Lady Amabel Kerr; *Shrines of Our Lady*, for use with Magic Lantern; *Leo XIII. and the Reunion of Christendom*, by Cardinal Vaughan; *A Duchess of York's Reasons for becoming a Catholic*; *But they Don't*, a Letter to Thinking Protestants.



DANIEL O'CONNELL

IRELAND has produced many great and illustrious men. She has given important contributions of intellectual and stalwart manhood to the pulpit, the bar, the senate, and the battlefield. There is no position of social or public standing which has not been graced, and even exalted, by her children. Their influence, achievements, and fame, have not been, and are not being, confined to the land of their birth. Their services and renown have extended over oceans and continents, reflecting honour on the land that bore them, and scattering countless blessings of civilization and religion over the vast expanses of the habitable globe.

Numerous and great and famous as are the sons of Ireland, past and present, at home and abroad, conspicuous amongst the foremost of them all, on account of his talents, labours, and achievements, and by reason of his upright and stainless public career, stands the illustrious personage known to the speakers of the English language as 'The Liberator.'

The great Montalembert addressing him a short time before his (O'Connell's) death, said :—

Thy glory is not only Irish—it is Catholic. Wherever Catholics begin anew to practise civic virtues, and devote themselves to the conquest of civic rights—it is your work. Wherever religion tends to emancipate itself from the thralldom in which several generations of sophists and logicians have placed it, to you, after God, is religion indebted.

Remarkable tribute this, from one of the greatest thinkers of the century to a decrepit old man of alien race, and of waning popularity, and wholly devoted in his life to right the wrongs of the inhabitants of the small island that claims him as her own! Pre-eminently deserved, however, I regard it as being; and I rejoice that though fifty years have passed by since O'Connell went to his reward, his merits are not forgotten, and that from Rome, Armagh, and elsewhere has come the news that action is being taken¹ that the 'Jubilee' of his death is not to be allowed to pass without salutary tribute being paid to his memory. For the 'scattered Gael,' and, above all, for the Irish priests at home and abroad, his memory is a precious heir-loom; and with the desire of paying a small personal tribute to it, and of helping to perpetuate it as far as my tribute can, I offer to the readers of the I. E. RECORD my views on his non-professional and public career.

To appreciate him properly, we must look back to the state of religion and other things in Ireland and in the British Empire at the end of the last century, when he entered on his manhood and commenced his public life.

Ireland had passed through centuries of religious persecutions and confiscations. A temporary cessation in the enforcement of the penal laws had indeed ensued, but they were almost all unrepealed. Most injurious disabilities, excluding from Parliament, from all places of public trust, and from the learned profession, were in full force. Though the country was almost all Catholic, and though it had a parliament of its own, no one professing the ancient faith could be a member of that parliament. The Catholics were merely tolerated to worship God according to their conscience: and, as a down-trodden, persecuted race, only such civil rights were extended to them as would allow them to reclaim the bogs, and to so support themselves, as would enable them to provide arbitrary and exorbitant rents for the dominant class.

From a social and political point of view [writes Dr. Healy²] it was almost impossible that the state of things could be worse

¹ This was written before the memorial celebrations of May 12th.

² *Maynooth Centenary History*, p. 88.

than it was about the year 1790. The nominal independence, secured in 1782 by Grattan and his patriotic colleagues, raised ardent hopes of a brighter future which were never destined to be realized. It is true, indeed, that there was some noteworthy improvement in commerce, trade, and manufacturing industries—especially of woollen fabrics—but the general state of the country remained practically the same.

Froude¹ describes Ireland at the same period as follows :—

The executive government was unequal to the elementary work of maintaining peace and order. The aristocracy and the legislature were corrupt beyond the reach of shame. The gentry had neglected their duties until they had forgotten that they had any duties to perform. The peasantry were hopelessly miserable ; and, finding in the law, not a protector and a friend, but a sword in the hands of their oppressors, they had been taught to look to crime and rebellion as their only means of self-defence.

The cruelties inflicted on the Irish people by reason of the rebellion of 1798, to which they had been driven, and into which they had been actually incited by the Government, the unchecked lawlessness of the Orange Society, and the enforcement of martial law under which Ireland groaned, produced almost universal hopelessness amongst Irish patriots. As long, however, as the Irish Parliament remained, Anti-Catholic and bigotted though it was, there were certain hopes of its having to allow liberty of conscience to the vast majority of the people it legislated for, and otherwise to promote their happiness and prosperity. Until the 'Union'—

Manebant etiam tunc vestigia morientis libertatis.

But the Irish Parliament being swept away by the most glaring acts of personal and political perfidy recorded even in Irish history, the flickering flames of liberty went completely out. The promises of Catholic Emancipation, under which, I regret to say, influential opposition was bought up, were disregarded. Injustice was knowingly and almost universally inflicted upon the down-trodden race. Constitutional redress was persistently denied, and the most daring,

¹ Vol. iii., p. 5, quoted in *Maynooth Centenary History*, p. 88.

imbibing the spirit of desperation, would rush wildly into secret societies for self-preservation, or as their last and forlorn hope. Religious animosities were fostered to divide and distract the Nation, and even Emancipation 'under conditions' was temptingly offered as a bribe to win over the wealthy and timid to support the 'Union' that procured the impoverishment and slavery of the people, and the 'Veto' that would destroy the independence, and annihilate the influence of the Catholic Church in the country.

Throughout the rest of the British Empire, matters, from a Catholic point of view, were, if possible, worse. The war of American Independence having ended gloriously for America, there remained to England hardly any colonies, certainly none worthy of the name they now enjoy. In England and Scotland the Catholic Church had practically disappeared; and the peaceable in every land had imbibed a dread of the very name of freedom, by reason of the horrors that those who abused it in France and elsewhere had brought upon the world. The French Revolution had made good men tremble, and made 'liberty' revolting because it had become saturated with innocent blood.

Thus it was that, crushed in their various efforts to shake off their chains, the Catholics of the Empire feared even to rattle them; and millions of O'Connell's countrymen had grown so accustomed to servitude, that they hardly aspired to be free. Those of them that did had no one to legally marshal them, and knew no hope save that of secret societies and rebellion. These invariably produced the informer, and ended in martial law, the gallows, and the triangle. The then state of public spirit is pathetically described by Moore where he sings:—

Thus, Freedom, now so seldom wakes,
The only throb she gives
Is when some heart indignant breaks,
To show that still she lives.

The heart of the country, however, beat fast for 'happy homes and altars free;' and in this it harmonized with O'Connell's. The Irish are a liberty-loving people; and the fire of his eloquence in course of time enkindled into a flame their patriotic love of freedom.

Freedom for his fellow-Catholics to practise their religion, eligibility to every position and office in the State, and similar freedom for every man to follow his own convictions, were the cardinal points in his demands for 'Emancipation;' and the power for his fellow-countrymen to legislate under the Crown, through a House of Lords and a House of Commons thoroughly representative of the people of Ireland, was what he claimed as 'Repeal.'

Before involving himself in a great struggle for the emancipation of his countrymen, he took care to set forth as his programme ends unquestionably lawful, and the attainment of them by means equally unobjectionable. To compress the patriotic feeling of his countrymen into such a programme was no easy matter; and to inspire those sharing in it with the courage and confidence necessary for their taking an active part in it, was even more difficult still. An ardent longing for emancipation, a heartfelt desire for the happiness, prosperity, and dignity of the people of Ireland, and an almost revealed knowledge of the power of constitutional agitation filled his buoyant soul with confidence of ultimate success. Youth, ardour, eloquence, health, and vigour were his; and with such qualifications he devoted his early manhood and his entire subsequent career to the attainment of 'Catholic Emancipation' and 'Repeal of the Union' by constitutional means.

I learned [said he] from the example of the United Irishmen that, in order to succeed for Ireland, it was strictly necessary to work within the limits of the law and constitution. I saw that fraternities bonded illegally never could be safe; that invariably some person without principle would be sure to gain admission into such societies, who, either for ordinary bribes, or else in times of danger, for their preservation, would betray their associates. Yes; the United Irishmen taught me that all work for Ireland must be done openly and above board.

Not merely did he thus form and proclaim his programme, but, on all suitable occasions, he used his immense authority and power to enforce it:—

We disclaim [he wrote to the people of Tipperary] the assistance of the idle, the profligate, the vicious. Religious and

moral men are those alone who can regenerate Ireland. . . . The greatest enemy we can have is the man who commits any crime against his fellowman, or any offence in the sight of his God. The greatest enemy of the liberty of Ireland is the man who violates the law in any respect, or breaks the peace, or commits any outrage whatsoever.

In the spirit thus manifested, O'Connell engaged in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and became its ardent advocate. His first public utterances were for the repeal of the iniquitous Union; and, though till Emancipation was won, 'Repeal' was in the back-ground, never did it cease to be the darling ambition of his life. Engaging in this two-fold cause, he saw, on the one hand, the dangers of the excesses being perpetrated in the sacred name of 'liberty,' and the calamitous reprisals that were certain to follow; on the other, he beheld his country dejected, degraded, down-trodden in every way; his religion persecuted, prescribed, and out-lawed. He felt that he was born in servitude, and living a slave, and his noble spirit determined to be free.

Union amongst his countrymen was necessary for his success. He made his platform as wide and as unobjectionable as was consistent with the full realization of his hopes. He reminded his countrymen and fellow-sufferers of every nationality of their heaven-given rights, and he convinced them of their power. He taught them that true liberty was neither licentiousness and revolution on the one hand, nor tyranny and despotism on the other. These conflicting agencies had sunk it in a sea of blood. He dived after it, and recovering it clothed with gore, and sending forth a nausea that made it offensive, even to its true friends, he cleansed it, purified it, and sanctified it by the infusion of religious principles upon it; and thus, odoriferous with justice and sanctity, he presented it to an anxious and admiring world.

Oh, glory! oh, triumph of O'Connell! [cries out Father Ventura in his famous panegyric, preached in Rome on the Liberator] for having first reconciled liberty with order, independence with loyalty; and for having transformed into a principle of security and happiness what was a principle destructive of thrones—a principle of desolation fraught with the slavery of nations.

Such an achievement constitutes a great claim for honour and renown, and having rescued liberty from licentiousness and error, having shown it compatible with loyalty, as he did in his own person, as well as in the persons of millions of his countrymen; and having supernaturalized it by religion, he exhibited it as one of the dearest earthly gifts of God to man, the safety of governments, and the basis of human happiness.

But 'liberty' thus presented could not be at once understood or realized by O'Connell's countrymen, driven by tyranny and rapacity, as they were, and by so many disappointments, to servile contentment or to the wild policy of despair. For well-nigh half a century, as Herculean agitator he toiled, with zeal unequalled and with wisdom unsurpassed. A bright and easy career of happiness was before him in an honourable profession. He renounced it, and when one would suppose him weary of the political warfare, he rejected its highest reward. His minutes literally counted as gold honestly earned as a lawyer in his laborious profession. Yet, no one devoted more time to his country's welfare. The whole burden of the Irish cause rested upon him. He bore it up. General apathy for a long time pervaded the masses. Suspicion, opposition, calumny, and contempt were hurled against him. Attacks on himself he paid back with interest and scorn, and from insult he defended himself, once sinfully indeed, but according to the mistaken code of honour that then prevailed, with the weapons employed in duel encounters. Insults to his country he drove back with pulverizing blows. Peel and Disraeli fell beneath them morally as completely as the unfortunate d'Esterre did physically. Him it was O'Connell's misfortune, for which he publicly repented, to have fatally wounded. The 'Orange' Peel and 'the legitimate descendant of the impenitent thief,' are epithets of lashing invective that made the greatest men writhe beneath its inflictions, as witness their contemplated duels with him. Disappointments, baffled hopes, perfidy to pledges, in turn accosted him. 'Put no faith in princes,' and 'the base, bloody, and brutal Whigs,' were his rejoinders. He never wavered, never

desponded, never seemed weary in the glorious struggle. Love for his country and his religion penetrated his very being, and the justice of his cause bore him up, till dissension amongst his own followers produced disruption in the national ranks, and the dark cloud of famine overspread his beloved country, showering death all around. An over-worked brain and a broken heart brought him to a premature grave, before his work was fully done, but not until much of his programme had been realized. Religious emancipation for all, liberty of conscience for the Non-conformist and Jew as well as for the Catholic, freedom to follow one's honest convictions in all matters of religion, non-interference in religious matters on the part of the State—in a word, universal emancipation was his idea of liberty of conscience. His 'platform' was so extensive that he was able to congregate, in course of time, upon it not only his own co-religionists of every class but very many honest non-Catholics both in Great Britain and Ireland. The reasonableness and the justice of his programme, the irresistible force of his arguments in its favour, the vivid description of the tyranny opposed to it and the immense attention paid to his words all over the liberty-loving world, were such that England was shamed amongst civilized nations.

It will not surprise anyone that O'Connell encountered difficulties from various sources in his struggles. It will be wondered at, however, that many of his difficulties came from his own co-religionists, and the greatest of them was supported even in Rome itself.

When English statesmen came to regard Emancipation as desirable in the interests of the Empire, if not absolutely necessary for its peace and greatness, they determined before assenting to it, to make political capital out of the concession. Hence, 'securities,' 'guarantees,' and such things were to be 'tacked on' to the measure of religious freedom Catholics were to enjoy under the Crown. The wealthy classes, anxious for religious peace on any terms consistent with the principles of their faith, the English Catholics, some Irish bishops, too, despairing of better terms for their people, would accept such a measure of Emancipation as would give

British statesmen the power of 'Veto' in the appointment of Catholic bishops.

Not so, however, would O'Connell, who read Virgil to some purpose where he wrote :

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

Against the 'Veto' he warred with untiring vigilance, and so successfully did he reason, that he was largely instrumental in having passed by the bishops of Ireland a resolution that baffled British intrigue in Rome, ended, in course of time, the iniquitous claims of a heretical government to have a voice in the appointment of bishops of a Church which it had done its utmost to destroy, and saved the liberty and influence of that Church itself throughout the British Empire. In August, 1815, the resolution that may be said to be the basis of the *Magna Charta* of Irish Catholic rights was unanimously passed by the Irish bishops.

It is our decided and conscientious conviction that any power granted to the Crown of Great Britain, of interfering directly or indirectly in the appointment of bishops for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, must essentially injure, and may eventually subvert, the Roman Catholic religion in this country.

Enthusiastic expressions of approval and delight from the laity welcomed this noble declaration ; and O'Connell, in alluding to it said :¹—

This is a day of gratulation and triumph. The sentiments of delight which we experience are pure and unmixed. Our great cause is at length placed on its proper basis. Win or lose, we are sure our religion cannot suffer. Our question is now stripped of all the intricacies and details in which it was involved by false friends and perfidious co-operators. It reduces itself simply to this—Shall we be emancipated as Catholics, or as Catholics continue slaves? Every attempt to barter religion for liberty, every scheme to traffic upon our faith for civil benefits is destroyed for ever. . . . I do, therefore, deprecate the 'Veto' as an Irishman ; as an ardent, enthusiastic lover of liberty, I detest it, and would oppose it at every peril. In both capacities, as Catholics and as Irishmen, we will ever resist it, and placing on our banners 'religion' and 'liberty,' wage an eternal war against the open enemies and insidious foes of both.

¹ *Life and Speeches*, vol. ii., 207-211.

Resist them he did, and persistently. His example, arguments and eloquence enkindled like sentiments in his countrymen. His indomitable perseverance and the legal stainlessness of his position marshalled his countrymen at his back. His open and candid and legal mode of warfare brought him triumphant through many persecutions. His fame concentrated the eyes of Europe and America upon him ; and he taught the masses and the nations the power of a united agitation, and that, by union and determination, and without war, they can right their wrongs in almost every clime. Religion became more loved and its virtues more practised ; Ireland more sympathized with and respected ; rebellion more dreaded ; liberty more loved and prized. He continued faithful to his country, and his country continued faithful to him ; and millions enrolled themselves under the banner of 'Faith and Fatherland' which he unfurled. In response to his call, gallant Clare elected him to the Imperial Parliament in which, as Catholic, he could not sit. Voices of thunder went forth from the lips and hearts of the most loyal, most orderly, but most united and determined people in the universe. They demanded the removal of the prohibition oath-tests ; of the opposing barriers to the free exercise of their constitutional rights. Their demand was echoed by the mountains. It was borne upon the gale. It was carried across the sea by the great agitator himself. He carried it into the very Parliament House at Westminster. He trumpeted it in the British Senate itself. It startled, terrified, and subdued prime-minister Wellington—the conqueror of the great Napoleon. It wrung an unwilling consent from one of the most powerful and obstinate monarchs in Europe, who had even sworn he would never yield it, and cried in his defeat. 'Happy homes and altars free' was the cry that conquered Wellington and George IV.; and justice and liberty triumphed over power and wrong.

Oh, such a victory, grand, stainless, stupendous ! For a century and a half Ireland was struggling for it ; Grattan and Plunkett, Canning and Pitt, had failed in obtaining a moiety of it. But the genius, the eloquence, and the courage of O'Connell at last won it ; and the shackles of religious

slavery fell from off the limbs of millions of his countrymen. All the subjects of the British Crown became legally free to follow the dictates of their conscience and to obey its behests, and the portals of the Catholic Church were thrown open, without legal barrier, to hundreds of millions of human beings. Was it not of this resplendent victory Curran had a foresight when he exclaimed :—

I speak in the spirit of British law which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from the British soil ; which proclaims, even to the stranger and sojourner, the moment he sets his foot on British earth, that the ground on which he travels is holy and consecrated by the genius of universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an African or an Indian sun may have burnt upon him ; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down ; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted on the altar of slavery—the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust. His soul walks abroad in its own majesty. His body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him ; and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal Emancipation.

It has been frequently said that Emancipation did little good and much harm to Ireland, owing to the ‘wings’ with which it was accompanied, and to the fact that the wealthier classes, when emancipated, deserted their poorer brethren in the pursuit of ‘Repeal’—the panacea for all Ireland’s grievances.

Undoubtedly, many of the upper classes found themselves free by it to enjoy temporal rights of which they as human beings should be possessed, and even to take positions of honour and emolument in the service of the State both in England and in Ireland. These are the birth-rights of every citizen in civilized states, and though it may be impolitic in peculiar circumstances and for the greater good of the country at large that some should accept them, there should be no religious barrier to their attainment of them. Accept them, however, they did, and contentment ensued in the cases of such, and their co-operation for the amelioration of the condition of the poorer classes was withdrawn from the

political movements of their fellow-Catholics. Evictions, too, followed wholesale on the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders—an event that accompanied the Emancipation measure. It is stated, the votes of these members of the community being taken from them, the landlords no longer wanted them on the estates for the purposes of their pocket-seats in Parliament. I fail to see how the landlord class could count upon the votes of such as these; and if they could, they would desire their retention as voters. Why, then, would the landlords' friend—the English Government—insist on disfranchising them? Would it not be done with, or without, Emancipation? Be that as it may, O'Connell fought against the disfranchisement most determinedly, and undoubtedly would not have accepted Emancipation with the disfranchising clause if he could obtain it without it. That he never desired a man to be without a vote because of the fewness of his acres, is manifest from the fact that, in his political programme every man was to have a vote—and to give it by ballot—who could sign the voting paper with his name. That Emancipation was clogged by disfranchisement is clear, and, as in the case of most other British measures passed for Ireland by the Imperial Parliament, that whatever goodness was in it was vitiated by an intermixture of badness, cannot be denied.

But a glance at the other side of the picture will show the far-reaching beneficial effects of Emancipation on Irishmen in general, and on the world at large. Besides positions connected with the then Established Church that was supported chiefly by monies wrung from Catholics, there were upwards of thirty thousand positions in the State, including all the highest and most lucrative ones, from which Catholics had been excluded. In addition, there were innumerable positions from which the Ascendancy party excluded them, as they do largely still. The Emancipation Act opened almost all offices and stations to Catholics, and placed them—constitutionally, at all events—on a political level with Protestants. It opened both Houses of Parliament to them. It made them eligible for the Bench, all offices at the Bar, and all positions in Town Councils and

Corporations. It allows Catholics to advance to any position in the Army and the Navy, Grand Juries, Diplomatic Body, and the Civil Service, &c. ; and it removes for ever all legal power of enforcing the penal laws, which, though partially inoperative for a time, were suspended over the persons and properties of all Catholics of the United Kingdom previous to 1829, and could be as easily put in force against Catholics as the proclamations '*Christianos ad Leones*' of the Pagan Roman Emperors. To Protestants, too, it was a boon, for it abolished oaths regarding the tenets of the Catholic Church that many of them could not conscientiously take; and it freed the Non-conformists as well as the Catholics, for it abolished the Oath of Supremacy, as well as the oaths of mere doctrinal tests.

Emancipation being carried, O'Connell engaged in a great struggle for 'Justice to Ireland,' and for 'Repeal of the Union.' He soon saw his country bleeding from iniquitous taxation, and exportations of the natural wealth of the country by the draining effected by absentee landlords. He saw the unwillingness of an alien legislature to advance the material interests of Ireland, and its inability to do so owing to various causes. He felt his country degraded by being ruled by foreigners, be they ever so well disposed, and he longed all through life for her legislative freedom and native administration. In early prime he took the platform against the Union, and when some Catholics would, weak-mindedly, surrender the Parliament of this country to the English Parliament for religious emancipation, as the learned Dr. Healy, I regret to say, in his *Maynooth Centenary History*¹ applauds them illogically for doing, he, though then but twenty-five, rallied the great bulk of his country-

¹ 'That statesman [Lord Castlereagh] himself admits that if the Catholics actively opposed him, it would have been impossible for him to carry the Union. But they did not oppose him, and they ought not oppose him, for opposition would have meant the active defence of the bigoted and corrupt assembly which, as a body, persistently refused to admit three-fourths of their fellow-countrymen to the privileges of citizenship, and ended by selling everything that they could sell to Lord Castlereagh. Such a wretched clique were unworthy to govern any country. And one might say that any Union would be preferable to Union with them.' (Page 117.)

men against them. As spokesman, in Dublin, he declared:—

The Catholics are incapable of selling their country. They will loudly declare that if their Emancipation were offered for their consent to the measure [of the Union]—even were Emancipation after the Union a benefit—they would reject it with prompt indignation. Let us [said he addressing the Catholics of Dublin] show to Ireland that we have nothing in view but her good ; nothing in our hearts but the desire of mutual forgiveness, mutual toleration, and mutual affection ; in fine, let every man who feels with me proclaim that if the alternative were offered him of Union or the re-enactment of the penal code [it was then becoming relaxed] in all its pristine horrors, that he would prefer, without hesitation, the latter as the lesser and more sufferable evil : that he would rather confide in the justice of his brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who have already liberated him, than lay his country at the feet of foreigners.

Thus he loved Ireland with the early pulsations of his heart. He had fought against the iniquitous Union before it was carried ; he had sighed over Ireland's miseries when her Parliament was gone. He had wept with Grattan over the grave of her independence, and he longed for her resurrection as a nation. Perhaps it was he who inspired Moore with his beautiful couplet :—

The heart that has truly loved never forgets,
But as truly loves on to the close,
As the sun-flower turns on her god, when he sets,
The same look which she turn'd when he rose.

All the powers of O'Connell's great soul were, after Emancipation (1829), directed to the temporal emancipation of his country. His was not a discontented spirit, grumbling over the Union because it was carried ; but his was a spirit grieving over the miseries it was quickly producing, and ardently desiring to cure them. He fought against it, but unavailingly. When carried, he gave it passively a trial for the hopes held out by its supporters. After years of experience, when he found his country bleeding from every pore, and reduced to the degradation of a mere British province, he threw his tremendous powers of voice and pen, and his gigantic influence with his countrymen, into a determined and persistent agitation for its repeal.

In the ' thirties ' he devoted his energies to the educa-

tional, poor-law, and tithes questions; and, placing confidence in Whig promises of ameliorating measures for the country, he contented himself in calling loudly for 'Justice to Ireland.' He was led to expect large measures of it, but, in this he was cruelly deceived; and early in the 'forties' he set about enrolling millions of his countrymen under the banner of Repeal. Unanswerable was the case made, chiefly by him, for his country. Ireland had been a nation before England had an alphabet. Now she was a down-trodden province, dominated over by avaricious and intolerant blood-suckers. The ablest lawyers, including the Government's own Attorney-General, had declared the Union binding only until it could be successfully defied. The Parliament that passed it had no power from God or man to do so. Votes for it were obtained by open bribery and fraud, at £8,000 a-piece. Upwards of a million sterling was expended in the purchase of the votes that carried it. Peerages, Protestant bishoprics, judgeships, positions in the army, navy, and Civil Service were bestowed in payment of votes. Public opinion in Ireland was despised during the negotiations. Public meetings against it were dispersed by force. Martial law was in full force, and the Habeas Corpus Act suspended. Intimidation to an alarming extent prevailed. Nearly one hundred thousand soldiers, with all the savagery of '98 attaching to their characters, occupied the island; and, notwithstanding, seven hundred thousand were found to petition against the Bill, while only three thousand, including officials, could be marshalled to petition in its favour. Carried by perjury, corruption, and intimidation the 'Union' became the law of the land.

The consequences of it were direful from the very start. Ruined trade, ruined commerce, increased taxation, increased absenteeism, forced emigration to get rid of the 'surplus' population, wholesale evictions, murders, prosecutions, martial law and the scaffold were the resultants. Curran, speaking in 1812, gives a summary of the effects of the 'Union' as follows:—

Our debt has accordingly been increased more than tenfold. The common comforts of life have been vanishing. We are

sinking into beggary ; our poor people have been worried by cruel and unprincipled persecutions ; and the instruments of our government have been almost simplified into the tax-gatherer and the hangman.

Twenty years more of arbitrary rack-renting, of exorbitant taxation, and of absentee drainage at the rate of £4,000,000 a year, reduced the people of Ireland to the state described by M. de Beaumont, who wrote that he had seen the Indian in his forests and the negro in his chains—‘they are not the lowest term of human misery. Irish misery forms a type of itself, of which there exists nowhere else either model or imitation.’

Well did O’Connell know that the real cure, and by degrees did he learn that the only cure, for Ireland’s grievances was in the restoration of its Parliament. The time had come, if it had not passed, to strike a great constitutional blow for that object. All British Ministers, and almost all Great Britain, were solid against his attack. The ‘integrity of the Empire’ was at stake, the glory of England would be departed, the days of its power would be numbered, declared the Minister, if both sides of the Houses of Parliament did not unite in resisting Repeal of the Union.

The monster meetings came on. Hundreds of thousands of human beings, sober, peaceable, and determined, rallied at the various centres, to O’Connell’s call. Voices like thunder rent the air in response to his demand ; and never did monarch rule more supremely than did ‘the uncrowned King of Ireland.’ The power of authority rests on the people ; and here were the people of a nation almost unanimously clamouring for their Parliament to rule them. They did not rebel ; they did not want to overthrow their ruler ; they only wanted constitutionally what had been stolen unconstitutionally, though in the garb of the constitution, from them. A legitimate demand this, and irresistible if persevered in, by the powers of the constitution !

‘But will it be persevered in ?’ argued the opponents of the measure. ‘We will attack the people in the monster meetings, shoot them down unarmed, and thus rid ourselves of the question.’

But no. Wily enough, O'Connell baffles them by dictating himself the public meetings, and defies the ministers to make him break the law. They then prosecute and imprison him, and drive the people to fury; but his control and that of the bishops and priests restrains them, and again the ministers are baffled, and O'Connell, triumphant, is restored to liberty by the verdict of the ministers' own tribunal! On the agitation for repeal proceeds, passive resistance being opposed to lawlessness on the part of the law guardians: and, baffled by sundry constitutional stratagems, the tension becomes so great, the clamour for repeal so loud, so incessant, so powerful, these must inevitably, and soon, give up the opposition! But, alas! causes were at work that O'Connell could not control, and that, effectively for that period, baffled and defeated the great struggle of his life.

His policy, however, was practical, unexceptionably legitimate, and if loyally pursued, as has since been proved, bound to be successful. The same causes of failure are now producing like effects; and owing to them the struggle for the attainment of the darling ambition of O'Connell's life is unduly prolonged.

The already undue length of this paper, and the fear that politics are forbidden in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, forbid me to go more fully into the political aspect of O'Connell's career. Theoretic debates on ethical questions and revolutionary talk and tactics introduced dissension at his meetings. Young, chivalrous spirits, groaning impatiently at beholding the sufferings of their mother-country, and eager to right her wrongs, or die in the attempt, created disruption. Impatience at the restraint O'Connell put on, and imputations of despotism against him, fanned the flames of insubordination. Wily intriguers distorted the truth, circulated calumnies, and destroyed O'Connell's authority, and, with it, his power; and the terrible famine, fostered by the English Government that could and should have averted it, completed his defeat. Suffering from a disease brought on by mental labour in the service of his country, he died with a heart broken by affliction at the sufferings he was unable to relieve. He was

defeated in Parliament on a measure that would have saved Ireland from the famine without the loss of a penny to England, and this defeat produced the intensified grief that accelerated his death.

There is not much need to unfold O'Connell's public character. He was a man of whom any country might justly feel proud. A lawyer—he was the most renowned of the Irish Bar. A statesman—he was the admiration of liberty-loving people in its true sense in all the surrounding nations. A champion of civil and religious freedom—by his labours and victory, all the millions of British subjects are ever since in possession of that inestimable boon. A constitutional warrior for the emancipation from thralldom and for the national liberty of his countrymen, for which he fought in every action of his life, he stands unique in history in that position which can best enlist the admiration of humanity, and evoke for his memory its most grateful veneration. Pope Pius IX. describes him in words that should be indented in brass on the tablets of the Irish people as 'the great champion of the Church, the father of his country, and the glory of the Christian world.' His life was an eventful one. The battle he fought was a tremendous one. The victory he obtained was a glorious one. The cause in which he may be said to have died was a noble and glorious one, though as yet unwon, and his memory is a priceless and sacred heir-loom for the scattered Irish race.

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

A MODERN EUCHARISTIC HYMN

THERE is a very beautiful modern hymn expressing the feelings of a soul after Holy Communion, to which, though I have called it modern, I am unable to assign date or authorship. It has been sometimes attributed to the saintly German priest, Prince Alexander Hohenlohe, famous even in Ireland sixty or seventy years ago ; but no such claim is put forward in his behalf by his biographers, although they give copious extracts from the Prince's spiritual writings. An appeal to the readers of *The Tablet* newspaper elicited no information on this point. Perhaps I shall be more fortunate with the more learned constituency now addressed.

Many readers of these pages may have used this hymn for years in their post-communion devotions, but it may be perfectly novel for others ; and it is useful for our present purpose to begin by giving the hymn in full in the original rhyming Latin, and to number the stanzas with a view to subsequent reference and comparison.

I.

Ad quem diu suspiravi
 Jesum tandem habeo !
 Hunc amplector quem optavi,
 Quem optavi teneo ;
 Omnes meae, exultate,
 Facultates animae,
 Exultate, triumphate,
 Et ingresso plaudite.

II.

Tristis eram et abjectus
 Eram sine gaudio,
 Quia aberat dilectus,
 Quem prae cunctis diligo ;
 Sed ut venit et intravit
 Animae tugurium,
 O quam dulce permeavit
 Meum cor solatium !

III.

Non sic terras umbris tectas
Gratus sol illuminat,
Non sic aestibus dejectas
Nimbus herbas recreat,
Sicut animam languentem
Refocillat Dominus,
Hanc tristantem et torpentem
Novis donat viribus.

IV.

Felix dies, felix hora,
Quâ me, Jesu, visitas,
Pulchra nimis et decora
Lux ad me quâ properas ;
Qui te tenet habet satis,
Quia qui te possidet,
Uberem felicitatis
Verae fontem obtinet.

V.

Quis non tuam admiretur
Bonitatem, Domine,
Si quod facis meditetur
Serio examine ?
Ad te ruo, ad me ruis,
Et me sinis protinus
Immiscere meos tuis
Amplexus amplexibus.

VI.

Nihil eram, me creasti
Ex obscuro nihilo,
Divinaeque me donasti
Rationis radio ;
Pro me nasci voluisti
In deserto stabulo,
Et finire morte tristi
Vitam in patibulo.

VII.

Praeter dona quibus ditas
Me diebus singulis,
Dapes hodie mellitas
Dat is addis gratis ;
O voluptas cordis mei,
Jesu dilectissime !
In me regna, Fili Dei,
Regna, regna, libere.

VIII.

In me proprium amorem
Tam potenter eneces,
Ut te amem et adorem
Solum sicut dignus es.
In me tolle quod est puris
Grave tuis oculis,
Ut sic arctius venturis
Tibi jungar saeculis.

IX.

Oriente sole mane,
Occidente vespérâ,
Bone Jesu, mecum mane,
Mecum semper habita ;
Nil a te, nec mors, nec vita,
Nil a te me separet ;
Unio sit infinita,
Quam vis nulla terminet.

X.

Canam donec respirabo
Gratiarum cantica,
Millies haec iterabo
In coelesti patria ;
Quando te, remoto velo,
Sicut es aspiciam,
Et cum angelis in coelo
In aeternum diligam.

Of these stanzas—which seem to possess a high degree of literary merit, melodious and poetical, yet expressing their meaning with great earnestness, directness, and simplicity—the first version I met with, even before seeing the original, was in a small paper-covered pamphlet of translated hymns, published by James Duffy of Dublin, and in reality detached from *The Book of Catholic Prayers*, which is known to have been edited by a pious layman prominent in all Dublin Catholic affairs in the middle of the nineteenth century, William Nugent Skelly. His appendix of new translations was the work of the Rev. Michael Archbold Kavanagh, S.J. Father Kavanagh was born in Dublin on the 11th of October, 1805, entered the Society of Jesus September 19th, 1823, and died in St. Francis Xavier's, Gardiner street, Dublin,

February 13th, 1863. He was for some years Rector of Clongowes Wood College. His devotion to St. Joseph was very great, and one of his ways of showing it was the publication of *The Month of March in Honour of St. Joseph*, which is still in circulation. The following is this holy man's rendering of the *Ad quem diu Suspiravi*:—

I.

JESUS, source of every blessing,
Whom I sighed for, I possess.
He is mine ; and Him possessing,
I have found true happiness.
Oh ! my soul, with joy high swelling,
Welcome, welcome the loved Guest,
Who thus deigns to fix His dwelling
In a sinful mortal's breast.

II.

I was sad—in deep dejection—
Nothing could my grief allay ;
For the object of affection
That I most prized was away.
He is come to me, and gladness
Thrills my late afflicted heart :
As He entered, grief and sadness
Were seen instant to depart.

III.

Less the sun at morning glowing,
Dissipates night's lingering gloom ;
Less the breeze, in summer blowing,
Cheers the drooping flowret's bloom,
Than the Lord, at His arrival,
Frees from darkening shades the mind,
And, through grace, a prompt revival
Bids the languid heart to find.

IV.

Happy day, and happy hour,
Jesus, when Thou comest to me !
Oh ! what visit hath a power
To delight, as one from Thee ?
He who has Thee needs no treasure,
Of enough he is possessed—
He hath riches without measure,
He with endless joy is blessed.

V.

Who is he that will not wonder
At Thy goodness, King of kings,
Should he but one moment ponder
On the bliss Thy coming brings?
Thou, Thine arms outstretched to meet me,
Comest crowned with every grace,
I with panting heart to greet Thee,
Rush into Thy fond embrace.

VI.

I was nothing—Thou hast made me,
Work of Thy own hands divine,
And gave reason's light to aid me,
Lest to err my heart incline.
Born for me in Bethlehem's manger,
Reared in Nazareth's lowly shed,
Thou hast lived on earth a stranger,
And for me on Calvary bled.

VII.

Here, besides the daily favours
Which my soul receives from Thee,
Food is given that sweetly savours—
Food of immortality.
Oh! thou source of all my pleasure,
Jesus, dearest to my soul;
I will love Thee without measure;
Rule me Thou without control.

VIII.

Let self-love within me perish,
That, from all its shackles free,
I may henceforth seek to cherish
One love only—love for Thee.
Banish from my soul whatever
Might offend Thy blessed sight,
That the future may not sever,
But still more our hearts unite.

IX.

Jesus! when the sun is rising—
When at eve he sinks to rest—
May he find me fondly prizing
Thy dear presence in my breast.
Let nor life nor death dividing
End our union's blissful state—
Union endlessly abiding,
Which no power may terminate.

X.

I will sing, whilst life is given,
Hymns to Thee in grateful strain :
When through Thy grace placed in heaven,
I will sing these hymns again.
Yes, when to the saints revealing
What Thou so concealest now,
I shall gaze, with rapturous feeling,
On my Lord's unclouded brow.

Something may here be said about two little words which occur at the beginning of this very devout canticle—the only words perhaps that savour of exaggeration and unreality. They are not represented in Father Kavanagh's version :—

*Ad quem diu suspiravi,
Jesum tandem habeo.*

He whom I have sighed for long,
Jesus is my own at last.

That *diu* and *tandem*, that *long* and *at last*, how can they be said truthfully by the devout communicant who approaches the altar rails once at least, every week? How can they be repeated with sincerity by the priest, who says every morning *Introibo ad altare Dei*? or by the Christians who attach a eucharistic meaning to that petition of the *Pater Noster*, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' and make the Blessed Eucharist the daily food of their souls? No doubt, this *jubilus animae Christianae*, this cry of jubilation at the fulfilment of long-cherished desires, would be more appropriate on the lips of one who had been absent for a considerable time from the Holy Table. When a priest has been prevented by sickness from offering up the Holy Sacrifice, we know, or we can guess, his joy when at last he is allowed again to mount the altar. It is something like the ecstasy of another First Communion. But happier are they for whom the privilege is not enhanced by its unusualness; happier are they for whom familiarity produces, not the ungracious effect that the common saying attributes to it, but at least a calming of the heart's feelings, a less vivid

sense of the ineffable favour, a greater degree of at-homeness with the sublime mysteries of the sanctuary.

Yet even for these the *diu* and *tandem* of our hymn may have a tender significance; even these must try, day by day, to feel anew that 'longing' which, in more than one language, is connected etymologically with the expression that we are analyzing. *Il me tarde de vous voir*. 'I long to see you.' And, if our faith and love were what they ought to be, we too should 'think long' even the short interval between communion and communion, and we should 'long' for the return of those precious moments of sacramental union in which we can say :—

*Ad quem diu aspiravi,
Jesum tandem habeo.*

When, some years later, the original of this hymn had become familiar to me, I had forgotten Father Kavanagh's translation, which, at any rate, as we have seen in the first two lines, had not striven to produce the very words of the unknown author with scrupulous fidelity. This attempt I made, with the following result :—

I.

HE whom I have sighed for long,
Jesus is my own at last;
Whom I've sought with yearning strong,
I embrace, I hold Him fast.
Oh! my soul, exult, rejoice,
All thy powers in worship bow,
And with glad triumphant voice
Welcome Him who enters now.

II.

Sad and spiritless I lay,
I had neither joy nor rest,
For the loved One was away
Whom o'er all I love the best.
But since He hath come anew
To my soul's poor hovel here,
Oh! what solace sweet and true
Doth my inmost being cheer!

III.

As before the sun's bright glow,
Shadows from the earth retreat ;
As soft rains on flowers bestow
Freshness after withering heat :
So, more softly, Jesus comes
To revive the drooping heart,
And when weary sadness numbs,
Warmth and vigour to impart.

IV.

Happy day and happy hour,
Jesus, when Thou visitest !
Fairest hour of grace and power,
When Thou speedest to my breast.
He who holdeth Thee hath all,
Nor can ask for more than this—
Thee his own, his own to call,
Fullest fount of truest bliss.

V.

Who but marvels, Lord, to tell
Of Thy goodness, passing thought,
When he ponders long and well
On the work Thou here hast wrought.
Thee I rush to, Thou to me
Rushest with a lover's haste—
Sufferest me to cling to Thee,
Each embracing and embraced !

VI.

I was nought: Thy hand divine
Drew me out of nothingness.
Reason's light, a ray from Thine,
Did my darkling spirit bless.
For my sake Thou wouldst be born
In a stable lone and drear,
And wouldst on the Cross forlorn
Sadly close Thy exile here.

VII.

To the gifts wherewith my days
Are enriched with lavish store,
Thou this morn in wondrous ways
Addest one sweet banquet more.
Oh ! my heart's delight Thou art,
Dearest Jesus, Thou alone !
Son of God, reign in my heart,
Freely reign as on Thy throne.

VIII.

From my bosom more and more
Be all love of self removed,
Till I love Thee and adore
Solely as Thou shouldst be loved.
Take from me within, around,
All that might Thy eyes offend ;
So shall I be closer bound
To Thy heart when life shall end.

IX.

When the sun ascends each day—
When it sinks, and day is o'er—
Stay with me, good Jesus! stay,
Dwell with me for evermore.
Nothing, neither death nor life,
Nothing me from Thee must sever—
Union, with all blessings rife,
Which no force can rend for ever.

X.

I will sing, while heart shall beat,
Canticles of grateful love,
And a thousand times repeat
In the heavenly land above ;
When unveiled it shall be given,
As Thou art, Thy face to see,
And, with angels bright in heaven,
I will love eternally.

The odd lines of the foregoing version are content with what we may call *rime suffisante*, whereas in the Latin those lines are rendered more sonorous by what French prosody would call *rime riche*. This dissyllabic rhyming I purposely neglected, as impossible in a fairly exact translation, though I now perceive that Father Kavanagh had accomplished it. Several years afterwards I found that the feat which I shrank from attempting, that closer conformity to the original metre, had already been achieved by a more skilful translator. The learned Redemptorist, Father Bridgett, translated our hymn a few months after his conversion, which took place a few years after Cardinal Newman's. His version remained in manuscript some forty

years till I ventured to put it into print without asking the writer's leave. But, since then, Father Bridgett has himself included it in his holy and beautiful *Lyra Hieratica*, which I of course follow in a few emendations :—

I.

HIM for whom my soul has panted,
Jesus, my embraces hold ;
To my earnest longings granted,
Granted to my fervours bold.
Powers by which my soul rejoices,
Shout in one exulting chord !
Shouting loud with jubilant voices,
Greet the entrance of your Lord.

II.

Sad I was, my heart dejected,
Joy nor hope my spirit moved ;
Reft of Him my soul's elected,
Reft of Him my best beloved.
When He came and lowly entered
'Neath the threshold of my breast ;
Oh, how sweetly round Him centred
Solaces of heavenly rest !

III.

Not so bright o'er shadowy mountains
Bursts the radiance of the sun ;
Not so sweetly do the fountains
O'er the withered herbage run,
As the lonely soul down-drooping
Kindles at her Lord's embrace,
As, beneath her burdens stooping,
New-born powers the spirit grace.

IV.

Blessings teem, the day adorning,
Jesus, when Thou com'st to me ;
Light and beauty deck the morning
Bounteously to welcome Thee.
Every joy Thy presence bringeth,
Every wish the spirit gains ;
For in Thee a fount upspringeth—
Fount which store of bliss contains.

v.

Is there one who would not wonder
At Thy goodness, gracious Lord,
If with serious heart he ponder
On Thy wonder-working word?
To Thy arms I trembling hasten,
Thou my coming flyest to meet;
Here Thou deign'st Thy arms to fasten,
Deign'st my love with love to greet.

vi.

I was nothing : in Thy power
Me from nought Thou didst create,
And with reason's princely power
Didst my soul illuminate.
Thou for me an Infant tender
In deserted crib wast born
And for me Thy life didst render
On the hated Cross, forlorn.

vii.

Every day with gifts amazing
Thou all measure dost exceed ;
But to-day, Thyself surpassing,
On Thyself Thou biddest me feed.
Oh, what heart-felt transports win me !
Jesus, name of mighty love !
Son of God, reign freely in me—
Reign, oh ! reign my heart above.

viii.

Grant that I, all creatures spurning,
Pride and self may wholly slay,
Till to Thee my heart returning
Worship due and love shall pay.
Cleanse whate'er my soul defaces
In Thine awful purity ;
So may I in close embraces
Live with Thee eternally.

ix.

When the sun illumines the heaven,
When he sinks into the West,
Dearest Lord, from morn till even
With me ever take Thy rest.
Nought from Thee my soul may sever,
Life nor death may stay our love,
In sweet union living ever—
Union which no power can move.

X.

While with life my heart is beating,
Ceaseless hymns of praise I'll pour ;
Still I'll sing, in heaven repeating,
Hymns from never-failing store :
When, from sight each veil upraising,
All Thy beauty I shall see,
And, with choirs of angels praising,
Love Thee through eternity.

Many have for years found comfort and devotion in making Prince Hohenlohe's hymn (if his it be) one of their habitual prayers after Mass or Holy Communion. Perhaps some who see it now for the first time, may use it henceforth for the same purpose, either in the Latin original, or in one of our English versions.

MATTHEW RUSSELL.

ANGLICANISM AS IT IS

III.

I PROPOSE now to take my readers a little behind the scenes, and show them what Anglicanism is in its dealing with those who are unsettled in regard to the claims of Rome.

There are amongst the High Anglicans some who never seem to experience a moment's doubt as to the mission of the Establishment to provide for the spiritual wants of the English people. I say the Establishment, for although some of these are very full of the spiritual independence of the so-called Church of England, and express themselves as quite certain that her mission has nothing to do with the external accidents, as they say, of the Church in this land, still I am firmly persuaded that were it not for the social position and temporal advantages which accrue to her through her connection with the State, their imagination would lead them to picture to themselves the possibility, to say no more, of the Church coping with the needs of

Englishmen more successfully than their own religious body has done, in regard to those points of doctrine which they consider to be fundamental.

Now this question of success enters very largely into the arguments with which the Anglican director plies some minds when they seem to be drawing towards Rome. 'Look at the way in which infidelity has increased in countries where the Church of Rome has had full sway. Can she be the predestined guide of our souls when she has lost France, Italy, and Germany?' As it is not my purpose to give the full answers to the difficulties suggested by Anglican directors, I will merely indicate the line of argument which every Catholic instinctively feels to be the true one, and pass on. In regard to France, Italy, and Germany, no Anglican takes into account the supernatural atmosphere which still pervades those countries—of course, Italy and France especially. They know little or nothing of the frequent returns to the Sacraments, of the way in which now and again the poor turn to their mother, the Church, and of the fact that so soon as a man becomes religious at all, he instinctively turns to the Sacraments. In the case of an Englishman, you have to teach him a number of things which High Anglicans admit to be true and necessary; the practical mode of returning to God is under dispute; his new-born religious convictions may just as likely take the form of the Wesleyan cult, or of the Low Church method of worship. With all that the High Church have done to familiarize the public with the idea of confession, the 'converted' man will not necessarily turn to that, since he is allowed by the Church of England to go to Communion without that discipline, and, indeed, if he goes by the example of the greater number, he will certainly do without it. This is only one instance of how the Catholic Church retains her hold over the masses in countries where she has once been supreme, but where the political atmosphere has become anti-Catholic. Italy, and France, and Spain, are happy in, at any rate, not having had a 'Reformation.' They stand higher in morals, in a very vital point, than England and Scotland, and they

have a recuperative power in the matter of religious discipline, which is a lingering witness to the supernatural origin of the Catholic system.

A kindred argument is taken from the position which England has achieved in the world since the so-called Reformation. It is the old logical fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. It also comes badly from the lips of those who are professing to be the special champions of the supernatural. For growth in the supernatural has no promise of a proportionate growth in the natural order. The latter, therefore, is no infallible token of the former. "They have their reward"—have it to the full—now and here—should be remembered. Moreover, we have to consider whether material prosperity is the handmaid of happiness, whether if we look at the cost at which England's prosperity has been gained, the dull, morose, iron-bound life, which has been the accompaniment of her material prosperity, is not a fearful comment on that separation from the rest of Christendom, which has been her special feature for three hundred years. Take the life of an under-clerk in an office eighty years ago; consider the cheerless, money-grubbing, comfortless career of those who helped to build up the material prosperity, which is invoked as the sign of heaven's smile; take the life of a factory girl now; look at the crushed youth and forlorn old age of the multitudes, and then compare this with the comparatively merry life of a Catholic Irish hut, when the iniquitous heel of Protestant England was doing its best to crush out all that belongs to man, as made to the image of God: compare it with the life of the poor in the Tyrol, or of the peasant in the Basque Provinces, and our conclusion must be, that if we argue from the facts in all their completeness, we shall be driven to the conclusion that God's earth has known no such blight as that which goes by the name of the Reformation. If it was the real cause, though there is no proof of this, of material prosperity, it quenched the happiness, the buoyancy, the gaiety of millions.

I have spoken of England's isolation. Here the

Anglican director has a greater difficulty to face. It is simply a matter of fact, that no one belonging to the Greek schism has ever condescended to 'receive' at the Anglican 'altar.' Here and there, an Anglican in the present day has managed to persuade a Greek priest to give him the Eucharist ; but never *vice versa*. But this difficulty is met by saying that 'it will come.' Many things are *in futuro* with the Anglican ; many things which one would have supposed he would count amongst the present necessities of the Church. Extreme Unction, or Unction of the sick in any form, is 'to come'; a bishop who will teach invocation of saints is very much 'to come;' agreement as to vital doctrines between the bishops is 'to come'; discipline as to the Sacraments is 'to come,' and so also is a bishop on the bench who will teach the absolute indissolubility of the marriage tie, and an actual provincial synod of bishops, in place of Lambeth 'Conferences,' or Convocation ; the prohibition of marriage after ordination, as in (what an Anglican would call) 'the rest of the Church;' and still more, the prohibition of second marriages of the clergy; and yet further still, the prohibition of marriage after episcopal 'consecration,' in which matter both the archbishops have exercised a liberty unknown to Christendom in all ages—all these improvements are at most *in futuro*. But be patient, says the Anglican director, and all will come right ; we are on the mend ; when you compare what we were with what we are, how can you set limits to what we may yet be ?

And so with this matter of isolation. The Greeks and the Easterns will recognise us yet, the doubter is told ; and then we shall have two 'branches' at one with each other ; and who knows whether Rome will not fall into line ? Patience is the great thing.

And it is wonderful what a little will cheer the Anglican director, and be expected to cheer the Anglican doubter, in the way of preliminaries. Friendly things said by Russians to Anglicans, when England and Russia are not at war, are quite enough in the way of crumbs. Comfort will be derived from the visit of a Greek archbishop, even though

he be reprimanded on his return, as was the case with one who gave his blessing at certain Anglican functions. Giving a welcome to an Anglican archbishop, who comes in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, not avowedly indeed, but in reality in the eyes of Russian dignitaries, such things are quite enough to fire the imagination of the Anglican; the rest will come; only wait.

Few Anglicans see through the hollowness of any *rapprochement* which leaves the Greek bishop free to anathematize, as he does, anyone who does not believe in the invocation of saints, and of the Blessed Mother of God, and at the same time leaves the Anglican Bishop free to denounce the same belief (as he will at home), as obscuring the mediation of Christ. Few even see the chasm that yawns between the two, so long as no Greek bishop would receive the Blessed Sacrament at the hands of an Anglican, which never has been, and we may safely say, never will be done till the day of doom.

Again, the mere existence of the Greek schism is a potent argument with the Anglican director. His history does not tell him the plain truth as to the moral degradation of those that brought it about, and the Erastianism to which it is due, and of which its continued existence is at once child and parent. Think, he says, of the millions that differ from Rome, with their ancient undoubted hierarchy, and the tenacity with which they adhere to all that is primitive and orthodox. He says nothing of all that he thought an argument against Rome; of the state of the countries where this imaginary orthodoxy flourishes, or of the morality produced; the very name Eastern is redolent of awe, and a claim to orthodoxy passes for its profession, and the emphatic witness of its teaching against some of the fundamental tenets of Anglicanism goes for nothing.

But the Church of England is, beyond all else, the great witness to the value of history. So at least the Anglican director persuades the doubter. Rome has flung history to the winds. She had one great historian, but she cast him out. True, the only histories he wrote were as subversive of Anglicanism as anything ever produced by the pen of man;

but then he became—well, it is hard to say what he became; for he respected the excommunication passed on him, and refrained from saying Mass, thereby cutting up the Anglican position by the roots; he coquetted, indeed, with Anglicans, but he expressed his mistrust of a system which permitted married bishops, contrary to all history, and altogether failed to throw in his lot in a practical way with the Neo-Protestants, or, as they call themselves, Old Catholics. An Anglican, if he does set to work at history, is indebted to Catholics for his materials; and fragments of history which would be as child's play to a Catholic professor on the Continent, are held up as signs of the erudition of the Church of England. A religious body, or a section of a religious body, which could receive Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon* as ecclesiastical history proves its own unfamiliarity with the rudiments of that department of knowledge. And yet Rome's ignorance is a commonplace argument with our friends the High Anglicans. It is an extraordinary infatuation; it may well provoke a smile of almost incredulity with some of my readers; it seems natural to ask, can such people be in good faith? But so it is; there is many a sincere man who knows no more of history nor of theology than he would gain from the very slender equipment of an Anglican theological college, who will demurely and oraculantly hold forth on the terrible indifference to history and to truth evinced by 'Rome;' and succeed—for that is the strange part of the matter—in impressing his hearer with a sense of danger in drawing near to what yet he calls a branch of the *one* Church. It is impossible that the recent reply of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the Bull *Apostolica Curæ* should have received the welcome it has in some quarters, unless theology and history had sunk to a very low ebb indeed in the Establishment. But this being so, our Anglican director has an easy task in persuading himself that he is representing history when he indulges in his platitudes about Anglicanism and the Primitive Church.

Such are some of the arguments which are pressed on the High Anglican when he or she begins to doubt the 'catholicity' of the English Church. But there are two

on which the eloquence of the Anglican director rises to a climax. One is the ingratitude of turning one's back upon the sacraments of the Anglican Church. No one who has not either lived in the Anglican atmosphere, or become acquainted, as a Catholic priest, with the epistolary literature with which the doubter amongst Anglicans is assailed, can form any idea of the tremendous energy with which this weapon is used. For myself, I have experienced both. I have before me a letter, a type of its class, written by one of the most esteemed leaders of what is called the 'Catholic movement' in the Church of England. It is addressed to a lady who found her way into the Church. Her former director speaks of Roman Catholics as reviling our Lord by virtue of their opposition to the Church of England. The denial of Anglican Orders is held to be equivalent to this sin of reviling our Lord. The appeal in such cases is not to any intelligent and literary appreciation of the question of those orders from a theological or historical point of view; but to the spiritual experiences of which the doubter has been the recipient in the use of ordinances which he or she believed to be true sacraments. You turn your back on the sacraments which have been to you such a blessing. The argument is one of immense force to the profoundly untheological mind of the ordinary Anglican. They *have* experienced spiritual blessings. Catholics will for ever beat the air if they do not recognise this. To deal with the case *as it is*, they must realize the fact that people sometimes go on for years using all the Catholic devotions which centre round the altar, and that their spiritual life appears to ebb and flow in complete correspondence with their disuse or more careful use of these devotions. Consequently, their sacraments, as they call them, are a reality *to them*, and the fear of leaving our Lord in leaving them is no unnatural feeling.

I need not say, in a Catholic magazine, how delusive the argument from experience is; how experiences only prove their own reality; but the point is, that there they are, and the argument drawn from them must be dealt with tenderly as well as with theological precision. Ridicule

and contempt is out of the place here ; not, indeed, with the thing, but with the persons. One point that has to be pressed is, that all these are but steps to something further. We need not deny the reality of what such persons adduce, but the conclusion which they draw. But it will be easily seen how strong is the appeal to tender consciences, and how carefully it must be dealt with in endeavouring to counteract the conclusion. It will also be seen that we need to do a great deal more than has yet been done by way of bringing home to the well-disposed amongst them the truths contained in the recent Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, especially as it bears on the nature of a sacrament. Protestants are, of course, not to be confuted by an authority which they do not recognise ; they must be brought to see the grounds on which it rests. The Anglican director very often assumes an air of magnificent authority himself ; he professes to speak in the name of scholarship and history ; it must be shown (and how easily in this case it can be shown since the flimsy reply of the two Archbishops !) that they have neither on their side.

I have kept to the last one argument, far more used than people not well acquainted with the subject would imagine, but of which Anglican directors ought to be ashamed. It is the argument derived from scandals. Two assumptions are generally made in the use of this argument—first, that the Anglicans themselves are particularly free from certain scandals ; and, secondly, that there is no sufficient sanctity exhibited in what they call the Church of Rome to form a stronger argument for, than all the scandals (even if substantiated) would be against, her claim to be a supernatural system.

Both these assumptions are, I believe, due in part to ignorance. As one who, through accidental circumstances, had opportunities of knowing the Church of England in her real working for nearly thirty years to an extent that probably few have shared, I feel justified in assuming that ignorance is at the bottom of much which is assumed in this matter by Anglican directors. When I made my submission, I received a letter from one, whose name has been very

prominent of late, entreating me not to use my unparalleled knowledge of things in the Church of England for purposes of disunion. I have never done so ; I should be ashamed to have recourse to such mean devices. I do not consider such arguments valid. I have read St. Augustine's writings against the Donatists, and anyone who has read these knows how utterly un-Catholic such an argument is. But no chivalry seems to prevent Anglican directors from using this weapon of detraction. Only recently, a very prominent controversialist set afloat amongst undergraduates at Oxford an account of his having been solicited at an Italian seaport by a priest to go to a home of bad fame. Assuming that this person knew the language well enough to be quite sure of his account of the matter, we might well ask if the said priest did take this person (as he assumed) for a fellow-priest, which is most unlikely ; or, again, whether this was a priest at all, or someone who had assumed a priest's dress, as we know happens in those regions ; but even if we make these assumptions, we may well ask whether it is well, for purposes of controversy, to descend to this kind of argument, which would tell fatally against the so-called Reformation, when morality went to the winds with a vengeance, according to the confession of those connected with it. However, so it is, that the amount of stories, true or false, which do duty for arguments, not only with the Protestant Alliance, but with High Church directors, when driven into straits for argument, is much greater than one would have imagined considering the pretensions made to Catholic teaching.

On the other hand, whilst the real meaning of the Church's note of sanctity is thus ignored, by retailing scandals, as was the custom of the Donatists, according to St. Augustine, its true idea is depraved in another way. Many a doubter can resist all the arguments so far, but finds himself, or herself, unequal to the plea that such good men as Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and others, have remained in the Church of England. Who am I that I should set myself above them ? What was good enough for them must be good enough for me. Anglicans do not, as a rule, know that this is an utterly un-Catholic application of the note of

sanctity. If Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble had worked miracles, that is to say, if Almighty God had countersigned their appearance of goodness by this mark of favour, there would be more to be said for it. Even then it would be a misapplied argument; for the Catholic and Roman Church has been beforehand in this matter, and her prestige cannot now be dimmed by an occasional outburst of seeming miracle; with her, miracle has been habitual and age-long, and if an Anglican is going to pin his faith to an individual or two who, we will suppose, seems to have worked a miracle, he fails to appreciate the fact that the Roman Catholic Church is the home of miracle, and ought therefore to be his own home. But the goodness of a few clergymen is an unanswerable argument to some minds, whilst the witness of the saints to the system in which they believed is unequal to the task of counterbalancing the argument thus derived from a few sincere believers in Anglicanism.

My object in the foregoing remarks has been to photograph, as well as I could, the situation in which a devout Anglican finds himself when the claims of Rome come before him. If I have in any way succeeded, one thing would seem to follow—viz., that we have to deal with a complicated problem, and that our work lies before us.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE 'IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

VI.

THE third candidate for the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ*, whose pretensions we must discuss, is John Gersen, a supposed Benedictine abbot of Vercelli, who is stated to have lived, and, moreover, to have written the book, in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Hitherto we have dealt with individuals about whose existence there can be no doubt. Thomas à Kempis and John Charlier de Gerson were realities beyond question; and whatever may have been their relation to *The Imitation*, no one can deny that they lived and did great work in the field of spiritual literature. This much cannot be averred of John Gersen. He is neither more nor less than a phantom. His first appearance before the world dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century (some four hundred years subsequent to his supposed existence), and came to pass after this fashion:—

In the year 1604, in a house of the Jesuits at Arona, on the Lago Maggiore, Father Bernard Rossignoli, S.J., found an undated manuscript of *The Imitation of Christ*. This was the famous Arona Codex. At the end of the fourth book is written: "Explicet liber quartus et ultimus Abbatis Johannis Gersen de sacramento altaris." In other portions of the manuscript the author is named Gessen or Geschen once (the name being here very difficult to decipher), and Gessen thrice. As this house of the Jesuits had formerly been a monastery of the Benedictines, Father Rossignoli imagined that the book belonged to their library, and leaped to the conclusion that it originated with that great Order. Very precipitately, as subsequent events proved, he put forward the Codex as such, and thus gave origin to a most extraordinary fable.

In the year 1617 Father Majoli, another Jesuit who had

made his noviceship at Arona, hearing the story, came forward, and made a *declaration* to the effect that it was he who had brought the Codex to Arona from his paternal home in Genoa! Thus Father Rossignoli's idea was proved to be a mistake. However, Majoli's avowal came too late to prevent an absurd and vexatious controversy. The manuscript had fallen into the hands of Constantine Cajetan, an enthusiastic Benedictine, who, in his anxiety to add to the abundant laurels of his Order the paternity of the great treasure, actually published it in Rome in 1616, asserting that it was the work of 'the Venerable John Gessen, a Benedictine Abbot.' In a second edition, brought out in 1618, he re-baptized the imaginary author as 'John Gersen,' which appellation has survived to the present day.

It was useless to argue that Gersen was a common mode, as we have seen, of writing the name of Gerson, the Parisian Chancellor—that it was quite natural to style him 'abbot,' as he was actually *Abbé commendataire* of St. Jean-en-Grève; the new interpretation suited the novel craze, and must be worked out to the bitter end. Without disparaging Cajetan we may truthfully say that he carried his enthusiasm to folly, as may be seen by the facts related concerning him by Malou and others. At all events, the new candidate was launched upon the world, and all the powers of the great Order of St. Benedict were put forward in the attempt to substantiate his claim. Immediately on the appearance of Cajetan's edition of *The Imitation*, Heribert Rosweyd, a learned Belgian Jesuit, took up the challenge, and published his *Vindiciae Kempenses*, which remains to this day one of the ablest essays ever written on the subject, and a model for controversialists. It had no effect, however, on the enthusiastic sponsor of the imaginary John Gersen.

As no one had ever heard before of such an individual as the new candidate, it became necessary to give him a habitation, a country, a birthplace—aye, and even a portrait. All this was done by a series of processes indicating more fertile imagination than historical truth.

A copy of *The Imitation*, printed in Venice and dated

1501, gave the needful clue. Upon this volume some unknown writer had traced the following note:—‘Hunc librum non compilavit Johannes Gerson, sed D. Johannes . . . Abbas Vercellensis . . . ut habetur usque hodie propria manu scriptus in eadem abbazia.’ This was enough for Cajetan. John Gersen, as a matter of course, was Abbot of Vercelli, and an Italian! It mattered nothing that the name of the asserted Vercellese author was not given; moreover, the fact was overlooked that this written note is undoubtedly falsified, as Delfau and Naudé declare. The idea fitted Cajetan’s wishes, and therefore must be true.

By-and-by it became necessary to find a birthplace for Gersen. That was promptly done. A manuscript of *The Imitation* (the Allacianus), which attributes the book to John Tambaco, a learned Dominican of the fourteenth century, answered this want perfectly. Tambaco, misread by confusion between the letters T and C, gave the author as John Cambaco, or Canabaco, and this word, by a process wholly unknown to philology, was metamorphosed into Cavaglia, a village near Vercelli, in which Gersen was stated to have been born!

The next necessity was to provide a portrait of the newly-discovered hero. This likewise was accomplished without delay. The so-called *Codex Cavensis* has a picture of a monk painted within the letter Q at the commencement of the first sentence, *Qui Sequitur me*. This picture is stated by the Gersenists to represent a Benedictine monk—no other than John Gersen! They ignored the circumstance that this manuscript bears neither name nor date, and that there is strong evidence that it never belonged to the Benedictine Monastery of La Cava, in the kingdom of Naples. In 1833 an enthusiastic Gersenist, the Chevalier de Grégory, enlarged the picture and placed it as a frontispiece to his work.

Let us here recapitulate. By Father Rossignoli’s proven error in supposing that the Arona Codex ever belonged to the Benedictine library at Arona; by the blunder of a copyist so ill informed that he spells the supposed author’s name in three different ways, and called him Abbot; and by the

vivid imagination of Dom Cajetan ;—we have the new candidate put forward as the Venerable John Gersen, Abbot of the Benedictine Order. By a falsified and utterly worthless note in the Venice edition we find him represented as an Abbot of Vercelli, and therefore an Italian ; by a misreading of the name of John Tambaco we find him born at Cavaglia ; and, finally, by a *coup de main* of extravagant fancy, we have his portrait manufactured out of the illuminated Q in the so-called *Codex Cavensis* !

Verily, what more could be needed to prove Gersen's existence, and claim to the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* !

Still, we must follow Cajetan's eccentricities a little further. The question will be asked, When did Gersen flourish as Abbot of Vercelli ? Probably with the idea of ante-dating *The Imitation of Christ*, so as to put Thomas à Kempis and John Charlier de Gerson out of the field, the new candidate was asserted to belong to the thirteenth century. Most certainly the Arona manuscript (which I have myself carefully examined) never justified such an assumption, all competent authorities referring it to the fifteenth century. However, careful search was made, which proved that in neither of the monasteries of Vercelli—St. Andrew's, belonging to the Canons Regular, and St. Stephen's, the Benedictine Convent—was there any record of an abbot of the name of John Gersen. All this made no matter, Dom Cajetan and a host of Benedictines held to the myth—the Augustinian Canons Regular could not abandon the just and solid claims of Thomas à Kempis. Accordingly two powerful Orders entered the lists, partisans joined the fray on both sides, the *mêlée* became European, and thus was inaugurated the most extraordinary controversy known in the history of literature. In process of time, popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, and laymen, of various nationalities, were drawn into the battle. Congresses were held, and various decisions arrived at. The Congregation of the Index, and even the Parliament of Paris were appealed to, and many bitter personal quarrels arose. Still, while partisans and theorists lived and died, the truth gradually rose to the surface.

It would be an unwarrantable trespass on my reader's patience to follow all the intricacies of this contest, which lasted nearly three hundred years, or to analyze what each combatant asserted or refuted; and it would be very painful to rake up all the bitterness and obliquity to which it has occasionally given rise.

The Kempists, from the days of the witty Amort up to the present, seem unable to resist the ludicrous view of the contention. Withal, levity is out of place in the discussion of an historical problem, although, if ever excusable it certainly would be so in the present instance.

For my own part, I have only to observe, that, having made a special study of the question for a good part of my life, and having conscientiously sought out all the information procurable, at home and abroad, I have been drawn to the conclusion that there is not the faintest scintilla of evidence that such a personage as John Gersen, of Vercelli, ever existed. In other words, I am perfectly satisfied that he is neither more nor less than a phantom.

Having discussed, at considerable length, in my essay of 1887, all that Gersen's advocates have advanced in his favour, I hesitate to do more than allude—very briefly—to the efforts they make in his favour.

I have already explained how he was invented by Dom Cajetan, and every step in that truly absurd process. Amongst the few latter-day partisans of the imaginary John Gersen, of Vercelli, we find the Chevalier De Grégory, the Père Mella, S.J., Dom Wolfsgruber, and Monseigneur Puyol. I will offer a few observations concerning each of these writers, and, for the rest, refer all interested in the subject—and with time at their disposal—to my original essay.

De Grégory appears, from his works, to have been an excellent Vercellese gentleman, no doubt imbued with good motives, filled with extravagant enthusiasm, of transparent simplicity, totally innocent of logic or historical acumen, and gifted with a very rare power of confusion.

The earlier part of his life appears to have been devoted to a search amongst manuscripts of *The Imitation* for one to

prove the existence of John Gersen. The result was a ludicrous failure. He gives a list of authorities in favour of the existence of his hero. The majority are unknown, and no reference is given to their works. This is a facile short cut out of his difficulty. Those he does name are actually *adverse* to his argument.

The latter portion of De Grégory's life was devoted to a different, but equally unsuccessful, mode of supporting the cause of Gersen. I shall briefly relate it. In the year 1830 he purchased from Techener, a bookseller in Paris, a manuscript of *The Imitation of Christ*, which was believed to have come from Italy. No sooner had he possessed himself of this treasure, than he examined it closely, and being totally unskilled in paleography, assigned it to the thirteenth century.

Inside the volume he discovered the names of its former owners. Beginning with the date of 1550, was a list of various members of a family known by the appellation 'Avogadro;' in Latin 'De Advocatis.' Now, it so happened that a noble family of that name still lived at Biella, near Vercelli. Here was a discovery; or, at all events, a foundation upon which to build a castle in the air! De Grégory lost no time in making known his good fortune, and communicating with the Avogadro family. Shortly afterwards, most marvellous to relate, a fragment of a diary was exhumed from amongst the archives of the said family, dated between 1345 and 1349, in which a certain Joseph De Advocatis makes allusion to a precious codex of *The Imitation of Christ*, which he avers was in the possession of his ancestors long before the time at which he wrote.

Led astray by a mass of fantasies, De Grégory now formulated and published his conclusions—

First. That his manuscript, the *Codex De Advocatis*, dated from the thirteenth century;

Secondly. That the diary, thenceforth known as the *Diarium De Advocatis*, referred to that Codex; and,

Thirdly. That all this (supposed) evidence favoured the cause of John Gersen.

At first, the real facts being unknown and unsuspected,

De Grégory succeeded in making several converts to his views, especially in Italy ; but by-and-by inexorable truth penetrated the mists of delusion, and the worthy Chevalier's castle vanished into thin air.

First. Critical examination proved that the newly-discovered manuscript of *The Imitation* really belonged to the fifteenth, and not the thirteenth, century ; and

Secondly. That the *Diarium* was a clumsy forgery.

Apart from these extraordinary deceptions, to which the Chevalier undoubtedly fell an innocent victim, it seems strange that any sane person should have attempted to erect from such a foundation any support for the pretensions of John Gersen. The *Codex de Advocatis* and the *Diarium* make no mention whatsoever of Gersen, and De Grégory ought to have known that there never was a particle of evidence to connect that mythical personage with Vercelli.

If, for the sake of argument, we were to concede what we know to be untrue—namely, that the *Codex de Advocatis* dated from the thirteenth century, and that the *Diarium* was a genuine document, De Grégory's defence of Gersen derived from these premisses would resolve itself into the following argument :—

First. The *Codex de Advocatis* dates from the thirteenth century.

Secondly. The *Diarium* alludes to that particular Codex.

Thirdly. Therefore John Gersen was the author !

Verily, if this is a specimen of De Grégory's logic, he was not a close reasoner. When, on the other hand, we grasp the real facts—namely, that the *Codex de Advocatis* is a fifteenth-century document, and the *Diarium* a forgery, then indeed we realize how utterly the Chevalier was himself deceived, and in turn misled those who accepted his opinions. So much for De Grégory. No one can read his works without arriving at the conclusion that what he considers facts are fables, that his conjectures are wild, and his conclusions untenable.

Mella and Wolfsgruber follow a line so similar—in fact,

identical—that they differ only in the language in which they write. What may be affirmed of one applies in the main to the other. Wolfsgruber's essay can best be described as a romance, charming reading for anyone totally ignorant of the subject, but deficient in any solid basis. Like Mella, he adopts the method of boldly stating his case—very attractively, I admit—and of ignoring or minimizing all that can be brought against him.

First, he gives an imaginary life of the supposed Abbot, including his birthplace, details of his early education, his friendships, and of course his works, including *The Imitation of Christ*. For all this there is not one particle of foundation! Wolfsgruber's story, like many others, is quite credible until the other side is heard. Then it crumbles to dust—nay, more—the wonder begins to grow that anyone could write as he does, unless satisfied that his assertions could be verified. When the reader seeks for proofs he discovers that none exist.

Apart from the romantic element already alluded to, Wolfsgruber's work, like Mella's, consists of a *réchauffé* of the usual exploded theories of the Gersenists—namely, the manuscripts asserted to be older than à Kempis,—the famous *Diarium de Advocatis*,—the imagined quotations from writers of the thirteenth century,—the Paulanus codex,—and so on. It may be said of it, that what is new is not true, and what is true is not new.

Probably the best comment I can make upon Wolfsgruber's *Life and Work of John Gersen* is to record its effect upon a learned critic, the late Père Schneemann, S.J., who at the time he studied it inclined to the side of Gersen and had actually written in his favour. The result of his examination of this essay was to shake his former belief so completely that he investigated the question anew, and became an avowed and ardent Kempist. I shall translate his words:—

Formerly I defended the rights of Gersen, and I believed them to be indisputable; I then took in hand, with the greatest interest, Wolfsgruber's plea for Gersen, believing that I should find therein arguments for my own justification. I was then in

the most favourable dispositions regarding Gersen ; but, after having studied this work profoundly, I began to doubt, and the rights of Gersen did not appear to me so certain. The more I examined the question in all its aspects, the more I felt myself led to believe that Thomas à Kempis had in reality written *The Imitation*."

Subsequently, Schneemann contributed a remarkable article in favour of Thomas à Kempis.

Since the publication of his work on John Gersen Dom Wolfsgruber has edited a pamphlet, entitled *Septem Motiva contra Thomam de Kempis*. Monseigneur Puyol also quotes this essay, the manuscript of which is to be found in the National Library in Paris. The document is a remarkable specimen of feebleness and confusion, and it is not easy to understand why Wolfsgruber and Puyol avail themselves of it, as it is certainly anti-Gersenist, and an absurdly weak attempt to dispute the claims of the great monk of Mount St. Agnes.

I am bound to confess myself indebted to Dom Wolfsgruber for my determination to examine the Paulanus manuscript, upon which he lays considerable stress. As I have already shown, this manuscript is worthless, its dates being forged ; and I pointed out this to Dom Wolfsgruber when I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance in Vienna, in the autumn of 1889. He had no reply to make.

Leaving De Grégory, Mella, and Wolfsgruber, we come to the most recent defender of the Gersenist fantasy—namely, Monseigneur Puyol. This erudite writer approaches the subject in a more scholarly fashion than his predecessors, discusses its points with ingenuity and at prodigious length ; but his arguments are shallow and his conclusions untenable. Assuming that this learned divine, in his elaborate treatise on *The Imitation of Christ*, has availed himself of all the learning that has ever been brought forward in favour of Gersen, I have read and re-read with close attention his ponderous octavo of five hundred and thirty pages. If not luminous, Puyol is certainly voluminous. I am obliged to add that I cannot find in anything or in all that he brings forward the smallest ground for accepting his opinions.

At first he endeavours to show a Benedictine origin of *The Imitation*, and therein totally fails. Then he seeks to depreciate à Kempis, and to represent him as incapable of the authorship of the great book. Here, again, forgetting or unconscious of the opposite demonstration of Rosweyd, Amort, Coustou, and many others, whose knowledge on this point far exceeds his own, he collapses most ignominiously. Lastly, he seeks to represent *The Imitation* as an outcome of the spiritual school of Italy in the thirteenth century. The more we examine this theory the more visionary it becomes, until it finally vanishes; and we are thrown back upon the obvious fact, that the inspiration of the book, its phraseology and idioms, can only be found in the school of Windeshiem. As an exercise of patience I can strongly recommend Monsigneur Puyol's work to all who have abundant leisure at their disposal.

So much for Gersen and his partisans. Naturally some extravagant developments of Gersenism have taken place; but that was to be expected, remembering the absurdity of the process by which this phantom was invented. Amongst others, we find that in 1874 a statue was erected in the parish church of Cavaglia in honour of Gersen, and that in 1884 another similar memorial was unveiled at Vercelli. The latter ceremony gave occasion to the Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Alimonda, to deliver an eloquent address, wherein he declares John Gersen to be the author of *The Imitation of Christ*!

What, may I ask, do these statues prove?—The inextinguishable vigour of imagination. Gersen was the creation of Cajetan's fancy, as Minerva was of Jupiter's brain; but, as Father Becker quaintly observes, Italy is full of statues of Minerva, yet who would argue from thence that such a being ever existed?

May I suggest to his Eminence, and to his hearers and readers, the perusal of a notice of this discourse from the pen of the Chanoine Delvigne, of Brussels. With all the dignity, self-restraint, and scholarly perspicuity which characterize this learned writer, he exposes, most respectfully, but scathingly, the startling indiscretion of such a

pronouncement, coming from so high a dignitary, and from so privileged a ground as the pulpit of a cathedral.

So much for John Gersen, of Vercelli. I have endeavoured to discuss his candidature with becoming gravity, although often sorely tempted in the opposite direction.

Having now disposed of Gersen and his advocates, I will add, before concluding, a few observations concerning those opponents of Thomas à Kempis who are unable to suggest an author for *The Imitation*, but still revel in vain wanderings and crotchets.

We have already seen something of the essay, *Septem motiva contra Thomam de Kempis*. The author is unknown, and so much the better.

Some thirty-six years ago an ingenious and learned author, M. Phillippe Tamizey de Larroque, wrote some articles with the intention of showing that the internal evidence of style, &c., in *The Imitation*, and in the admitted works of Thomas à Kempis, tends to dispute the claims of the pious Canon Regular of Mount St. Agnes.

I have not found in these clever essays anything to satisfy me that the author is justified in his conclusions, and, on the other hand, I have observed some errors which appear unaccountable. I shall say nothing of his style, except that, despite its attractions, it is strikingly deficient in judicial calm. M. de Larroque argues against à Kempis on the ground that his acknowledged works contain certain words and expressions not found in *The Imitation*, and *vice versa*. Furthermore, that he treats some subjects rather (but not substantially) differently from the author of *The Imitation*. The discrepancies insisted upon by M. de Larroque appear to me trifling, and altogether insufficient to support his contention, unless, indeed, we were to grant what is not alone against probability and experience, but even impossible, namely, that a given voluminous author like à Kempis, who beyond doubt, was in addition a diligent compiler, must of necessity repeat himself in thought, word, and expression in all his works, and maintain the same level of merit, irrespective of the subject in hand and the audience to which he addresses himself.

M. de Larroque falls into some strange errors, of which I shall single out one for illustration. He reminds us that à Kempis loved rhyming, and that the author of *The Imitation* did not, and therefore that Thomas could not have been the author. This is a fundamental mistake, very curious for a diligent reader, but excusable to some extent, because M. de Larroque wrote in 1861, and Dr. Hirsche did not publish his researches on the rhythm and rhyme of *The Imitation*, until 1873. As a matter of fact, the rhythm and rhyme of *The Imitation*, so identical with what we find in à Kempis' other works, constitutes a most important proof that Thomas *was* the author.

M. de Larroque concludes his brochure by some curious speculations as to the personality of the real author. He rejects à Kempis—likewise Gersen, with emphasis, and is altogether doubtful about Gerson. But he hazards as far-fetched a solution of the problem as I have yet encountered. He tells us that the love of the French for the book points to France as the country of its origin 'la prédilection d'une mère pour son enfant!' Had our author investigated the internal evidence derived from the study of the linguistic peculiarities of *The Imitation*—a point which he declines to enter upon—I believe he would never have arrived at this conclusion. I hope that when he masters the whole evidence now before us, to a vast amount of which he does not even allude, and much of which has come to light since he wrote, he will arrive at a very different opinion respecting the claims of the saintly Canon of Mount St. Agnes.

Another of the theorists who oppose à Kempis, is Mr. Arthur Loth, of Paris. He holds that *The Imitation* was probably written by a member of the Congregation of Windesheim, prior to the time of Thomas, and he has placed his views before the public in a series of articles in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, which occupy about one hundred and fifty pages octavo. His conclusions are founded upon a certain manuscript which he discovered some years ago in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in which the first book of *The Imitation*, and fragments of the third and fourth, are found bound up with several treatises on spiritual and other

subjects. At the commencement of this collection is a calendar, which according to Loth, points to the year 1406. Upon this very sandy foundation he builds up the theory that *The Imitation of Christ* was written before 1406, and that therefore Thomas could not have been its author, as he was only twenty-six years of age at that time.

A very short study suffices to upset this doctrine. Assuming for the sake of brevity, that M. Loth is correct in believing that the calendar dates back to 1406—a very questionable point indeed—we have yet to learn at what period it and the other treatises in the volume, including the portions of *The Imitation*, were bound up together. On this point we have no indication whatsoever, and hence these fragments of *The Imitation* may just as well date fifty years later than the supposed calendar of 1406. The binding of the MS. is quite modern.

Again, M. Loth endeavours to strengthen his assumption as to the date of *The Imitation of Christ* by dwelling on the fact that there are marginal notes in the manuscript which allude to it as the *De Imitationi Christi*—a term not applied to it in its earliest days. Here I am obliged to remark that I believe he is not a careful observer. In June, 1884, I examined this manuscript myself, and I am certain that the aforesaid marginal notes are not written in the same handwriting or ink as the rest of the manuscript. Thus the conclusion based on these notes goes for nothing, as they may have been written fifty or a hundred years later than the manuscript.

Finally, in his third article, M. Loth commits himself to an assertion which shows much want of care in the examination of the documents respecting which he writes. He gives a description of a manuscript, then the property of Count Riant, in which, among other treatises, is found the first book of *The Imitation of Christ*. Further on is a work of Floretus, bearing date 1416. Loth describes the manuscript as homogeneous—that is, written by one hand—and argues from thence that *The Imitation of Christ* was known before 1416.

I have no intention of disputing the fact that the first

book of *The Imitation* was extant at that period, when Thomas à Kempis was already thirty-six years of age—on the contrary, I fully believe it; but Loth's assertion that Count Riant's manuscript is homogeneous is positively erroneous. In September, 1885, M. Ruelens showed me photographs taken from different parts of this codex which prove beyond doubt that it was written by *several* copyists. Here, again, we find our author building on an unstable base a structure which falls to the ground. In short, a critical examination of M. Loth's elaborate articles forces us to the conclusion that, despite his great ingenuity, high literary ability, and very attractive style, his theories are unfounded, and his conclusions erroneous.

I think it is now time for me to bring this discussion to a close, and I believe everyone guided by the ordinary rules of evidence will concede that I have answered the question, with which I began, namely—'Who was the author of *The Imitation of Christ*'?

Of course this essay has been very brief, and intended mainly to give a bird's-eye view of the subject, as a guide for others who may wish to enter upon a more extended and profound study of it. For all the authorities I must refer to my essay of 1837. They would have been quite out of place in the present little sketch.

I have told briefly the story of the appearance of the great book, of the spiritual school from which it emanated, of the great monk, Thomas à Kempis, in whose favour as its author we find a crushing mass of evidence—traditional—contemporaneous—external and internal. I have shown that the mighty Chancellor Gerson was not its author; that the so-called John Gersen, of Vercelli, is a myth; and that the hypotheses of those theorists, who oppose à Kempis, although unable to suggest any other author, are baseless, and full of mistakes, and erroneous statements.

In conclusion, I offer, on next page, a tabular summary of the real state of the case, and leave the rest to the judgment of my readers.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

HYPOTHESES,
Of the author of the *Septem*
Motiva, of de Larroque
and Loth.

Purely speculative, and
full of obvious mistakes and
erroneous statements.

JOHN GERSEN,
Benedictine Abbot of
Vercelli?

Existence wholly mythical.
Claim to the authorship of
The Imitation unsustained by
one particle of evidence.

JOHN CHARRIER DE GÉRON.
(Born 1363; Died 1429.)

I.

Contemporary Witnesses

Not one to be found in his
favour. Two (his brother and
Ciresio) *negatively* adverse by
their silence. Five, shortly
after his time, testify *positively*
against him.

II.

External Evidence of Manuscripts

Not a single manuscript
dated during his life, or for
thirty years after his death,
assigns the authorship to him.

III.

Internal Evidence

Unfavourable to him in every
point.

THOMAS à KEMPIS.
(Born 1379 or '80; Died 1471.)

I.

Contemporary Witnesses

From amongst a crowd I have quoted
fourteen, of whom two knew him per-
sonally, and three were members of his own
order, and therefore representatives of the
domestic tradition which attributed the
authorship to à Kempis long before any
controversy arose.

II.

External Evidence of Manuscripts

A large portion of the most ancient and
trustworthy manuscripts, many dating
during his life, and one in his own hand-
writing, point to him as the author.

III.

Internal Evidence

In favour of à Kempis we find—

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) Identity of Style; including
peculiarities, viz.— | Common
to <i>The</i>
<i>Imitation</i> |
| (a) Barbarisms. | { and other
works of
à Kempis. |
| (b) Italianized words. | |
| (c) The word "Devotus" | |
| used in a peculiar
sense. | |
| (d) Dutch idioms. | |
| (e) Systematic rhythmical
punctuation | |
- (2) *The Imitation*, in part derived, word for
word, from the writings of the
'School of Windesheim,' of which
à Kempis was the leading exponent.
- (3) Also copiously derived from the Scrip-
ture, and the works of St. Bernard,
with both of which we know à Kempis
was *specially* familiar.

MODERN SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

PART I.—MATTER—*continued*

ORIGIN OF MATTER

MATERIALISTS of course reject the idea of creation or a Creator. According to Hæckel the idea of a personal creator could only have arisen in the minds of the 'missing links' while they were being slowly evolved from apes into men! Vogt says: 'The Creator must be put out of doors unceremoniously, and we cannot allow the least room for the operations of such a being.' Darwin, in his *Origin of Species*, uses the words *creator*, *creation* several times. Referring to this in a letter (1863) he says—'I have long regretted that I truckled to public opinion and used the Pentateuchal term of *creation*, by which I really meant *appear* by some wholly unknown process.'

Herbert Spencer refers the doctrine of special creation to that pet limbo of his—'the family of extinct beliefs.' In one of his latest pronouncements on this subject, he says: 'The observed facts of daily experience, proving a constant order amongst phenomena, negative the hypothesis [of special creation].'¹

The argument here advanced against the existence of a Creator is so peculiar as to call for some special notice. It rests on the extraordinary assumption that such a being could not refrain from constant and arbitrary interference with the order of nature! The idea of a Supreme Being that presents itself to the mind of the materialist is some monstrous embodiment of irresponsible power totally unchecked by adequate wisdom or forethought—a sort of celestial Nero whose existence would mean cosmical chaos. With this conception before his mind he triumphantly points to the steady course of nature as proof positive that no such being exists. Obviously our only answer to this strange

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, Nov., 1895.

argument is *transeat*. We never dreamt of tracing the existence or order of nature to such a *monstrum horrendum* as our materialistic adversaries conjure up. Our contention stands clear of all such fantastic nonsense. That a Being possessed of infinite power should have created the things that are, and with infinite wisdom should have impressed on them the laws by which they were to be governed embodies no contradiction that unprejudiced human reason can see. Nay, this very order of nature can be reasonably accounted for on no other hypothesis than that of an infinitely intelligent First Cause. However, this strangely perverse argument from wondrous order to the negation of an orderer, from evident design to the negation of a designer, will meet us in many disguises and at many points of our course. For the present we return to our witnesses against creation.

Tyndall in his *Apology for the Belfast Address* (1875), says :—‘As far as the eye of science has hitherto ranged through nature, no intrusion of purely creative power into any series of phenomena has ever been observed.’ But the celebrated geologist, Sir Charles Lyell, has also some claim to tell us what ‘the eye of science’ observes, and this is what he has to say : ‘In whatever direction we pursue our researches we discover everywhere clear proofs of a creative intelligence, and of its foresight, wisdom, and power.’¹ And Agassiz points to certain phenomena as exhibiting ‘all the wealth and intricacy of the highest mental manifestations, and none of the simplicity of purely mechanical laws.’²

Huxley exclaims : ‘Choose your hypothesis. I have chosen mine ; and I refuse to run the risk of insulting any sane man by supposing that he holds such a notion as that of special creation.’³ And again, speaking of the theory of creation : ‘That such a verbal hocus-pocus should be received as science will one day be regarded as evidence of the low state of intelligence in the nineteenth century.’⁴ But elsewhere⁵ he says creation is ‘perfectly conceivable,

¹ *Principles of Geology*, ii., p. 613.

² *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1897.

³ *Science and Culture*.

⁴ *Lay Sermons*, p. 248.

⁵ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1886.

and, therefore, no one can deny that it may have happened. . . . Whether matter was created a few thousand years ago, or whether it has existed through an eternal series of metamorphoses, of which our present universe is only the last stage, are alternatives, *neither of which is scientifically untenable*, and neither of which is scientifically demonstrable.'

This reads somewhat strangely after the 'hocus-pocus' ! Which are we to believe—Huxley of the *Lay Sermons* or Huxley of the *Nineteenth Century* ? But even within the limits of the *Lay Sermons* themselves we find the preacher holding different doctrines. In speaking of certain things that have been referred to special creation he says : 'It *may be so* ; it may be otherwise. In the present condition of our knowledge and our methods one verdict—not proven and not provable—must be recorded.' ¹

AS TO THE ORIGIN OF MATTER, MATERIALISTS ARE DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTIES

1. Those of the school represented by Büchner hold that it is eternal. Matter, they argue, is eternal because it is indestructible ; chemistry proves that no particle of matter ever perishes. What cannot be destroyed was never created. Therefore matter is eternal. This opinion is now rather out of date. Of course the reasoning begs the whole question as to a Creator in the Christian sense. Matter is imperishable because *the chemist* cannot destroy it. In the direct form the argument would read—matter was not created because the chemist cannot create it. But this would be too patently absurd ; so it had to be disguised as above. Again, the proposition 'What cannot be destroyed was never created' needs only to have certain omitted words supplied to show its absurdity—'What cannot be destroyed *by the chemist* was never created *by an Omnipotent God* !'

The permanence of matter in scientific processes is an absolutely necessary condition if these processes are to be of any value for scientific deduction. Without this quality of

¹ Page 185.

matter the science of chemistry as we know it could not exist. If matter could suddenly appear or disappear in chemical processes it would at once put an end to chemical investigation as leading to any definite results. But to argue from the permanence of matter in the hands of man to its permanence in the hands of a Being whose power infinitely transcends that of man, needs only plain statement for its refutation.

Note how this great modern discovery of the permanence of matter in scientific processes seems to shed new light on some words in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, written thousands of years ago, wherein we are told of the wonderful works of God that 'nothing may be taken away, nor added.'¹ How strange that it should be one of the greatest triumphs of modern chemistry to prove the absolute accuracy of this ancient saying down even to the infinitesimal atoms of matter! For the smallest atom is a work of God as truly wonderful as a planet, and as far beyond man's power to make or destroy. 'Though ancient systems may be dissolved and new systems evolved out of their ruins, the molecules out of which these systems are built—the foundation-stones of the material universe—remain unbroken and unworn.'²

2. The materialists of our own day take an agnostic stand—'I don't know anything about it.' Darwin, in a letter of September, 1878, says:—'As to the eternity of matter, I never trouble myself about such insoluble questions.' In an earlier letter (1863) he calls such investigations 'rubbish.' Tyndall says: 'If you ask the materialist whence is this "matter" of which we have been discoursing, he has no answer. Science is mute in regard to such questions.'³ 'Science knows nothing of the origin or destiny of nature. Who or what made the ultimate particles of matter, science does not know.' Here the question obviously suggests itself—If 'science knows nothing of the

¹ Chap. xviii. 5.

² Clerk Maxwell.

³ *Scientific Materialism.*

⁴ *Vitality.*

origin' of matter, how can it say that matter was not created?

Huxley says: 'The scientific investigator is wholly incompetent to say anything at all about the first origin of the material universe.'¹ This is so nice and consistent from the author of the 'hocus-pocus' opinion!

Sir R. S. Ball, when proceeding to evolve the world from the nebula, and prepare it as a canvas for Darwin to draw thereon 'the noblest picture that modern science has produced,' has to begin in this lame fashion: 'We do not inquire how the original nebula came into being; we begin with the actual existence of this nebula'—which, no doubt, is very convenient. He vainly wrestles with the 'very celebrated difficulty' of the origin of life; but he prefers not to inquire about the origin of matter, regarding which one would expect an *astronomer* to be more curious.

So far, then, we do not seem to have got hold of many definite ideas about this scientific materialism. We have been assured that all things, ourselves included, have come from 'fiery clouds' and 'cosmic vapour'; that far better men are still 'potential in the fires of the sun'; that matter is 'essentially mystical and transcendental,' 'a double-faced unity' of absolutely contradictory qualities, which just manage to abide together by a wonderful method of 'close succession,' perhaps like so many small boys clinging to each other's coat-tails; that the doctrine of creation is an 'extinct belief,' 'an insult to any sane man,' 'a verbal hocus-pocus,' fit only for the half-developed brains of 'missing links'; and finally—and after all this, most surprising—that we don't know what matter is, or where it came from, or whether there is any such thing at all! This does not seem a satisfactory return for the expenditure of so much time and printer's ink, especially as it is all assertion without a single atom of proof. But we must take things as we find them. We have let the scientific philosophers speak for themselves, and so far this is absolutely all they have got to

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1886.

say. A rather beggarly philosophy when stripped of its gleaming garment of fiery cloud and sometimes equally fiery language! Truly 'a verbal hocus-pocus'—I thank thee, Huxley, for teaching me that word!—'a verbal hocus-pocus, which will one day be regarded as evidence of the low state of intelligence in the nineteenth century!'

Some of the latest results of scientific investigation into the ultimate constitution of matter may be interesting. They are mathematical deductions from experimental data, and are almost entirely due to Lord Kelvin, who enjoys the rare distinction of being at the same time a great mathematician and a great experimental scientist. The novel problem he proposed to himself was—What is the bulk of the ultimate particles of a substance? That there are ultimate particles of definite bulk seems demonstrably true at least of *compound* substances.¹ There is a limit to the divisibility of a compound substance beyond which further division gives, not smaller particles of the substance, but other totally different substances. This seems to indicate that the division has now become finer than the grain of the substance, so to speak, and has resulted in the splitting up of its ultimate particles. To give a rough illustration—We may go on dividing a bag of nuts until we reach the individual nut. This is the limit beyond which we cannot go and still have *nuts*. The individual nuts are the smallest portions of the original substance that are fully representative of it, and can be called by its name, *nuts*. They may be said to represent the ultimate particles of the substance *nuts*. We may carry the division further; but we then get, not still smaller nuts, but other things which are not nuts, and cannot be so called. We get, in fact, the things of which nuts are made up—bits of shell, kernel, &c. Our division has now become finer than the *grain* of the bag

¹ Lord Kelvin's investigation, if we rightly apprehend its limits, does not extend to the ultimate *simple atom*. That slippery entity has hitherto eluded even the far-reaching power of mathematics. Whether its latest form—Lord Kelvin's *vortex atom*—will continue to baffle the mathematical skill of its parent remains to be seen. Even in the case of ultimate *compound* particles, though mathematics may tell us something about their size, no science can tell us anything whatever about their actual structure, shape, or appearance.

of nuts, and resulted in the breaking up of its smallest representative particles.

This is of course a very crude illustration; but it will help us to follow what takes place in the case of, suppose, water. Water may be very finely divided by heat and rarefaction, its particles being driven farther and farther apart, until each stands practically isolated from its fellows in the attenuated vapour. That state would be represented by our nuts spread out widely on a table. If we could get hold of one of those particles, and examine it, we should find it to be, like the individual nut, a perfect representative of the original substance—as truly *water* as would be a bucketful of the liquid. But these particles are the smallest portions of the substance that are thus representative, and that can still be called *water*. Like the individual nuts, they represent the limit of division, beyond which we cannot go and still retain the original substance, *water*. With the keen edge of the electric current we may actually carry the division a step farther; but then we get, not still smaller particles of water, but things quite different from water—two gases, of which it may be otherwise shown that water is made up. Here then we reach a limit of divisibility in water, from which we conclude that water has ultimate particles.

What is the bulk of these ultimate particles, and how near are they to each other in the liquid? By four different methods, resting on independent physical data, Lord Kelvin arrived at the following approximate results:—

1. The distance between the centres of contiguous particles of water is approximately the 500,000,000th of an inch. 'This is the measure of the coarse-grainedness of what appears to our eyes, and even to our most powerful microscopes, to be absolutely uniform matter.'¹

2. "The effective diameter of a particle must be something certainly not far from one—250,000,000th of an inch."²

If a spherical drop of water be one-eighth of an inch in

¹ *Tait's Recent Advances in Physical Science*, p. 320.

² *Ibid.*, p. 322.

diameter, its bulk, compared with that of its ultimate particles, would be about as the bulk of the earth to that of a large plum. In other words, if the water-drop were magnified to the size of the earth, its ultimate particles, or what we may call its *grain*, would appear about as large as plums.

These results of purely scientific investigation show how absurd are the vapourings of scientific doctrinaires who are so ready to tell us all about the nature and 'potentialities' of matter. They might just as rationally discourse about the personal appearance and ways of the man in the moon. When Professor Bain, for instance, undertakes to describe the two sides of an atom, pretty much as we might talk of the two sides of a penny, we can only suppose him poking some obscure form of Scotch fun.

Nothing is more preposterously unscientific [says Professor Tait] than to assert (as is constantly done by quasi-scientific writers of the present day) that with the utmost strides attempted by science, we should necessarily be sensibly nearer to a conception of the ultimate nature of matter.¹

We may consider that Lord Salisbury voiced the present state of knowledge in his presidential address to the British Association, three years ago :—

What the atom of each element is ; whether it is a movement, or a thing, or a vortex, or a point having inertia ; whether there is any limit to its divisibility, and, if so, how that limit is imposed ; whether the long list of elements is final, or whether any of them have any common origin—all these questions remain surrounded by a darkness as profound as ever.

DEFINITIONS.

It may be well to explain a few scientific terms, chiefly chemical, which are in constant use in works on the present subject. In these definitions the ordinary chemical theory of matter is assumed.

¹ Page 288.

ELEMENT, COMPOUND, MIXTURE.

A chemical *element* is a substance which cannot, by any known means be split up into other substances different from itself. It may be solid, liquid, or gaseous ; *e.g.*, gold, mercury, oxygen gas. A chemical *compound* is a substance that can be split up into other substances different from itself ; *e.g.*, water, which can be decomposed into two gases. The substances into which a compound breaks up are always found to weigh exactly the same as the original compound. Compounds usually exhibit qualities widely different from those of their constituent elements. Thus common salt, an article of diet, is made up, of a poisonous metal and a deadly gas ; water, a heavy liquid, is made up of two gases, one of them being the lightest substance known ; carbonic acid, a suffocating gas, is made up of a harmless solid and a gas which may be said to be the chief necessary of life.

A mere *mixture* of two or more substances is a very different thing from a chemical compound of the same substances. Thus a mixture of oxygen and hydrogen is not water. It is gaseous, and would of itself remain so. The molecules of the two gases remain as distinct as the grains in a mixture of salt and sand. Put a light to the gaseous mixture, and at once the gases combine with explosive violence, every two atoms of hydrogen uniting with an atom of oxygen to form the *compound*, water.

ATOM. MOLECULE.

Atom is used of elementary substances only ; molecule, of either elementary or compound substances. Thus we can speak of an *atom* of sulphur, but not of salt ; while we can speak of a *molecule* of either. An *atom* is the smallest part of an elementary substance, separable by chemical means. A *molecule* is the smallest separable part of a compound substance, or the smallest part of an elementary substance that subsists alone. The ultimate *free* particles of all substances, elementary or compound, are molecules. The only difference in this respect between elementary and compound bodies is that the elementary molecule is made up of atoms of the

same kind ; while the compound molecule is made up of atoms of different kinds. Thus a molecule of oxygen gas consists of two oxygen atoms ; a molecule of water, of two hydrogen atoms and one oxygen atom.

CRYSTALLINE. AMORPHOUS.

Most substances in passing from the fluid or gaseous to the solid state tend to assume regular geometrical shapes. This phenomenon is called *crystallization*, and the geometrically-shaped solids resulting from it are called *crystals*. A beautiful example of crystallization may often be seen on our windows on a frosty morning. The lovely fern-like tracery is simply crystallized water, condensed from the moisture in the air of the room. Many familiar substances readily crystallize from solution or fusion. Dissolve common 'blue vitriol' in boiling water as long as any will dissolve. On allowing the solution to cool slowly, without shaking, beautiful crystals will appear.

As a rule, the crystalline form of a substance is definite and constant, and may, in many cases, afford a means of identifying the substance.

Crystallization is assumed to be due to the action of molecular attractions and repulsions. The molecules of a crystalline substance are supposed to be endowed with attractive and repellent poles, like so many small magnets. When the substance is solidifying from a state of solution, or fusion, or vapour, these polar forces come into play ; and the molecules, instead of being allowed to settle down any way, like mud out of water, are pulled into certain positions with regard to each other, thereby gradually building up crystals. Molecular attraction, as thus manifested, is spoken of as *crystalline force*.

Amorphous, as its derivation suggests, means the opposite of crystalline — shapeless, showing no tendency to set in geometrical forms. The term is sometimes applied to fluids ; thus a drop of water may be said to be amorphous. However, its application is usually restricted to solid bodies which show no tendency to crystallize.

Some crystalline bodies have, under certain conditions, an

amorphous form as well. An interesting example is sulphur, which, under different conditions, shows two distinct crystalline forms and an amorphous form. What becomes of the crystalline force in the latter case does not seem to be clearly understood.

ORGANIC. INORGANIC.

As first used in technical chemistry, *organic* was applied to compounds which were then known to be produced only by living things, *e.g.*, alcohol, turpentine, sugar; *inorganic* to compounds produced in inanimate nature or in the laboratory, *e.g.*, carbonic acid, water, common salt. Such a distinction, as far as the original meaning is concerned, is now quite out of date, many of the so-called organic compounds being easily produced with the immensely enlarged resources of modern chemistry. For educational purposes, however, the old classification is retained, as conveniently dividing chemical compounds into two great groups, the members of which differ widely in complexity of structure—organic compounds, though made up of but few elements, (chiefly carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen), being as a rule much more complex than inorganic.

Outside chemical text-books the word *organic* is now used rather of 'structures' than of 'substances.' It may be well to particularize the use of the word 'structure' in this connection, its application in ordinary speech being somewhat loose. 'Structure, as here applied, always supposes definite arrangement of parts with regard to each other and to a whole; such as is seen, for example, in a brick wall. This definite arrangement of parts is found in the works of nature as well as in the works of man. Crystals are examples of 'natural structure,' resulting from the spontaneous action of forces inherent in the molecules of substances. There is another kind of natural structure, totally different from crystalline, and resulting from the action of a force not inherent in the molecules of matter, but quite distinct and distinguishable from matter and its attractions. Of this force, under the name of 'vital force,' we shall afterwards have much to say. Here we have merely to state that under its influence matter

supplied as nutriment to living things, animal and vegetable, is built up into 'structures,' not crystalline, but as definite, and far more complex and varied. Such structures are called *organic structures*. Any portion of a plant or animal—leaf, stem, or pith—skin, bone, or muscle—may be taken as an example of organic structure. 'Organism' is a term applied to a complete, individual, organic structure, made up of co-ordinated structural parts, few or many, and animated throughout, such as a particular plant, fish, dog, &c.

THE NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS

Heat a solid lump of ice, and it becomes liquid water. Continue to heat the water, and it ultimately takes the form of vapour. *Vice versa*, gradually cool water vapour, and it takes, first, the liquid, and, finally, if the cooling be continued, the solid form. The same thing may be done with various other substances; *e.g.*, sulphur, mercury, iron, &c. Experiment has gone far enough to warrant the assumption that even the most stubborn mineral substances would, under the influence of a sufficiently high temperature, become gaseous.

The earth is now exteriorly a solid body. But the solid crust affords abundant proof that it was once liquid; and volcanoes are only one of many evidences that the interior is still in a molten state. Hence it may be regarded as scientifically demonstrable that the earth was once a molten mass of enormously high temperature.

The present physical condition of the sun¹ suggests a further supposition, viz., that the liquid condition of our globe was preceded by a gaseous condition. It is not unreasonable to assume a similar condition of things in regard to the other planets of our system. It seems hardly necessary to remark that a body in the gaseous state occupies an enormously larger space than in the solid or

¹ 'The source of sunlight may not be a solid or even liquid globe—it may be merely a great thickness of very hot and highly compressed gas; in fact, it seems quite possible that no portion of the body of the sun may be as yet even liquid.'—Tait's *Recent Advances in Physical Science*, third edition, p. 250.

liquid state ; we have only to recall how a small quantity of water will develop an immense volume of steam. This physical fact leads to the supposition that the gaseous matter of the planets and sun once combined and commingled to form one immense fire-mist, whirling through space. This would be called the *nebulous* condition of things, out of which the present solar system was afterwards evolved.

To bring about this evolution of the solid bodies of the solar system from that nebulous state, we have to introduce two other factors, viz., force and motion. The huge fire-cloud was in a state of rapid rotation round its own centre. As it gradually cooled, it shrunk ; and as it shrunk, the rapidity of rotation, by a well-known mechanical principle, increased. As these two processes—shrinkage and increasing velocity—went on, portions of the edge of the cloud were from time to time flung off. These portions would at once gather and rotate round their own respective centres, while at the same time continuing their former rotation round the common centre. These detached masses, gradually condensed to liquid globes, formed the planets, one of them being our earth. Finally, of the original fire-mist there was left still clinging together only that portion which we know as the sun, which, now in all probability partly liquid and partly gaseous, still continues to cool, and shrink, and whirl as of old—a vivid object-lesson in astronomical history.

The cooling of the liquid planets went slowly on until the temperature of the outer surface fell below the melting-point, and a solid crust formed around each mass. Following now the story of our own earth, we can suppose it still cooling for a long period after the formation of the outer crust before its temperature would allow of the condensation of the water vapour in its atmosphere. After this came the time 'when the earth was void and empty.' During that time the dry land was heaved up, and the waters thereby gathered into oceans. Then went on the disintegration of the surface by atmospheric influences, slowly preparing a soil for plant life.

This supposed evolution of our planetary system from an original fire-mist is known as the *nebular hypothesis*. We see that it makes no attempt to account for the origin of matter. It assumes the existence of the matter of the planetary system with all its forces, and with incandescence and rotation as well, and then endeavours to account for its present physical condition. Even as regards this we should bear in mind that it is merely a *hypothesis*, and, we may add, is likely to remain so. As a scientific hypothesis, professing to account for a certain physical condition of things, nothing need be said against it, while scientifically a good deal may be said for it.¹ But with that we are not here concerned. In treating the next section of our subject—Life, what it is, and whence it is—we shall meet with several references to the nebular hypothesis, and see some astonishing powers attributed to the ancient fire-mist and the cooling planets.

We can at once see its bearing on the origin of terrestrial life; for clearly there could be no life in the original fire-mist, nor on the molten planet, nor even for a long time after the formation of the surface crust. This necessity of accounting for the first appearance of life on the earth we shall find to be one of the chief difficulties of materialism; and later on we shall find the limitation of the age of the habitable earth a stumbling-block in the path of Darwin.

SCIENTIFIC

It may be well to call attention to an acquired meaning of this word. When met with in the *materialistic* writings of Tyndall, Huxley, and the rest, it must be always under-

¹ Several well-known facts favour this hypothesis. 1. All the planets revolve round the sun in the same direction. 2. The inner planets travel faster in their orbits than the outer ones. 3. Both planets and sun revolve in the same direction round their own axes. 4. The sun is still cooling and shrinking. The shrinkage amounts to about four miles a century in the diameter of the sun. 5. The evidence afforded by the crust of the earth and by the present condition of the sun point to previous liquid, and even gaseous states. 6. Spectrum analysis shows that a large number of substances are common to the sun and the earth, suggesting the formation of both bodies from the same original raw material. We have no means of extending this comparison to the planets.

stood in a sense which may be not extravagantly stated thus :—

We alone, the evolutionary school, represent true science up to date. All other scientists, however numerous or eminent, don't count. Hence 'scientific men' means *us* exclusively ; 'scientific thought' is *our* thought ; 'the scientific method' is *our* patent method of proceeding from absolutely groundless conjecture by the way of assumption and assertion to practical certainty. In a word, science is *our* science, and we alone are its prophets.

Hence when Tyndall describes 'the eye of science' as searching in vain for any 'intrusion of purely creative power,' bear in mind that he refers to an evolutionary eye that is persistently blind to all such 'intrusions.' When he pictures the 'scientific man' proceeding by sure steps to evolve all existing things out of star-dust, that 'scientific man' is simply the aggregate personality of the evolutionary school. When he blandly informs you that the great argument for the evolution theory is 'its general harmony with scientific thought,' don't be deceived—the 'scientific thought' with which the theory is 'in harmony' is simply the 'thought' of its framers and advocates—which sufficiently accounts for the 'harmony'! And so for the other philosophers of this school.

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

ARE PRIESTS CASUALLY VISITING A PLACE BOUND TO SAY A PAROCHIAL MASS TO PREVENT DUPLICATION? IF THEY REFUSE, ARE THEY TO BE PERMITTED TO CELEBRATE PRIVATELY?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following in next number of I. E. RECORD :—

A priest on vacation is spending Sunday in a parish where the local priests must duplicate—(a) Is he bound to say one of the parochial Masses to prevent duplication? (b) If he refuses to say one of the parochial Masses, is it lawful for the parish priest to give him permission to say a private Mass?

P. P.

(a) In the circumstances, of course, this priest on vacation would be naturally and rightly expected to offer his services in order to relieve the parochial clergy and prevent duplication. But we know of no strict obligation. Absolutely speaking, he is not bound to celebrate at all, that is, provided that he hears Mass, and that he is not bound to say Mass *pro populo*; much less is he bound to take up one of the parochial Masses. (b) Unless there be a local prohibition, the parish priest is justified in permitting him to celebrate. Such a prohibition has been sometimes enforced.

INTEGRITY OF CONFESSION WHERE THE PENITENT HAS ALREADY NARRATED HIS SINS 'MODO HISTORICO'

REV. DEAR SIR,—A person came to me one day, and began to chat about himself and the serious faults he had been committing. He then suddenly fell on his knees, and said: 'Now that I have told you so much, I had better make a real confession. I now renew in confession what I have told you out of confession.' He then gave further details to make his confession complete.

After he had made some fervent acts of contrition I gave him absolution.

All my friends tell me that the absolution was invalid, and that if he comes to me again I must make him tell me all his sins, *secundum numerum et speciem*, in confession. What say you to this decision?

A. B.

If, while receiving the general accusation *in ordine absolutionem*, the confessor retained—as, no doubt, he did—a distinct memory of the sins which he had already heard, he need not be in the least disturbed by the opinions of his critics. St. Alphonsus himself, while rejecting the opinion of Lugo, who maintains that a general accusation *in ordine ad absolutionem* of sins already mentioned *modo historico* is in every case sufficient, admits that such a general accusation is sufficient, provided and as long as the confessor still retains a distinct recollection of the penitent's sins; 'posset admitti [opinio Lugonis], si confessarius dum poenitens se accusat de peccatis [jam modo historico] narratis distinctam eorum haberet notitiam.' (*Homo Apostolicus*, Tr. 16, n. 44.) This teaching is quite certain, and our correspondent may confidently refer his friends to St. Alphonsus, De Lugo, Gury, Ballerini, Lehmkuhl, *Vindiciae Alphonsianae*.

2. If the confessor from the beginning intended to try and induce the person to receive absolution, then, according to Lugo, Ballerini, Lehmkuhl, a general accusation *in ordine ad absolutionem* will suffice as long as the confessor remembers, even in a general way, the sins and the state of the penitent.

3. Finally, according to Lugo, Ballerini, and others, a general accusation of sins already narrated, as long as the confessor remembers them in confession, will in all cases suffice, even though neither penitent nor confessor thought of sacramental confession when the sins were being told in the first instance. *Ante factum*, we would not act on this opinion; *post factum*, we would not urge a strict obligation of repeating a confession made in this way.

**DOES RESERVATION AFFECT SINS COMMITTED BUT NOT
ABSOLVED BEFORE THE RESERVATION COMES INTO
FORCE?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—A certain sin is now for the first time reserved, without a censure, by the bishop in this diocese. Can I still, without special faculties, absolve from such sins, provided that they have not been committed since the reservation was made?

C. C.

The confessor could, of course, absolve if there were an express provision to the effect that the reservation was meant to affect only sins committed after the reservation was made. Again, he could absolve if he knew, either from the express will of the superior or from the recognised custom of the diocese, that ignorance would excuse from this reservation. Manifestly, all persons were ignorant of the reservation until it was made. But, outside these cases, the reservation must be taken to affect sins committed before, as well as after, the case was reserved.

Si eo tempore [in quo absolutio datur peccata] sint reservata, nihil proderit, quod ante reservationem fuerint admissa.¹

D. MANNIX.

¹ D'Annibale, pars. I., n. 341. See also Bucceroni, *Comment. De Casibus Reservatis*, n. 24.

LITURGY

THE EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES OF CERTAIN RELIGIOUS ORDERS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I should be obliged for an answer to the following:—

In the Propaganda Faculties for investing in scapulars, has the phrase 'exceptis locis ubi adsunt Regulares,' &c., any force at the present day? I understand that some priests hold it has not, and, therefore, a priest having such faculties can invest in scapulars, even though he is within very easy distance of such 'Regulares.'

SCAPULAR.

The fact that the phrase about which our correspondent inquires is still to be found in the formula granting the faculties is a sufficient proof of its binding character. The restriction on the use of the faculties granted through Propaganda which this phrase indicates, could not cease unless formally withdrawn by the Holy Father; and of such a withdrawal there is no evidence.

It is important, then, to know the precise meaning of this phrase; or, in other words, to define what is meant by the 'locus' of a religious house or monastery.

We are of opinion that, when a house of one of the orders referred to in this phrase is situated in a small town or village included in a single parish, or in a compact country parish, a secular priest, having Propaganda Faculties, could not bless the scapulars, &c., peculiar to that order. But if the house be situated in a large city, in which there are several parishes, then the influence of the order in this matter does not extend beyond the limits of the parish in which they live. And if the parish in which the house is situated—whether it be a city parish or a country parish—be so large that it requires two or three churches or chapels, then we are of opinion that the exception contained in the Propaganda formula applies only to what might be regarded as the territorial division of the parish in which the house is situated. Speaking of the exclusive privilege enjoyed by

the Franciscans of erecting the Stations of the Cross in the 'places' wherein are situated their convents, Beringer says:—

Ce serait un erreur de croire que le droit exclusif des Franciscains s'étend toujours aussi loin que les limites de la paroisse où ils habitent, même quand celle-ci comprend des localités fort distantes les unes des autres.¹

**QUESTIONS REGARDING THE NUPTIAL BLESSING, THE
BLUE SCAPULAR, AND INDULGENCED BEADS**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly give your opinion on the following two points:—

1. Two couples wish to be married on the same morning. I wish to impart to them the nuptial blessing. Please let me know if the *one* blessing will suffice for the two pairs?

2. I have faculties for enrolling in the Blue Scapular, and of attaching the Dominican indulgences to beads. Might I ask must persons using the aforesaid scapular and beads have their names enrolled; and must those names be sent to a convent of the Servites, and to a place where the confraternity of the Rosary is established?

C. C.

1. The nuptial blessing read once, and in the singular number, suffices no matter how many couples are to receive the blessing in the same Mass. The celebration of the nuptial Mass and the giving of the nuptial blessing are functions which *de jure* pertain to the parish priest, and nowhere is it stated that, if two or more marriages are celebrated on the same day, the parish priest is bound to delegate another or other priests to impart the blessing. Hence, as several marriages may be celebrated on the same day, it follows that the parish priest can give the nuptial blessing to all those who have been married. But this blessing cannot be given apart from Mass, and as the parish priest can celebrate only one Mass on the same day, it necessarily follows that he can give the blessing to all at the same time. Moreover, in the

¹ Vol. i., p. 271.

missal the prayers are given in the singular number, and no direction is given that they are to be read in the plural when more than one couple receive the blessing at the same time. Hence the prayers are always to be recited as they are in the missal.

2. The Blue Scapular is not the badge of any confraternity; hence it is not necessary that the names of those who wear it or receive it should be enrolled.

It is not necessary to enrol the names of those to whom beads bearing the Dominican blessing are given. With such beads the ordinary indulgences for reciting the Rosary can be gained by anyone. But in order to gain the immense indulgences attached to the confraternity of the Rosary it is, of course, necessary to be enrolled in the register of a validly erected confraternity.

SHOULD THE BELL BE RUNG DURING SOLEMN MASS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say, in the next issue of I. E. RECORD, whether there is any necessity for ringing the altar bells at a High Mass. It would seem to me that they ought not to be rung, because it is not necessary, and because it causes great inconvenience. First of all, it is not necessary. The object of ringing these bells is, of course, to call the attention of the people to the principal parts of the Mass. Now, in a High Mass this is sufficiently done by the singing. When the priest, after the Gospel or Creed sings *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus*, the people know that the Offertory is about to begin. The *Sanctus* is heard from the Choir, and when it is over, the Elevation takes place. Again, when the *Agnus Dei* is sung, the people know that the Communion is approaching. There is no need, therefore, for the bells. But they are also very objectionable from a musical point of view, especially when they themselves, as is the case, particularly with the 'gongs,' are 'musical;' that is to say, have a very pronounced pitch, or even are tuned in a chord. Then the dissonances they usually make with the harmonies of the choir are very exasperating. Imagine, for instance, the strains of the *Sanctus* dying away before the Elevation, and these bells setting in a key, say three quarters of a tone away from that of the choir! and how grating on a musical ear! Then, again, if the Choir

begins the *Benedictus*, how false must their singing sound, after the ear has got accustomed to the key of the altar bells ! Unless, therefore, there is strict law prescribing the ringing of these bells, I should say that they ought not to be rung.—Yours, faithfully,

MUSICUS.

We are glad for our correspondent's sake that there is no strict law requiring the bell to be rung either at a solemn or a private mass. The rubric prescribing the ringing of the bell during Mass is not preceptive, but merely directive, as may be easily inferred from the rubric itself :—

Ad Crucis pedem ponatur Tabella Secretarum appellata. In cornu Epistolae cussinus supponendus Missali, et in eadem parte Epistolae paretur cereus ad elevationem Sacramenti accendendus, *parva campanula*, ampullae vitreae vini et aquae, cum pelvicula et manutergio mundo, in fenestella seu in parva mensa ad haec praeparata.¹

From this rubric it is clear that the bell is no more necessary than the charts, the book-stand, the candle for the time of the consecration, the glass cruets, or the basin to be used at the *Lavabo*. Now, the charts are merely an ornament, or at most a convenience, the *cussinus* of the rubric is now made of all kinds of wood and metal, and no priest believes its use obligatory ; the candle to be lighted at the elevation is almost entirely obsolete ; for the *glass* cruets, ornamental vessels in metal are (we regret to say) often substituted, and the altar-steps or the floor have, unfortunately, to do duty sometimes for the basin. That this rubric is merely directive is the opinion of all writers who refer to the matter. Thus Quarti, who is approvingly quoted by De Herdt, says :—

Ea quae praescribuntur in hac rubrica de Tabella, cussino, *campanula* ampullis pelvicula, manutergio sunt materiae instructionis non praecepti ; consequenter non committitur peccatum contra praeceptum ecclesiasticum in eorum omissione vel mutatione.²

The object of the bell is, as our correspondent justly

¹ Rub. Missal, Tit. 20.

² P. i., Tit. 20, Dub. 12.

remarks, to call the attention of the congregation, and especially those members of the congregation who cannot see the altar, to the principal parts of the Mass. And when this function is otherwise effectively discharged, as it undoubtedly is in a solemn Mass, there is not the smallest reason for ringing the bell. Moreover, if the ringing of the bell during solemn Mass disturbs the choir, as our correspondent declares it does, not only need it not be rung, but it should not be rung. The directive rubrics lay down general principles intended merely to guide in the becoming celebration of the sacred mysteries, and to help to excite devotion in the hearts of those who assist thereat. Hence in the directive rubrics what the Church has in view is the end to be attained rather than the means for attaining it. If, then, the ringing of the bell during solemn Mass interferes with the singing of the choir, or even if it irritates the more highly cultured musicians present, whether they are members of the choir or not, it should be omitted.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

SUM REQUIRED TO FOUND A BURSE IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE

[The following questions have been sent to us, with the request that we should publish the answers in these pages. As our correspondent has not given us his name, and as the questions are of practical importance to a great institution, we comply with his request. The questions have been submitted to the proper authorities, and the answers here given are approved of by them.

EDITOR I. E. R.]

REV. DEAR SIR,—Please answer the following questions in an early number of the I. E. RECORD :—

A parish priest, anxious to establish a burse in Maynooth College, but wishing to get a return after the manner of 'Frankalmoign,' asks :—

1. Would the College, in the event of his giving or bequeathing the required sum, bind itself to have Masses said publicly, and in perpetuity for the benefit of his soul?

2. In case it would, then, how many Masses per annum would it undertake to have said?

3. And what is the least sum of money sufficient to found such a burse?

REDIVIVUS.

1. When a free place or portion of a free place is established in the College, the founder may secure that a number of Masses shall be offered publicly and in perpetuity for his intention. Two distinct methods of doing so have hitherto been followed. The more secure method is to direct that a certain portion of the dividends on the investment shall be applied in having Masses offered for the founder's intention. Where directions of this kind are given, the College will undertake to have them carried out. It will not, however, bind itself absolutely to a fixed number of Masses, but only to apply the amount specified in having Masses offered at the rate of the ordinary stipend.

The other mode of securing the same object is to direct

that a particular student shall be nominated to the burse, and that upon his ordination to the priesthood he shall publicly offer a certain number of Masses yearly, either in perpetuity, or till his successor in the enjoyment of the burse shall have been ordained priest. We do not, however, hesitate to recommend that the first method be in all cases adopted.

For every burse established in the College a full equivalent is given in the maintenance of an ecclesiastical student; and, consequently, the College is not in a position to provide Masses in consideration of such burse, unless a portion of the dividends be set aside for the purpose.

2. If a special fund is created for the purpose, the College will undertake to apply it in having Masses offered at the rate of the ordinary stipend. Should the obligation be imposed on the student by whom the burse is to be enjoyed, any reasonable number of Masses may be required. It may be well to state here that every benefactor of the College, whether living or dead, participates in the suffrages of the College, and that for deceased benefactors a Solemn Requiem Office and Mass are celebrated on a fixed day in each year.

3. The amount varies with the interest, any sum which yields £30 a-year being sufficient to establish a *full* burse. At present Trustee Securities yield scarcely three per cent. and, consequently, about £1,000 would be required if the money were handed over to the College Trustees for investment. Intending benefactors may, however, themselves invest in Securities that bear a higher rate of interest, and such investments will be accepted by the Trustees, provided they do not involve any liability beyond the amount of the investment. In this way a full burse may be established for a sum considerably less than £1,000. Besides, the Trustees are willing to accept, not only a full burse, but any portion of a burse; and any sum or investment, however small, will be gratefully accepted, and devoted to the maintenance of an ecclesiastical student who might, perhaps, be otherwise unable to prosecute his studies for the priesthood.

DOCUMENTS

BISHOPS CAN APPROVE OF TRANSLATIONS OF THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, BUT ONLY FOR PRIVATE RECITATION

BUSCODUCEN. DUBIA QUOAD OFFICIUM PARVUM B. M. VIRGINIS

Die 24 Aprilis 1896.

Rñus Dominus Guglielmus Van de Ven, Episcopus Buscoducensis, a S. R. Congregatione sequentium dubiorum solutionem humiliter efflagitavit, nimirum :

I. An Episcopus ordinaria auctoritate approbare valeat translationem in vernaculam linguam Officii parvi B. M. Virginis, quod legitur in Breviario Romano ?

II. Utrum idem Officium, ita translatum et approbatum, in luce edi et adhiberi queat a fidelibus, intra fines dioeceseos Buscoducensis degentibus, et praesertim a Congregationibus religiosis utriusque sexus ?

Et Sacra eodem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature perpensa, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Affirmative, sed tantum pro recitatione privata.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 24 Aprilis 1896.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✕ S.

ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, S.R.C., *Secretarius*.

THE COMMEMORATION OF THE TITULAR OF A CHURCH WHICH IS MERELY BLESSED IS TO BE MADE IN THE SUFFRAGES; AND WHEN THE TITULAR IS THE HOLY FAMILY THE COMMEMORATION OF THE B. V. MARY AND ST. JOSEPH ARE TO BE OMITTED

ORD. MIN. S. FRANC. CAPPUCINORUM. DUBIA QUOAD COMMEMORATIONEM S. FAMILIAE IN SUFFRAGIIS SANCTORUM

Die 13 Novembris 1896.

Viglebani e fundamentis nuper erecta est Ecclesia in honorem Sacrae Familiae Iesu, Mariae, Ioseph, rite benedicta et Hospitio Fratrum Minorum Cappuccinorum adnexa. Exortis nonnullis dubiis quoad commemorationes communes seu suffragia sanctorum, R. P. Franciscus M^a. a Bistagno, Ordinis Minorum

Cappuccinorum et ipsius Ecclesiae atque Hospitii Superior, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione eorumdem dubiorum solutionem humillime flagitavit, nimirum :

I. Utrum in suffragiis sanctorum agenda sit commemoratio Sacrae Familiae titularis Ecclesiae tantum benedictae et non consecratae ?

II. Et quatenus affirmative ad primum, sunt ne relinquendae commemorationes de S. Maria et de S. Ioseph ?

III. Si negative ad secundum, commemoratio S. Familiae debetne praecedere istis commemorationibus ?

Et Sacra eadem Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, re accurate perpensa auditoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae, rescribendum duxit :

Ad I. et II. Affirmative.

Ad III. Provisum in Praecedenti.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 13 Novembris 1896.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✕ S.

D. PANICI, S.R.C., *Secretarius*.

WHEN THE VOTIVE OFFICE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE B. V. MARY ON SATURDAY IS FOLLOWED BY A DOMINICAL OFFICE THE VESPERS ARE FROM THE CAPITULUM OF THE SUNDAY

GENEVEN. DUBIUM QUOAD OCCURRENTIAM SECUNDARUM VESPERARUM OFFICII VOTIVI B. M. V. IMMAC. CUM PRIMIS VESPERIS DOMINICAE SEQUENTIS

Rñus Dñus Ioseph A. Broquet, Vicarius generalis Dioeceseos Geneven, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione humillime postulavit sequentis dubii solutionem, nimirum :

Utrum concurrentibus secundis Vesperis Officii votivi de B. Maria V. Immaculata cum primis Vesperis Dominicae sequentis, Vesperae fieri debeant a capitulo de Dominica, vel potius recitandi sint psalmi de sabbato ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, atque re perpensa, rescribendum censuit :

Affirmative ad primam partem ; negative ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 3 Septembris 1895.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

A. TRIPEPI, *Secretarius*.

THE "SEPULCHRE" IN WHICH THE BLESSED SACRAMENT REPOSES ON HOLY THURSDAY REPRESENTS BOTH THE BURIAL OF CHRIST AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT. STATUES, &c., SHOULD NOT BE PLACED ON THE ALTAR OF REPOSE

ROMANA. DUBIA QUOAD ALTARE, QUOD COMMUNITER DICITUR
SEPULCRUM

Instantibus plerisque Rñis Episcopis variarum regionum, qui sacros ritus et caeremonias iuxta ecclesiasticas praescriptiones ac laudabiles consuetudines in suis dioecesibus observari satagunt, quaestio super Altari quod communiter dicitur *sepulcrum*, alias agitata, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sub duplici sequenti dubio reposita fuit, nimirum :

I. Utrum in altari, in quo Feria V et VI Maioris Hebdomadae, publicae adorationi exponitur et asservatur Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, repraesentetur sepultura Domini, aut institutio eiusdem Augustissimi Sacramenti ?

II. Utrum liceat ad exornandum praedictum Altare adhibere statuas aut picturas, nempe Beatissimae Virginis, S. Ioannis Evangelistae, S. Mariae Magdalenae et militum custodum, aliaque huiusmodi ?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio in ordinariis comitiis, sub-signata die ad Vaticanum habitis, ad relationem infrascripti Cardinalis, Sacrae eidem Congregationi Praefecti, exquisitis trium Rñorum Consultorum suffragiis, scripto exaratis, attenta quoque antiqua et praesenti Ecclesiae disciplina, omnibusque maturo examine perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. Utrumque.

Ad II. Negative. Poterunt tamen Episcopi, ubi antiqua consuetudo vigeat, huiusmodi repraesentationes tolerare ; caveant autem ne novae consuetudines hac in re introducantur. Atque ita rescripsit, contrariis quibuscumque decretis abrogatis. Die 15 Decembris 1896.

Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni XII. per ipsum infrascriptum Cardinalem relatione, Sanctitas Sua rescriptum Sacrae Congregationis ratum habuit, et confirmavit, iisdem die, mense et anno.

CAI. CARD. ALOISI-MAELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, S.R.C., *Secretarius*.

THE FEAST OF THE HOLY INFANCY OF JESUS, WHERE
TITULAR OF A CHURCH IS TO BE CELEBRATED ON
DECEMBER 25, WITH THE OFFICE AND MASS OF THE
NATIVITY. MANNER OF COMMEMORATING THIS
TITULAR IN THE SUFFRAGES.

BELLEVILLEN. DUBIA QUOAD FESTUM, OFFICIUM ET MISSAM IN
ECCLESIA DICATA S. INFANTIAE IESU

In Dioecesi Bellevillensi extat Ecclesia parochialis, dicata
Sanctae Infantiae Iesu, et Sacerdos eidem Ecclesiae adscriptus,
de consensu sui Rm̃i Episcopi a Sacra Rituum Congregatione
sequentium dubiorum resolutionem humillime postulavit :

I. Quando Festum Titularis Ecclesiae suae sit celebrandum ?

II. Quod officium cum Missa sit dicendum in hoc Festo ?

III. An et quomodo facienda sit commemoratio in fine
Laudum et Vesperarum inter commemorationes communes ?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem Secretarii,
exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgiae, omnibusque mature
perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. Die 25 Decembris.

Ad II. Officium et Missa de Nativitate Domini.

Ad III. Quoad primam partem Affirmative. Quoad secun-
dam, ad Laudes dicatur : Gloria in excelsis Deo etc. nempe anti-
phona ad Benedictus, in Laudibus Officii de Nativitate Domini.
In Vesperis dicatur antiphona ad Magnificat in 2. Vesperis
eiusdem Nativitatis, omissis Hodie. Atque ita rescripsit die
18 Decembris 1896.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. With Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By the Rev. Joseph MacRory, D.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew in Maynooth College. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd.

It may seem strange to some that a new commentary on the Gospel of St. John should be called for now, when somewhat more than eighteen hundred years have elapsed since the Gospel itself was written. Besides, during those eighteen centuries the task of explaining this Gospel has been undertaken by some of the greatest of the fathers, as well as by many of the most profound theologians and most learned biblical scholars the world has ever seen. Exhaustive commentaries on it have been written by St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, by St. Thomas of Aquin and St. Bonaventure, by Maldonatus, à Lapide, and Toletus, and in our own time by Patrizzi, Corluy, and Archbishop McEvilly. And these are but a very few of the great names associated with works written on the Gospel of St. John. What need, then, can there be for yet another commentary on this Gospel? Some unthinking people may, perhaps, reply, 'None whatever,' and may feel inclined to speak of any fresh attempt to throw light on the obscure passages of St. John somewhat after the manner of the Caliph Omar, when questioned by Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, as to how the books in the famous Alexandrian library should be disposed of. 'If these writings of the Greeks,' replied the unlettered fanatic, 'agree with the Book of God, they are useless, and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed.' By a similar, though undoubtedly less arbitrary, process of reasoning, it might be said that a new commentary on St. John, which agrees with the works of the great men whose names have been mentioned, is useless, and that one which disagrees with them is pernicious. But this view of a new commentary on even the best-known portions of Scripture is as shallow, as Omar's view of the Alexandrian library was ignorant and unreasoning. For, although a treatise on a particular subject may contain nothing that is not to be found in similar treatises, still, provided the author be a thorough

master of his subject, the treatise will assume in his hands a form better suited to the wants of his time, or to the wants of the class for whom the treatise was written, than that possessed by earlier treatises. Many examples in support of this statement will occur to everyone. A familiar one is the yearly, almost daily, multiplication of school treatises on the grammar of various languages, as well as of annotated editions of the better-known writings in the same languages. The chief merit claimed by the compilers of such works is, that they are better suited for the object for which they are intended than treatises or editions already in existence.

This was one reason which influenced Dr. MacRory in preparing his 'Critical and Explanatory Notes' on the fourth Gospel. The course of Sacred Scripture read in the College was lengthened, the students were unable in the time at their disposal to read the existing commentaries; consequently, it became the duty of the Professor to provide them with a commentary suited to their circumstances. He tells us this in his preface:—

'Some years ago their Lordships, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, decided to lengthen considerably the course of Sacred Scripture read in this College. . . . This change, while it has the advantage of familiarizing our students with a larger portion of the Sacred Text, obviously renders it impossible that so much time as formerly should be devoted to the study of any one portion of it. . . . I was not long, therefore, in charge of the class of Sacred Scripture when I became convinced that it would be useful, if not necessary, to provide the students with a compendious exposition of the portions of Scripture that they are expected to study.'

The present commentary on the Gospel of St. John is the first instalment of the projected work, and its merits as an exposition of this sublime Gospel, apart altogether from the object for which it was written, far more than justify its appearance, and afford splendid promise that when the author has finished the task he has undertaken, he will have permanently enriched biblical literature, and conferred an inestimable boon, not only on the students of Maynooth, but on all students of the New Testament who understand the English language.

We have no intention of apologizing for the publication of this volume—it is its own best apology—but we desire to mention another reason which justified Professor MacRory in publishing

it, and which will equally justify his successor one hundred or five hundred years hence in following his example. There are a great many exegetical difficulties in the fourth Gospel. These have been variously explained by different commentators, and for some unaccountable reason no one who makes anything like a profound study of this Gospel or of any other book of Sacred Scripture, can accept throughout the solutions of the difficulties given by even the ablest commentator. The earnest student of Scripture is by a necessity of his nature, or rather, of his individual characteristics, eclectic. He cannot adopt the views of any one commentator, but must laboriously weigh the opinions of the authors he has at hand, reject those which do not recommend themselves to his reason, adopt that one which does, or, abandoning all the opinions he has read, construct one for himself: or if this be impossible, give up the difficulty in despair, and admit a series of more or less probable opinions. This is particularly true of a professor, who must be prepared to recommend and defend some solution of every difficulty, some interpretation of every obscure passage that occurs in the text which it is his duty to explain. And when a professor has finally convinced himself of the truth or greater probability of certain definite solutions of all the difficulties contained in a book of Scripture like the Gospel of St. John, he is naturally desirous to crystallize his opinions by committing them to type, thereby saving himself the trouble of again consulting authorities, or looking up forgotten notes.

That the author of this work has definite and decided views regarding the solution of the difficulties with which the fourth Gospel abounds is evident from even a casual glance through these pages. And that his views have not been formed without exhaustive reading, the numerous though unobtrusive references to the fathers, the great theologians, and the classical commentators, abundantly prove; while the exercise of an independent, and generally sound, judgment is testified by the fact that the author always supports his interpretation by intrinsic rather than by extrinsic arguments. No matter how great may be the authority of those who hold a certain interpretation, he rejects that interpretation, unless the intrinsic evidence in its favour outweighs, or, at least, equals that in favour of any other opinion.

A striking instance of our author's independence of judgment is given in the beginning of the first chapter. Everyone is

acquainted with the usual division and punctuation of vv. 3 and 4 of the first chapter :—

- ‘ 3. *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt ;
et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est :*
4. *In ipso vita erat et vita erat lux hominum.*’

But this familiar and now universally-received punctuation, our author tells us, is all wrong, and must, therefore, be abandoned, and in its place we must adopt the following :—

- ‘ 3. *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt :
et sine ipso factum est nihil.
Quod factum est, (4) in ipso vita erat :
et vita erat lux hominum.*’

The English rendering, according to this punctuation, would be : ‘ All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing. In that which was made [*literally* ; What was made, in *it*] was life, and the life was the light of men.’ Is it possible, then, that the world has waited for eighteen centuries to learn from Professor MacRory the true meaning of the very first lines of the best-known portion of Holy Writ? We will allow himself to answer this question :—

‘ We think it extremely probable, then, that the words : *Quod factum est* (*that was made*, or, as we shall render in our interpretation ; *what was made*), standing at present in the end of verse 3, are to be connected with verse 4. Some may be inclined to blame us for departing from what is at present the received connection of the words in such a well-known passage as this. Let us, therefore, sum up briefly the evidence that has forced us, we may say reluctantly, to connect the words with verse 4.

‘ 1. Though Maldonatus tries to throw doubt upon the fact, this is the connection adopted by practically all, if not all, the fathers and other writers of the first three centuries, and by the majority of writers afterwards down to the sixteenth century.

‘ 2. It is supported by the oldest MSS. of the Vulgate, and, what is more remarkable, by some of the oldest Greek MSS., notwithstanding the fact that St. Chrysostom was against it.

‘ 3. The parallelism in the verse is better brought out : *All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing.*

‘ 4. If *Quod factum est* were intended to be connected with the preceding, the clause would be certainly unnecessary, and apparently useless, because it is plain without it that the Evangelist is speaking of what was *made*, and not including any uncreated Being, like the Father or the Holy Ghost.’

Though we hold very strongly against the author that the now recognised punctuation is correct, we cannot deny him the merit of courage and independence of judgment in reviving an old opinion against the united forces of modern criticism, and we must congratulate him on the ability he displays in maintaining his view.

Every difficult passage in the Gospel receives from the author full and careful treatment. No opinion of any weight seems to have been left unnoticed. Usually he marshals under each difficult passage the more probable interpretations, giving the names of the prominent interpreters who have held each, as well as the internal arguments in their favour; and in no single instance, as far as we have been able to discover, does he leave the reader in doubt as to the interpretation which he himself favours. We should feel inclined to challenge some of his interpretations, notwithstanding the great learning and ability with which they are supported, but our own interpretations of the same passages are certainly no better supported by authority than his; while the force of the internal arguments in favour of our interpretations may derive something from our own subjectivity. Hence we will abstain from any detailed criticism of his conclusions, though we reserve to ourselves the right to animadvert briefly on the solution he has adopted of one difficulty. In reconciling the apparent discrepancy between the fourth Gospel and the synoptic Gospels regarding the day of the month Nisan on which our Lord was crucified, he adopts the time-honoured but inconvenient view that, while the synoptic Gospels measure the day by the Jewish method, from sunset to sunset, St. John measures it according to the Greek method, from midnight to midnight. This solution of the difficulty we would adopt in defect of a better; but a better, we think, exists, and is actually discussed by our author, who, however, rejects it, on what we cannot but consider as very inadequate grounds. We let himself explain this opinion:—

‘(4) Others, as Petav., Mald., Kuin., Coleridge, Cornely, &c., hold that our Lord and the Apostles eat the Paschal Supper on the night of the 14th of Nisan, while the Jews that year eat it on the night of the 15th. Maldonatus holds that it was customary with the Jews from the time of the Babylonian captivity, whenever the first day of the Pasch fell on a Friday, to transfer it to Saturday, in order that two solemn feasts might not occur on successive days. According to this view, our Lord corresponded with the requirements of the Jewish Law; the Jews, on the other

hand, followed the custom which had been introduced after the Babylonian captivity. In this view, too, it is easy to reconcile St. John's statement with those of the other Evangelists. He speaks of the night of the Last Supper, in reference to the feast as celebrated that year by the Judeans, and so places it *before* the feast; they, on the other hand, speak of it in reference to the strict Law, and place it on the first day of Azymes, or rather, on the night following the first day of Azymes.

'The great names of many who have held this opinion lend to it considerable probability, and if the custom which is alleged in its favour were proved to have existed in the time of Christ, we would at once adopt it. But it is seriously disputed whether such a custom did exist at that time. It is true, indeed, that among the modern Jews, when the Paschal feast should begin on Friday, they always defer it to the Sabbath; and the Talmud is referred to by Cornely (vol. iii., § 73, 1) as saying that the same has been the Jewish practice ever since the Babylonian captivity. Others, however, contend that the custom is not as old as the time of Christ, and that in His time the custom of the Pasch was kept on a Friday whenever it fell on that day. Aben-Ezra (on Levit. xxiii. 4) says :—"Tam ex Mischna quam ex Talmude probatur Pascha in secundam, quartam, et sextam feriam quandoque incidisse." Since, then, the hypothesis on which this opinion rests seems doubtful, the opinion itself appears to us less satisfactory than that which follows.'

From this quotation it appears—(a) That this opinion is supported by the greatest authorities among biblical scholars, past and present; (b) that the Talmud states that the custom of transferring the Paschal festival to Saturday as often as it fell on Friday existed from the time of the Babylonian captivity; (c) that the Jews of the present day observe this custom. And yet the opinion is rejected by our author, as well as by Corluy and other writers of name, simply because it cannot be clearly proved that the custom did, in fact, exist in the time of Christ. We say that this is the only reason; for we regard the words of Aben-Ezra, quoted by the author, if they possess any meaning at all, as making for rather than against the opinion in support of which they are brought forward. Why did Aben-Ezra consider it necessary to say that the Pasch *now and then (quandoque)* fell on Friday, unless in the hypothesis that it did not fall on Friday every time that the 15th of Nisan fell on that day? For the feast, being regulated by the moon, had just as good a chance of falling on Friday as on any other day of the week. What the ancient Rabbi's reference to *feria 2^{da} et 4^{ta}* means, we do not know, and, perhaps, neither does anyone else.

The form of the 'Notes' and their relation to the Text in the printed page are both highly satisfactory. The Text of the Vulgate and that of the Rhemish version are given at the top of the page in parallel columns; the 'Notes' also printed in double column fill the remainder of the page. The proportion of Text to commentary varies, of course, with the difficulties contained in the Text. And here we may point out what we consider a great advantage in this work, namely, the brevity or complete absence of commentary on passages which present no difficulty. On passages like the story of the man born blind, which might be transferred without changing a word into a children's Bible History, it is irritating to meet with a long and prosy commentary. Another point we note with pleasure, wherever the Sacred Text is quoted in the notes it is always printed in clarendon. The author has adopted a style well suited to a commentary, such as his. It is at once clear, terse, and simple. We notice a few inconsistencies in the use of terms, and in the form of type in which certain peculiar words are printed. This small defect is, doubtless, owing to hurry in revising the proof sheets.

We will conclude this long notice by expressing a hope that the reception which this volume will receive from Catholic colleges, Catholic students, and Catholic priests, will encourage the author to hurry forward the publication of similar volumes on the other portions of the New Testament.

D. O'L.

PASTORAL THEOLOGY. By William Stang, D.D., Vice-Rector of the American College, Louvain, and Professor of Pastoral Theology at the same; late Rector of SS. Peter and Paul's Cathedral, Providence, Rhode Island. Brussels: Societé Belge de Libraire; Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son; London: Burns and Oates, Ltd.; New York: Benziger Brothers.

BEFORE we could find space for a notice of this valuable contribution to ecclesiastical literature, the first edition had been completely exhausted, and a new edition issued, by those energetic publishers of Catholic books, Benziger Brothers. The work was primarily intended for the students of the American College, Louvain, in which the author discharges the duties of Vice-President and Professor of Pastoral Theology. Written by an

American priest, and designed to help to train priests for the American mission, the work is naturally and necessarily adapted to the circumstances of the Church in America. But this, so far from diminishing the value of the book for English-speaking priests, elsewhere than in America, really enhances it. For in methods of administration, in the matter of Catholic schools, ecclesiastical buildings, societies, and such like, a good deal is to be learned from our progressive brethren in the United States. The book is intended for a class-book, and, as such, is, in the mind of the author, only a collection of materials which the living voice of the Professor must expand. To us, however, it seems that any intelligent reader, may master the details of the book without the aid of a professor, and may thus acquire in the retirement of his own study the vast stores of practical wisdom which Dr. Stang has succeeded in compressing into his work. For the author is not a mere theorist, not a mere man of books; almost every page reveals the man of experience in every detail of a missionary priest's work. This experience being engrafted on a mind of broad and warm sympathies towards every class, lends a special charm to the book, and a special weight to the author's views. We should like to see a copy of this book—for it is the only one of the kind originally written in English, or written with a view to the peculiar circumstances of missionary countries—in the hands of every theological student and of every young priest. The student will learn from it how to reduce to practice the principles taught him in the schools; he will learn how to conduct himself as a priest, as a pastor of souls, as an administrator of ecclesiastical property, and as a man of the world, in so far as his duties compel him from time to time to assume this character. The young priest should have it at hand, and should read it frequently, that he may be able to apply, when the occasion arises, the wise practical directions and suggestions with which the work is crammed. To older priests we would also recommend it, if for no other purpose than that they might compare their practice with that recommended by the author, or, that they might in these pages gaze on what they ought to be, and compare the picture with what they really are.

We do not know whether the circumstances of this country are so different from those which prevail in the United States, that the following advice, tendered to the American rector and his assistant, might not be adopted by our parish priest and his

curate. Many, at any rate, will consider the advice a good one :—

‘The good assistant will entertain for his rector the true affection as for an elder brother, while the latter will treat him with every possible condescension and confidence. There must be no secrets between them about the workings of the mission. The rector is only *primus inter pares*; he cannot regard his assistant as a slave who has to do the hardest and most disagreeable work, hear all the confessions, attend every sick call. The rector should never forget that his assistant is his equal as a priest; he should take an equal share of the pastoral work, and simply do himself what he expects the other to do. He who gets a curate for the sole reason to rid himself of pastoral work is a hireling, and unworthy of his calling. The rector is responsible to the bishop for the priestly conduct of his assistant. He should not report him, however, for every little fault. He should try to advise and correct him in a kind and brotherly way.’

The new edition professes to be ‘revised and enlarged.’ The enlarging consists in the addition of a useful chapter on Church music; the revision in the correction of trifling inaccuracies. There is a curious mistake, however, which has not been corrected in the new edition. The *Instructio Clementina* is in both editions attributed to Clement VIII., whereas it was issued by Clement XI., exactly a century after the death of Clement VIII. The Instruction was issued on January 21, 1705, and Clement VIII. died in 1605. The Instruction, besides, bears internal evidence of being much later than the time of Clement VIII., for a decree is cited in the body of it which was issued as late as 1658. We have noticed the same mistake in a document but recently come from a Roman congregation.

D. O’L.

DOCTORIS ECSTATICI D. DIONYSII CARTUSIANI OPERA OMNIA.

In unum corpus digesta cura et labore Monachorum Sacri Ordinis Cartusiensis. Favente Pont. Max. Leone XIII. Tomus I. In Genesim et Exodium (i.-xix.). Monstrolii: Typus Cartusiae Sancta Mariae de Pratis. 1896.

THIS is the first volume of the works of the learned and saintly Dionysius the Carthusian, who lived from 1402 till 1471. The first printed edition of his works was issued in Cologne between 1530 and 1559, in twenty-two folio volumes, and this seems to

have been the only complete edition yet printed. The editors, monks of the Order on which the fame of the author sheds such lustre, intend now to publish a new and complete edition, founded on the Cologne edition, but carefully revised and collated with the best MSS. that can be found. The task is a gigantic one; for it is considered there will be fully forty quarto volumes, each containing about eight hundred pages. The edition is dedicated to his Holiness Leo XIII., from whom the editors have received a most kind and encouraging letter, which they print at the beginning of this volume. An Elenchus, or list of the author's works, is printed among the introductory matter, and from it we learn that he wrote as many as one hundred and eighty-five different treatises or works. These are on every subject of interest to a churchman, but are chiefly on Sacred Scripture, theology, and philosophy. Of the forty volumes of the new edition, fifteen will be occupied with the exegetical works on the Old and New Testaments, and thirteen with his theological and philosophical works. The remaining volumes will be occupied by short works on theological and philosophical questions, and by treatises on asceticism, &c. The first volume contains an exposition of Genesis, and of the first nineteen chapters of Exodus. It displays the great powers of mind possessed by the author, and his wonderful acquaintance with the writings of the fathers, especially with those of SS. Jerome and Augustine. We find no mention of evolution, of course, but we find much that is edifying and instructive, conveyed in easy, graceful Latin. The subscription price is 8 francs a volume.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICAE DE SACRAMENTIS ECCLESIAE.

Auctore Joanne Bapt. Sasse, S.J. Volumen Primum.
De Sacramentis in Genere, de Baptismo, de Confirmatione, de SS. Eucharistia. Friburgi: Brisgoviae, Sumtibus. Herder.

THEOLOGIA FUNDAMENTALIS. Auctore Ignatio Ottiger, S.J.
Tomus I. De Revelatione Supernaturali. Herder.

**LIBRI LITURGICI BIBLIOTHECAE APOSTOLICAE VATICANAE
MANU SCRIPTI.** Digessit et Recensuit Hugo Ehrensberger. Herder.

FATHER SASSE's work on the Sacraments is to be completed in two volumes, and will prove a valuable addition to the literature of the subject. The author has spent more than twenty years

in teaching theology, and is, consequently, thoroughly familiar with every controversy, and phase of controversy, that has been waged round the doctrines and practices of the Church. Beginning with the Sacraments, the author promises us similar treatises on other dogmatic questions. He prefers to make the treatises independent of one another, and to publish them separately, so that they may have an individual value, even though the entire programme which he has sketched for himself should never be carried out. The present volume makes us hope that the author may be permitted to complete his self-imposed task. The work is intended for students, though it is only the more gifted who could profit by reading it as the *first* treatise on the questions with which it deals. For, although it is not so recondite or discursive as Franzelin, nor so voluminous as Haine, on the Sacraments in general, still it is too learned and too long to form a suitable elementary text-book for the average student. But students for whom the Mechlin treatises are too superficial and Perrone too barren, may turn with pleasure and profit to Father Sasse's pages, where they will find every doctrine fully explained and abundantly established, and every objection triumphantly routed.

The second volume mentioned above, and, like the preceding one, from the pen of a learned member of the Society of Jesus, is intended rather for professors than for students. Besides twenty-four pages of introduction and index, it contains nine hundred and twenty-eight pages of text, entirely devoted, as the title of the book indicates, to the question of Revelation. This, like Father Sasse's volume, is but the first of a contemplated series, and is to be followed immediately by two volumes on the Church, *De Ecclesia Christi*. The scope of the entire work on Revelation and on the Church is stated by the author with equal brevity and clearness :—

‘Duae igitur praecipue quaestiones hujus nostrae disciplinae argumentum efficiunt, *utrum* scilicet revelatio supernaturalis atque divina *reapse impertita* sit, et *ubi ea existat* et inveniri possit. Quae enim aliae quaestiones insuper in hac nostra disciplina tractantur, omnes ad duas illas praecipuas pertinent, vel ut praeviae, vel ut natura necessario consequentes. Atque ex dictis evidens quoque est argumentum hujus disciplinae, partim situm scilicet vero in revelationis theora, esse praecipue *philosophicum*, partim historicum, in usum nimirum illius theoriae ad demonstrandam revelationis Christianae in Ecclesia Romano-Catholica existentiam.’

Imbued with this profound but thoroughly clear and logical view of his subject, Father Ottiger has given us as the first instalment of his work—the more purely philosophical portion of it—a volume so well ordered, that the most fastidious could not suggest an improvement, so simple in language and so clear in style that the meaning almost shines from the pages, and so full withal that it contains everything of worth that is relevant to the subject. We have said that the book is intended rather for professors than for students; but by students we mean only those who are making their way for the first time along the foot of the lofty heights of theology. Those already acquainted, even in a very imperfect way, with the questions treated by our author, will find no difficulty, but, on the contrary, much pleasure, in reading his work. And undoubtedly in our time it is ‘fundamental theology’ such as this that we should study. Hardly any thinking man is now a heretic. Hence it is waste of time to fight with the shadows of the ghosts of forgotten heresies. We should rather gird ourselves for the fight with infidelity, and there is no better armoury whence to draw for both defence and attack than the work now under consideration.

The recension of the manuscript liturgical books contained in the Vatican library will prove very valuable to scholars and antiquarians; for the general reader it possesses no interest.

SHORT LIVES OF THE SAINTS FOR EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR. By the Rev. Henry Gibson. Volume I., *January-April*. Volume II., *May-August*. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.

THESE ‘Lives’ may suit certain tastes, and may supply a want, though of this latter we are doubtful. As history they are unreliable, and the author tells us that he has purposely refrained from introducing moral reflections or pious exhortations. Unnecessary dates and names of places, he tells us, have also been excluded. He should have entirely refrained, we think, from all reference to questions involving a knowledge of chronology, geography, or proper names. He releases St. Patrick from captivity after six months, although the saint himself assures us he remained a captive for six years; and he has him consecrated bishop before coming to Rome to receive the Pope’s blessing on his mission, though all the ancient Lives agree in stating that he was not consecrated until after he had left Rome. He makes

St. Columba see the light in the 'County of Tyrconnell,' and Julian the Apostate to succeed Constantine. He gives two lives of St. Catharine of Siena, one on April 30, the other on May 5, the feast of St. Pius V. In the former, St. Catherine dies on April 29, in the latter on April 27. We cannot say we are sorry that the names of so few Irish saints appear. We wish them better than to have their lives handled in the careless manner of this author. Still, we doubt whether it was good taste on the part of anyone publishing a presumed popular work on the Lives of the Saints for English-speaking Catholics to make no reference to St. Brigid, the 'Mary of Ireland,' the patron revered by Ireland's children.

D. O'L.

THE ROMAN MISSAL FOR THE USE OF THE LAITY. Including all the Feasts for England, Scotland, and Ireland, the Society of Jesus, and the Order of St. Benedict. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd.; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.

THE BLESSED SACRAMENT OUR GOD. By a Child of St. Teresa. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd.

THIS new edition of *The Missal for the Laity* is quite up to date, as regards new feasts, as one would naturally infer from the names of the eminent firms which join in publishing it, and the style in which it is issued does credit to Catholic taste and enterprise. The type is a little too small, but larger type would perhaps have made the volume too bulky.

The little *brochure* of fifty odd pages on the Blessed Sacrament contains as many striking and edifying thoughts as many a volume on the same subject of ten times its bulk. Its object, as the title implies, is to make us realize that the Blessed Sacrament is indeed our God, and its words are the outpourings of the heart of one whose mind is permeated with the reality of this great truth.

We have also received from Messrs. Burns and Oates, Ltd., copies of new editions of *The Explanatory Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, and of *The Children's Bible History*.

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